













THE  
R A M B L E R.

---

VOL. I. NEW SERIES.

---

LONDON:  
BURNS AND LAMBERT, 17 PORTMAN STREET,  
AND 63 PATERNOSTER ROW.

---

MDCCCLIX.

BX  
801  
- R355  
1859  
3rd ser.  
v. 1.  
SMR



OCT 20 1959

LONDON:  
PRINTED BY LEVEY, ROBSON, AND FRANKLYN,  
Great New Street and Fetter Lane.

# INDEX.

## EDITORIAL ARTICLES.

- Religious Associations in the Sixteenth Century, 23.
- The Mission of the Isles of the North, 1, 170.
- The Political System of the Bonapartes, 289.
- The Text of the Rheims and Douay Version of Holy Scripture, 145.
- The Theory of Party, 332.

## COMMUNICATED ARTICLES.

- Development of Gothic Architecture, 77.
- Lamennais, 41.
- On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine, 198.
- Rosmini and Gioberti, 353.
- The Ancient Saints, 90.
- The Captive's Keepsake, 371.
- Thoughts on the Causes of the present War, 186.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

- Consulting the Laity, 390.
- Designs and Prospects of Russia, 244.
- Is Temporal Prosperity a Note of the Church? 231.
- Lay Students in Theology, 238.
- Napoleonism not impious, 378.
- On Devotion to Holy Men departed, 242.
- On External Devotion to Holy Men departed, 379, 386.
- Our Martyrs of the Sixteenth Century, 99.
- Prosperity not the Price, but a Reward of Christian Virtue, 236.
- Questions and Answers, 105.
- Religion of Shakespeare, 100.
- Temporal Prosperity a Note of the Church, 102.
- Temporal Prosperity, whether a Note of the Church, 234.

- The Prospect of War, 109.
- Traditions of History in the Schools, 113.
- Traditions of Historical Points in the Schools, 242.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

- A Tour in Dalmatia, Albania, and Montenegro, with an Historical Sketch of the Republic of Ragusa, 247.
- Bertrand du Guesclin, the Hero of Chivalry, 394.
- Dissertation de Syrorum Fide et Disciplinâ in Re Eucharisticâ, 395.
- Lectures and Essays on University Subjects, 115.
- Legends and Lyrics, 392.
- Literary Remains: Lectures and Tracts on Political Economy, 248.
- Mansel's Bampton Lectures, 247.
- Pictures of Missionary Life in the Nineteenth Century, 393.
- The Complete Latin Prosody of Emanuel Alvarez, S.J., 116.
- The Failure of the Queen's Colleges and of Mixed Education in Ireland, 114.
- The Good News of God, 249.
- The Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair, 391.
- The Patrons of Erin, 395.

## CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

### HOME AFFAIRS.

- Catholic Affairs, 404.
- Charter to the Catholic University, 125, 257.
- Cork Meeting on Intermediate Education, 124.
- Cork Young Men's Society, 127.
- Debate in the Commons on the Queen's Speech, 251.
- Education Movement in Ireland, 123.

Finance, 403.  
 Foreign Policy of Ministers, 401.  
 Judgment of the English Bishops on the Royal Commission, 117.  
 Meeting in behalf of the free Exercise of the Catholic Religion in Gaols and Workhouses, 257.  
 Opinions on the War, 397.  
 Policy of English Catholics towards Political Parties, 255.  
 Queen's Colleges, 127.  
 Resignation of Conservative Ministry; their Successors, 252.  
 The Cardinal Archbishop and the Irish Elections, 253.  
 The New Parliament, 251.  
 The Reform Bill, 127.

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Attitude of the Neutral Powers, 416.

Battle of Solferino, 407.  
 Concluding Events of the War, 409.  
 Effect of the Peace in Italy, 416.  
 Imperial Explanations, 412.  
 Italian Difficulty; Quarrel between France and Austria, 133.  
 Peace of Villafranca, 411.  
 Possessions of Austria in Italy, 420.  
 Resignation of Cavour, 414.  
 Revolt of the Swiss at Naples, 423.  
 The Armistice, 410.  
 The Belligerents, 421.  
 The Revolution in Italy, 424.  
 The Revolution and the Church, 425.  
 War in Italy, and the Negotiations of the Great Powers from the breaking-out of Hostilities till the entrance of the Allies into Milan, 258.

## TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

---

IN commencing a New Series of the RAMBLER, its Conductors think it right to state, that they profess no other object in their labours but that which has been the animating principle of the Magazine hitherto, viz. to coöperate with Catholic periodicals of higher pretensions in a work of especial importance in the present day,—the refinement, enlargement, and elevation of the intellect in the educated classes.

It will be their aim, as it has ever been, to combine devotion to the Church with discrimination and candour in the treatment of her opponents ; to reconcile freedom of thought with implicit faith ; to discountenance what is untenable and unreal, without forgetting the tenderness due to the weak and the reverence rightly claimed for what is sacred ; and to encourage a manly investigation of subjects of public interest under a deep sense of the prerogatives of ecclesiastical authority.

In order the better to compass these objects, it has been determined to publish at intervals of two months, doubling at the same time the pages in each Number ; an arrangement which, it is hoped, will relieve the ephemeral character which attaches to a monthly publication, without depriving the work of the special capabilities of a Magazine.

Its contents will be disposed under the five heads of leading or editorial articles, articles communicated, correspondence, literary and other notices, and miscellaneous information.

As regards the opinions and representations advanced under its second and third heads, only such general responsibility is undertaken by its Conductors as is involved in their being parties to the publication ; and for this reason admission will readily be granted to articles, otherwise eligible, which take a contrary view, or even make those opinions the object of their remark. All controversy will be conducted under anonymous signatures.

As to the Correspondence, it is believed that, besides its other uses, that department of the Magazine will afford opportunity, if

discreetly conducted, for the profitable discussion and explanation of various matters, historical, ecclesiastical, political, and the like, about which individuals may feel interest or perplexity.

In the Literary Notices, it is not contemplated to include either theological or devotional works : not dogmatic subjects, because they ought to be treated with more reverence and fullness than is possible in a Magazine ; nor devotional, because they appeal to the feelings, tastes, and needs of individual religious minds, which cannot be made the subject of criticism or of science.

The Conductors of the RAMBLER indulge the hope that the zeal and labour expended on it in former years have not been without fruit ; and, under the encouragement thereby given them, they recommend its future to the good prayers of those persons, not few, they trust, nor inconsiderable, who are interested in its well-being.

---

\* \* \* *Communications must be addressed, post-paid, to MESSRS. BURNS and LAMBERT, 17 Portman Street, Portman Square, London, W.; and no Communications can be returned.*

---

---

### Notice to Correspondent.

A Correspondent's elegant "May Wreath" came too late.

# THE RAMBLER.

---

VOL. I. *New Series.*

MAY 1859.

PART I.

---

## THE MISSION OF THE ISLES OF THE NORTH.

THE collection, under the author's revision, in one handsome volume, of the sermons, lectures, and speeches, delivered by the Cardinal Archbishop in the course of his late tour in Ireland, accompanied as it is with a connecting and illustrative narrative, is one of the most remarkable publications which has for some time issued from the press. It is the record of a visit which has a double claim upon our attention, both in its relation to the generous people who acted the part of hosts upon the occasion, and the distinguished personage who presented himself as their guest.

The facts of the case are these : the Cardinal, complying with the invitation of an Irish Prelate, who requested his presence at the opening of a new church, went at the appointed time, without expectation of any call upon him for more than such ordinary exertion of mind and body as the ostensible purpose involved ; but, to his great astonishment, he found that his coming had struck a chord in the heart of a Catholic people, whose feelings are the more keen and delicate, because they are seldom brought into play. A Cardinal of Holy Church was to them the representative of the Vicar of Christ, and nothing else ; his coming was all but the advent of the Holy Father ; and he suddenly found that he must meet, out of the resources of his individual mind, the enthusiastic feelings and the acts of homage of the millions who were welcoming him. It was an expression of trust and loyalty manifested towards him, similar in its critical character, though most dissimilar in its origin, to the panic fear

which, from time to time spreading through the multitude, causes them to make a sudden run on some great banking establishment which is reported to be in difficulties; and, however gratifying, both officially and personally, to the high dignitary who called it forth, it would have been to most men the occasion of no ordinary embarrassment.

We venture to affirm that there is no other public man in England who could have answered to the demand thus made upon his stores of mind with the spirit and the intellectual power which the Cardinal displayed on the occasion. He was carried about, at the will of others, from one part of the island to another; he found himself surrounded in turn by high and low, educated and illiterate; by boys at school, or by the youth of towns; by religious communities, or by official and dignified persons. He was called to address each class or description of men in matter and manner suitable to its own standard of taste and thought; he had to appear in pulpits, in lecture-rooms, at dinner-tables, on railroad-stations, and always to say something new, apposite, and effective. How he met these unexpected and multifarious calls on him, this volume, we repeat, is the record; and, though nothing remained of Cardinal Wiseman for the admiration of posterity, of all that he has spoken and written but what is therein contained, there is enough to justify the estimation in which his contemporaries have held the talents and the attainments of the first Archbishop of Westminster.

Insufficient record it certainly would be, after all, of the actual resources of one who can speak with readiness and point in half-a-dozen languages, without being detected for a foreigner in any of them; and who, at ten minutes' warning, can address a congregation from a French pulpit, or the select audience of an Italian academy. Insufficient also for another reason, because it might be objected that the enthusiasm of a multitude is catching, and that, when a visitor is the cause of such transports, and the object of such open-hearted greeting, on the part of a vast population, his whole heart responds to the call made upon its affections, and his intellect, as if spontaneously grateful, expands and revels in the enjoyment of those festive scenes and high celebrations by which it is successively solicited.

It is not every guest who is invested with such pleasant associations, and elicits such joyous emotions in the Irish mind. It is not every visitor who is able to bask in the reverberation of the beams of light which his own presence sheds over the Irish landscape. There is a visitor who rouses

memories as dark as the look and voice of a Cardinal are inspiring and consolatory. That visitor is the Saxon ; and, if the Saxon happens to be a Catholic, he has a trial to sustain of his own, of which the continental tourist has no experience, from Austrian police, or Russian douane, or Turkish quarantine. He has turned his eyes to a country bound to him by the ties of a common faith ; and, when he lands at Cork or Kingstown, he breathes more freely from the thought that he has left his own Protestant people behind him, and is among his co-religionists. He has but this one imagination before his mind, that he is in the midst of those who will not despise him for his faith's sake, who name the same sacred names, and utter the same prayers, and use the same devotions, as he does himself ; whose churches are the houses of his God, and whose numerous clergy are the physicians of his soul. He penetrates into the heart of the country ; and he recognises an innocence in the young face, and a piety and patience in the aged voice, which strikingly and sadly contrast with the habits of his own rural population. Scattered over these masses of peasantry, and peasants themselves, he hears of a number of persons who have dedicated themselves to a religious celibate, and who, by their superior knowledge as well as sanctity, are the natural and ready guides of their humble brethren. He finds the population as munificent as it is pious, and doing greater works for God in their obscurity, than the rich and noble elsewhere accomplish in their abundance. He finds them characterised by a love of kindred so tender and faithful, as to lead them, on their compulsory expatriation, to send back from their first earnings in another hemisphere incredible sums, with the purpose of bringing over to them those dear ones whom they have left in the old country. And he finds himself received with that warmth of hospitality which ever has been Ireland's boast ; and, as far as he is personally concerned, his blood is forgotten in his baptism. How shall he not, under such circumstances, exult in his new friends, and feel words deficient to express both his deep reverence for their virtues, and his strong sympathy in their heavy trials ?

But, alas, feelings which are so just and so natural in themselves, which are so congruous in the breast of Frenchman or Italian, are impertinent in him. He does not at once recollect, as he ought to recollect, that he comes among them as the representative of persons, and actions, and catastrophes, which it is not pleasant to think about ; that he is responsible for the deeds of his forefathers, and of his own present Parliament and executive ; that he is one of a strong, unscrupu-

lous, tyrannous race, standing upon the soil of the injured. He does not bear in mind that it is as easy to forget injuring, as it is difficult to forget being injured. He does not admit, even in his imagination, the judgment and the sentence which the past history of Erin sternly pronounces upon him. He has to be recalled to himself, and to be taught by what he hears around him, that an Englishman has no right to open his heart, and indulge his honest affection towards the Irish race, as if nothing had happened between him and them. The voices, so full of blessings for their Maker and their own kindred, adopt a very different strain and cadence when the name of England is mentioned; and, even when he is most warmly and generously received by those whom he falls in with, he will be repudiated at a distance. Natural amiableness, religious principle, education, reading, and knowledge of the world, and the charities of civilisation, repress or eradicate these bitter feelings in the class in which he finds his friends; but, as to the population, one sentiment of hatred against the oppressor “*manet altâ mente repôstum.*” The wrongs which England has inflicted are faithfully remembered, her services are viewed with incredulity or resentment; her name and fellowship are abominated; the news of her prosperity heard with disgust; the anticipation of her possible reverses nursed and cherished as the best of consolations. The success of France and Russia over her armies, of Yankee or Hindoo, is fervently desired, as the first instalment of a debt accumulated through seven centuries; and that, even though those armies are in so large a proportion recruited from the Irish soil. If he ventures at least to ask for prayers for England, he receives one answer—a prayer that she may receive her due. It is as if the air rang with the old Jewish words, “O daughter of Babylon, blessed shall he be who shall repay thee thy payment which thou hast paid us!”

And, sad to say, he feels that he is not the person to complain.

“*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis  
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.*”

What a writer in the *Atlantis* remarks of the behaviour of the English towards Joan of Arc, applies too truly to the case of others also who have resisted them and fallen into their hands. It was the *væ victis* which they lately wreaked upon the natives of India; it was the passionate indignation at insurgent feebleness, which has made them in past times so cruel and unjust to the Irish. “From the moment of her capture,” says the writer in question, “the English set their hearts upon obtaining possession of her. That deep pride of

character, which was, perhaps, a large element in their success, had its darker expressions. It rendered them intolerant of the slightest defeat or check, and engendered towards any enemy who might inflict it upon them, a hatred stopping short at no calumny and no cruelty. Their hatred of Joan was something wholly indescribable, and from the beginning they had spread the most abominable slanders concerning her. In their proceedings, two circumstances curiously characteristic of the nation appear: first, their accomplishing their purpose under the colour and in form of strict law; and secondly, their using as their instruments natives of the country whose subjugation they sought.”\*

It is remarkable, that the Holy See, to whose initiative the union of the two countries is historically traceable, is in no respect made chargeable by the Irish people with the evils which have resulted to them from it. And the fact itself is remarkable, that the Holy See really should be responsible for that initiative. There are other nations in the world ill-matched, besides the English and Irish; there are other instances of the rule of strangers, and of the compulsory submission of the governed; but the Pope cannot be called to account for such political arrangements. The Pope did not give Greece to the Sublime Porte, or Warsaw to Russia, or Venice to Austria, or Belgium to Holland, or the cities of the Rhine to Prussia, or the Septinsular Republic to England; but, even had he done so, still in many of these instances he would have but united together members of one race—German to German, Fleming to Fleming, Slave to Slave. But it is certainly most remarkable that a power so authoritative, even when not divine, so sagacious even when not supernatural; the acts of which are so literally personal to the Pontiff who wields it for the time being, yet of such solemn force and such tremendous permanence; which, by appealing to the prerogatives, involves itself in the decisions of the past; which “openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth,”—it does, we say, require some explanation, how an oracle so high and irrefragable should have given its religious sanction to a union apparently so unblest, and which at the end of seven centuries is as devoid of moral basis, or of effective accomplishment, as it was at the commencement. When German and Italian, Turk and Greek, are contented with each other; when “the lion and the sheep shall abide together,” and “the calf and the bear shall feed,”—then, it may be argued, will there be a good understanding between two nations so contradictory the one of the other—the one an old immemorial race,

\* *Atlantis*, vol. i. p. 272.

the other the composite of a hundred stocks; the one possessed of an antique civilisation, the other civilised by Christianity; the one glorying in its schools and its philosophy, the other in its works and institutions; the one subtle, acute, speculative, the other wise, patient, energetic; the one admiring and requiring the strong arm of despotic rule, the other spontaneously developing itself in methods of self-government and of individual competition. And yet, not once or twice only has the Holy See recognised in Ireland a territory of the English crown. Adrian IV., indeed, the first Pope who countenanced the invasion of Henry II., was an Englishman; but not on his bull did Henry rely for the justification of his proceedings. He did not publish it in Ireland till he had received a confirmatory brief from Alexander III. Nor was Alexander the only Pope who distinctly recognised it; John XXII., a hundred and sixty years afterwards, refers to it in his brief addressed to Edward II.\*

Such have been the dealings of the Holy See in times past with the Island of Saints; yet it has not thereby roused against itself any resentful feelings in the mind of its natives. Doubtless their good sense understands well that, whatever be decided about the expedience of the act of annexation itself, its serious evils did not begin till the English king was false to the Pope as well as to Ireland. Up to that date the settlers in the conquered soil became so attached and united to it and to its people, that, according to the proverb, they were *Hibernis hiberniores*. It is Protestantism which has been the tyrannical oppressor of the Irish; and we suppose that Protestantism neither asked nor needed letters apostolic or consecrated banner to encourage it in the war which it waged against Irish Catholicism. Neither Cromwell nor William of Nassau waited for the Pope's leave, or sought his blessing, in his military operations against Ireland, any more than Queen Victoria appeals to the Pope's grant for her title of Defender of the Faith, though from the Pope it was originally derived. The Tudor, not the Plantagenet, introduced the iron age of Ireland.

We are led, by the course of thought into which we have fallen, to attempt to investigate the policy of the Holy See in the twelfth century, in annexing Ireland to the English crown; and in order to keep our eyes in the right direction in doing so, there are two points which it is necessary that we should steadily bear in mind:—the one is, that we ought to have at least some general notion of what really is the *object* of a spiritual power in political transactions of any

\* Lanigan, vol. iv. pp. 165, 6.

kind ; and the other, that we ought to be careful to distinguish between the simple object, which in a given case such a power may set before itself, and the *circumstances* under which that object is actually carried out,—circumstances which, grievous though they be in themselves and contrary to its intention, it may, after all, think very light nevertheless in comparison of the importance and the solid advantages of the object itself. Thus, for instance, as regards England, the tyranny of the Conqueror might involve the English nation in terrible sufferings ; and yet the Holy See, in its calm wisdom, might deliberately take upon itself the responsibility, not of William's gratuitous tyranny, which it abhorred, but of his conquest notwithstanding, considering the vast benefits to religion which that conquest reasonably promised. Thus the object which the Holy See pursued in this case would be a *religious one*, and the circumstantial evils in which it had no real part were *temporal*.

The allusion in the last sentence well suggests the point of view from which we mean to consider the question before us, and the sort of answer which we shall give to it. We say then, first, that the dealings of Providence towards England and Ireland respectively, as recorded in their history, whether ecclesiastical or civil, are so parallel, as to constitute a sort of apology for the conduct of the Roman Pontiff, should he be found to have pursued the same line of policy towards the two islands : and secondly, that, in matter of fact, the policy which he has pursued towards Ireland at the date in question, and which seems at first sight so unfair, is precisely that which he had adopted towards England a century earlier, except that its concomitants in the case of England were far more penal, in severity at least, if not in duration. In other words, looking at the course of events as a whole, we see that, in spite of the striking contrast in national characteristics which exists between the English and the Irish, in spite of their mutual jealousies and repulsions, in spite of the injuries which the one people has inflicted, and the other, according to its opportunities, has retaliated,—nevertheless their position towards the rest of the world, through the greater part of their Christian period, has been one and the same ; one and the same in their geographical, ecclesiastical, and political aspect, one and the same in their conversion, in their missionary labours, in their sufferings from northern pirates and Norman knights, in their religious molestation from the Welsh Tudors, and even now in their colonisation of the whole earth external to the continent of Europe.

In entering upon this historical parallel, we have no need

to do more than allude to its earlier points; they are so well known, and have been so often enlarged on. We are all familiar with the circumstances of the admission of the two people into the Christian fold, their first fervour, and their opportune custody of sacred and secular knowledge. Rome was the missionary centre, from which each of them in turn received the revealed doctrine; from Rome Patrick first, and then Augustine, received both their mission and their tradition; and the grace and merits of the two apostles so wrought in the countries which they converted, that those countries became rivals of each other in sanctity, learning, and zealous works. The Irish saints are said to be more than can be counted; the English are remarkable for being clustered into families, and those of royal lineage. More than eighty princes are considered to have a place in the glorious catalogue, and above thirty rulers gave up their temporal power for pilgrimage or the cloister. We should not give utterance to so familiar a tale except for its bearing upon our main point,—that countries which resembled each other in such great points, were likely to be associated together by foreigners as one in their ecclesiastical, nay in their secular and political destinies. They were called “the Islands of the Saints;” and sanctity implies unity. The Pope could wish for nothing better than that what was thus bound together in heaven should be bound on earth also.

There were other striking points of a like character in the two countries, which would forcibly affect the imagination of the Continent. They were the refuge of Christianity, for a time almost exterminated in Christendom, and the centres of its propagation in countries still heathen. Secluded from the rest of Europe by the stormy waters in which they lay, they were converted just in time to be put in charge with the sacred treasures of revelation and the learning of the old world, in that dreary time which intervened between Gregory and Charlemagne. They formed schools, collected libraries, and supplied the Continent with preachers and teachers. While the English Boniface and his followers formed churches in Germany and towards the north, under the immediate sanction of the Holy See, the Irish Columbanus, the representative of an earlier age, became the rival of St. Benedict in France and Lombardy.

All human matters tend to decay and dissolution: it was not to be supposed that what these two islands did for a season, they would do for ever. The time came when their special mission ended. In the first two centuries of English Christianity we may reckon up one hundred and fifty saints;

then they fall off. In the ninth century a superficial survey of history will furnish us with sixteen; in the tenth with eight; in the eleventh with ten. As to Ireland, a vision is said to have been granted to St. Patrick, in which he first saw the whole of Ireland brilliantly lit up; then the mountains only; then only a few lamps twinkling in the valleys. The same decline of sanctity is intimated in the account of this vision given in Ussher's ancient catalogue. "The first order of saints is *sanctissimus*, the next *sanctor*, the third *sanctus*. The first flames as the sun, the second as the moon, the third as the stars."\* A darkness was then to follow. Here we are led on to a further point in the historical parallel which the two islands furnish. The darkness was not simply the inward decay of sanctity, which had already showed itself; it was the in-rushing of troubles from without;—or if a further decay, it was the decay which follows upon temporal tumult and disorder. Most necessary and pertinent is the prayer, *Da pacem in diebus nostris*; for war is the destruction of religion,—first by cutting off the saints by the sword, secondly by hindering the opportunities of their reproduction. Such was the visitation coming on England and Ireland; it was the dark presence of the pirates of the North.

There was a fitness in the course of things, that the two people, who had rejoiced in one prosperity, should drink together the same cup of suffering: *Amabiles et decori in vitâ suâ, in morte non divisi*. They made what may be called their will at about the same date, and bequeathed their special schools, religious and secular, and professors to conduct them, to Charlemagne and the University of Paris. Hardly had they done so, when the countrymen of Ragnar Lodbrog appeared off their coasts. Alcuin went to Paris in A.D. 782; and the Northmen first landed in England in 787, and first landed in Ireland in 797.

Hitherto the barbarian inroads had been but the migration of restless populations from the East to the West. Across the table-lands of Asia, or the vast plains of Europe, the mighty host moved on, with the speed of horsemen, or the slow pace of flocks and herds, or with temporary halts or long settlements here or there, as the case might be, according to their own pleasure, or the compulsion of an enemy in their rear. Before them the land was open and presented no obstacle, and they had only to move in order to go forward. The distant ocean was the only term of their wanderings and of their conquests. Thus the two islands of the

\* Usser. Eccl. Brit. Antiq. p. 474.

West were safe from this invasion, which lasted for centuries. It was otherwise with the fierce northern tribes, who afterwards appear upon the scene of history. What the horse was to the Hun, such was the light bark to the Norwegian or Dane.\* If the Hun was never on foot, the Northman never needed land. The sea, instead of being a barrier, was the very element and condition of his victories, and it carried him upon its bosom up and down with an ease and expedition which even in an open plain country was impracticable.

We must enlarge on these Northmen, from the course which their history takes in the sequel. Their chiefs, then, called the sea-kings, were the younger sons of the petty princes of Scandinavia, sent out to seek their fortunes and to win glory upon the wide ocean, with the outfit of a vessel and its equipments.† They ravaged far and wide at will, and no retaliation on them was possible; for these pirates, unlike their more civilised brethren of Algiers or of Greece, had not a yard of territory, a town, or a fort, no property besides their vessels, no subjects but their crews. They were not allowed either to inherit or transmit the booty which their piratical expeditions collected. Such personal possessions, even to the gold and silver, were buried with the plunderer. Never to sleep under a smoke-burnished roof, never to fill the cup over the cheerful hearth, was their boast and their principle. If they drank, it was not for indulgence or for good company; but, by a degrading extravagance, to rival the beasts of prey and blood in their wild brutality. These berserkirs, half madmen, half magicians, studied to imitate dogs, or wolves, or bears, in their methods of attack, tearing off their clothes, howling, gnawing their armour, till they collapsed from the violence of their preternatural ferocity.

Though the sea was their element, they were equally prepared to avail themselves of the land, and equally at home upon it. They seemed to have a ubiquitous presence. As the lightning, the hurricane, or the plague sweeps through its inevitable circuit, or hurries along its capricious zigzag path, so these marauders were at one time lurking in the deep creek, and darting out upon the unsuspecting voyager, at another hurrying along the coast, and making their sudden descent and as suddenly reëmbarking; and at another, landing, leaving their vessels, and running up the country. They had come and gone, and done their terrible work, before they could be encountered. Now they were on the German Sea, now in the Bay of Biscay, now in the Mediterranean. They were at Rouen, at Amiens, at Paris, on the Loire, in

\* Flanagan, *English Church Hist.* vol. i. p. 180. † Turner, vol. i. p. 424.

Burgundy. They were in Brittany, in Aquitaine, at Bourdeaux. They landed on the coast near Cadiz, and faced the Moorish monarch in three battles. Then, again, they were in Holland, on Walcheren, at Cambray, at Hainault, at Louvain, and other parts of Belgium. They set fire to the villages and to the crops; they massacred the peasantry; they crucified, they impaled; they spitted infants on their lances: cruelty was one of the glories of their warfare.

But England and Ireland, at first meeting them in their descent to the south, bore the brunt of their fury. The two islands could not escape the common lot; ruin had overtaken the Continent in the earlier centuries, and now their turn was come. It is scarcely necessary to trace out the particulars of that awful visitation, under which two nations, rivals in saintly memories, were to be rivals also in the depth of a spiritual degradation; a degradation which made them reckless and desperate, and ungrateful to the record of God's past mercies and their fathers' noble deeds. England for two hundred and fifty years, and Ireland for an additional hundred, were the prey, the victim, the bond-slave of these savage Northmen. What happened to one country, happened on the whole to the other; and what we have already said of their foe in his descent upon other countries, might enable us to compose a history of his dealings with them, though no chronicle remained to tell it. The Northman pillaged the great monastery of Banchor, and slaughtered or scattered its inmates; he burned Armagh and its cathedral; he burned Ferns, and Kildare, with its famous church; he sacked Cork; he wasted the whole of Connaught. He cast his anchors in the Boyne and Liffey, and then spread his devastations inland over the plains through which those rivers flow, plundering churches, monasteries, villages, and carrying off the flocks and herds as booty. In the long course of years no part of the island escaped; bishops were put to death, sacred vessels profaned and carried off, libraries destroyed. When at length the miserable population submitted from mere exhaustion, and when war seemed at an end, for resistance was impossible, and provisions were consumed, then the invading tribes quarrelled with each other, and a new course of conflicts and devastations followed.

As to England, who does not know the terrible epic, so it may be called, of the eighth and ninth centuries? How Ragnar Lodbrog, in opposition to his wife Aslauga's counsel, built two large ships in his pride, which were useless in the hour of defeat, when swiftness of flight was as necessary to him as vigour in his attack; and how these clumsy vessels were

wrecked on the Northumbrian coast, and Ragnar taken prisoner ; and lastly, how the barbarous Ella, the prince of the district, doomed his fallen enemy to die in prison by the stings of venomous snakes ? His *Quida*, or death-song, as he was supposed to sing it in his dungeon, is preserved,\* and traces out the history of those savage exploits which were his sole comfort when he was giving up his soul to his Maker. Fifty-one times, as he recounts, had he rallied his people around his uplifted lance ; and he died in the joyful thought that his sons would avenge him. He was not wrong in that belief. Alfred was a youth of nineteen in his brother's court, when the news came that eight kings and twenty earls, all relations or friends of Ragnar, headed by three of his sons, of whom the cruel Ingwar and Hubba were two, had landed on the east coast. They moved to York, gained possession of Ella, split him into the form of a spread eagle, and rubbed salt into his wounds. Next they got possession of Nottingham. Then they were back again into Lincolnshire, desolating and destroying the whole face of the country. They burned the famous abbeys Bardeney and Croyland, and tortured and murdered the monks. Then they went to Peterborough and to Ely, where the nuns, according to the well-known history, mutilated their faces to preserve their honour. Then they fought, defeated, captured, tortured, and martyred St. Edmund. Next they got possession of Reading. We mention these familiar facts not for their own sake, but to illustrate that fearful celerity and almost caprice of locomotion, with which they rushed to and fro about the country. At Reading they were met by Alfred, who shortly after succeeded to the throne of Wessex, and who in the first year of his royal power fought eight pitched battles with them. Such is the introduction to the romantic history of that celebrated king.

Let not the reader suppose that we are alluding to this history for its own sake, forgetful of the argument which we are pursuing. We have now arrived at a fresh point in the parallelism which exists in the fortunes of the two islands ; for, strange to say, Ireland had its Alfred also,—that is, its champion of its own people against the Northmen, as brave and as wise, as successful in his own time, as unsuccessful in the ultimate result. This was the great king of Munster, Brian Boroimhe.

Alfred crowded the exploits of his life in the short space of fifty-one years. He is known in history from his boyhood, when he was sent to Rome ; and he succeeded to his

\* Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 464.

brother's throne and to the conduct of the Northman war at the age of twenty-two. Brian too succeeded to his brother in the government of Munster; but he was not elevated to the royal prerogatives of king of Ireland till he was in his seventy-sixth year. Malseachlainn, or Malachi, in whose line the royal power was hereditary, had in a former time of his life defeated the Northmen in three great battles, in one of which he had taken from their chief's neck the famous collar of gold, which is said still to be preserved in Dublin; but he was thought to have lost the energy which he once displayed, and to be unequal to the emergency. At length he was forced to surrender his sovereignty to Brian, and Brian was installed in his place at Tara; and now, at the advanced age which we have mentioned, Brian's historical existence begins.

Brian was the choice of the great men of the country, but he got possession of the royal power by his own act; and his mode of substituting himself for Malachi was characterised by a picturesque chivalrousness which reminds us of the era of the Crusades. He came up against Malachi with a large force, to compel his resignation. Nothing was left to the weaker but to submit, and Malachi came to his rival's camp for the purpose. Brian received him with all courtesy, condoled with him on the fickleness of his friends, declined to accept his resignation at once, and gave him a year to recover his broken fortunes. He accompanied this respite with the present of two hundred and forty fine horses, though not in the spirit of mockery which accompanied an offer of a like nature made by an Assyrian monarch to a Jewish king, and with presents of great value to the king's attendants. At the end of the year Malachi quietly gave in.

Brian was not possessed of the literary attainments and general cultivation of mind which were so conspicuous in Alfred; but he equalled him in his patriotism, his patronage of letters, and in his devotion. As soon as he was king, he confirmed the chieftains in their ancient privileges, and attached them to him by presents. He revised the genealogies of families, and distributed them into houses, and regulated the precedence of the nobility. He reformed the laws, and enforced their observance; and we have the pleasing legend, in illustration of the peaceful condition of the country, that in his days a young and beautiful lady, arrayed in the most costly apparel, with all her jewels on, and a wand in her hand surmounted by a precious ring, traversed the island from sea to sea without attendant and without mischance. As to the pirates of the North, he took the best means of preventing their inroads by building a fleet. He erected forts

in various parts of the country. He repaired the high roads, and cast bridges over the rivers. Nor was religion a secondary concern with him. He addressed himself to the rebuilding of churches and monasteries, which had been destroyed; he restored the public schools, and multiplied them; he did his best to collect new libraries. Such was the energy of this wonderful old man.

These were the great works of twelve years; and at length the time came, though long delayed, when he was to end a glorious reign with a more glorious death, as a sort of victim for the people he had so largely benefited. In the great battle of Clontarf, fought in 1014, he engaged the united forces of Scandinavians and Scots, Britons from Wales and Cornwall, Danes settled in the country, and insurgents of Leinster. The day of battle was Good Friday, which in that year fell as late as St. George's Day, April 23d. With the crucifix in his left hand, and his sword in his right, he rode with his son and heir Morough through the ranks of his army, exhorting them gladly to shed their blood for the Church, as the Lord of the Church had shed His precious blood for them. He gained the victory with the slaughter of 16,000 of the enemy; but it was at the price of his own and of his son's life. He was slain in his eighty-eighth year, and his son in his sixty-third. An historian of the day says, he received his death-blow "*manibus et mente ad Deum intentus*."\* Morough had time to make confession and receive the Viaticum.† This was a hundred years and more after Alfred's death.

In spite of these two great monarchs, it is not to be supposed that centuries of civil disorder should not have had the most grievous results in the spiritual condition of both countries; nor need we feel any surprise, considering the difficulty with which religion is built up, and the ease with which it is pulled down, if the Northmen demolished what the zeal of pious monarchs and the labours of saints could not restore. As to England, Englishmen freely confess it. The passage of Alfred is well known: "Very few are the clergy on this side the Humber who could understand their daily prayers in English, or translate any thing from the Latin. I think there were not many beyond the Humber. They were so few, that I cannot recollect one single instance on the south of the Thames when I took the kingdom." In his reign, and the century which followed it, the absence of invaders, his own exertions, and the reforms of St. Dunstan, availed in a great measure to reverse this lamentable condition of things; but the evil had struck too deeply into the heart of

\* Marianus Scotus.

† Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 424.

the social fabric to admit of eradication. The last state of the nation became worse than the first. The tradition of piety seemed almost extinct; peace, instead of inspiring thankfulness and devotion, caused a reaction into open license and neglect of religion. Then the Northmen came again; and they were again consigned to the sensuality, the intellectual sloth, and the national impotence, from which Alfred had laboured to rescue them: "Many years before the Conquest," says William of Malmesbury, "both sacred and secular studies had come to an end. The clergy, content with a slovenly knowledge, scarcely managed to pronounce the formal words of the sacraments, and thought it a thing prodigious and miraculous if one of themselves knew grammar. The monks, by their delicate clothing, and their free use of whatever food came to them, made their rule a mockery. The nobles, given to gluttony and debauchery, instead of coming to church of a morning, as Christians should, heard a hasty mass and matins, if it could be called hearing, they and their wives, ere they had risen from their beds. The common people were the defenceless prey of the powerful. Unnatural as was such conduct, it was often the fact, that heads of families, after seducing the women of their house, either sold them to other men, or to houses of bad repute. Drinking was a common vice, and was continued day and night."\*

They are said to have learned drinking from the Danes.† The most startling evidence of depravity was their selling their own children. They were exported to Ireland. Bristol seems to have been the slave-market; for it is one of the good deeds of St. Wolstan, shortly before the Conquest, that he was able, as the lesson for his day tells us, to bring the citizens of Bristol to a better mind, who, in spite of king and Pope, persisted in their nefarious practice of selling their own people into slavery.

It is remarkable that the Synod of Armagh, after Henry's invasion, touchingly confesses this sin of slave-dealing as having brought upon the Irish the yoke of foreigners, and decrees that all the English slaves throughout the country should be emancipated.‡ That they were the purchasers, and the Anglo-Saxons the purchased, shows us that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there were classes of society in Ireland higher in the grade of civilisation than the whole English nation; for it is inconceivable that such a merchandise could be possible, unless all ranks were degraded, and the ruling power utterly feeble. Indeed, the purchase and possession of English slaves was eventually Henry's pretext for his expe-

\* Reg. Angl. p. 57. † Turner, vol. ii. p. 270 n. ‡ Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 196.

dition against the Irish. Nor, indeed, are we without proofs to convince us that, in spite of the devastations of the Northmen, Ireland had much of its ancient force of character, nay of learning and virtue, left among its people. The very aberrations of such men as Erigena are a proof at least of mental culture; for heresies do not commonly break out among the ignorant, and are often even united with strictness or severity of life. Still, after all due allowances on this head, we cannot follow M'Geoghegan and others in considering that Brian restored the state of things to what it had been before the Northmen came. And it is necessary for our parallel that we should give our reasons for this dissent.

The authors in question then point to the Saints who flourished between Brian and Henry II., the learned Irishmen in foreign countries, the Bishops who attended foreign synods, and the monarchs who gave up the world for the cloister. Lanigan observes\* that "there were excellent Bishops in the country, such as Gelasius of Armagh, and Christian of Lismore; and that the Irish Church was not then in so degenerate a state as to require any foreign intervention." M'Geoghegan speaks at greater length, and observes that "it must be allowed that for nearly two centuries the Northern pirates had never ceased committing devastations on the island, pillaging and burning her churches and religious houses. The public schools were interrupted; ignorance spread its influence widely, and religion suffered much in its practice; without, however, becoming entirely extinct. After the complete overthrow of those barbarians in 1014 in the battle of Clontarf, the inhabitants began to rebuild their churches and public schools, and to restore religion to its primitive splendour."† He adds, "From the battle of Clontarf to the reign of Henry II. about a century and a half elapsed, during which time all ranks were emulous in their endeavours to reëstablish good order in the government and discipline in the churches."

Accordingly he refers to saintly prelates, such as St. Celsus, St. Malachi, St. Lawrence, St. Imar, Gilbert, Malchus, and others. Such, moreover, were Ernulph and Buo, who preached the gospel in Iceland. Doubtless these are names in which any country might reasonably glory; but are they sufficient to prove his point? for we have to go back to the previous question, Is a Christian country in a satisfactory religious condition merely because there are saints in it? The state of things at the same period on this side the Channel shall be our answer. We have been giving evidence above

\* Vol. iv. p. 159.

† O'Kelly's Translation, p. 243.

of the degraded state of the English population, from the coming of the Northmen down to the Conquest; yet it is quite notorious that no mean saints were found among them both before and after Alfred. Such are the glorious martyrs whom the Danes sent to heaven, Edmund, Humbert, and Elphege; such are the Bishops Ethelwold, Elphege, and Brinstan of Winchester, Odo and Dunstan of Canterbury, Oswald of York, and Wolstan of Worcester. Some of them too were missionaries, and that to the very tribes who were laying England waste,—a lesson to the ill-treated to return good for evil; as St. Sigfrid, the apostle of Sweden. Then, again, there was the royal saint, St. Edward; and, on the other hand, St. Walstan, a layman, who, without embracing the monastic state, gave away his patrimony at the age of twelve, and made himself a mere farm-servant in an obscure village for the love of God, fasting, praying, and working miracles, as peacefully and serenely as if trouble and sin were not in the country. William of Malmesbury adds, at the end of the very passage which we have quoted above, in disparagement of the Anglo-Saxons, “I know many clerks at that time were walking in simplicity the path of sanctity; I know that many of the laity, of every kind and condition in that nation, were in God’s favour; but, as in a time of peace His clemency doth cherish the bad with the good, so in the time of captivity His severity sometimes involves the good with the bad.”\* Such was the case with England; it had saints in the midst of its degeneracy: and in like manner Ireland, though it had its saints, might still be degenerate in the presence of its sanctity.

Still less is the flourishing state of her schools an index of the intelligence, education, order, or religion, then existing in the mass of her people. Ireland, indeed, was still a great centre of learning; and under all circumstances this fact is very remarkable. Loss and suffering, disappointment and hopelessness, could not quench that activity of intellect and zeal for knowledge which had been the characteristic of her children from the earliest times. We read of schools at Kells, Kildare, Killaloe, and other places, especially at Armagh, which, even down to the time of the Conqueror, was frequented by British youths. Sulger, afterwards Bishop of St. David’s, spent from ten to thirteen years in Ireland in the study of Holy Scripture, and a portion of Armagh even went by the name of the Saxon quarter. It is not the least striking circumstance in those dreary times, that in an age of the world when kings and great men could not read, pro-

\* p. 58.

fessors in the Irish colleges were sometimes men of noble birth. St. Malachi's father, though a member of a family of distinction, as St. Bernard tells us, was a celebrated professor at Armagh. History records the names of others similarly eminent, both by their descent and their learning. It is impossible not to admire and venerate a race which displayed such inextinguishable love of science and letters ; but at the same time, not even numerous instances of this noble trait of character in individuals are sufficient to prove any thing as to the point immediately before us, viz. the actual condition of the people in general contemporaneously with them. There is in most countries a strongly marked line dividing the educated and illiterate classes, such as not even the closest proximity tends to obliterate. Science is a sort of *disciplina arcani*, whether we will or no ; and the presence of a learned man has no tendency whatever to make others learned with whom he is in habits of familiarity.

It is otherwise with sanctity ; a saint influences by his conversation, and preaches by his life : and yet even saints, as we have been showing, are no guarantee of the sanctity of their people. Much less has a school, or college, or seminary, any power to communicate its own attainments or refinement to the neighbourhood in which it is placed. There is a story of a practical joke executed by a famous wit of Oxford some fifty years ago, on occasion of the visit of some foreign potentate to the University, which it may be allowed us perhaps to introduce here. When the great person changed horses at Benson, the stage before coming to Oxford, he found the landlord, waiters, ostlers, stable-boys, and postillions arrayed in the black gowns and cassocks, and red hoods and large bands, proper to doctors of divinity, and shouting one to another as they brought out the fresh horses and harnessed them to the travelling carriages in classical Latin, in the style of "*Heus, Rogere, fer caballos*," of the Wykehamist song. On his asking the meaning of this, he was gravely informed by one of the masquerading undergraduates, that the influence of the University penetrated the peasantry for ten miles on every side, and that no farm-labourer or hodman was to be found in that circuit who had not taken his degrees, and could not support a thesis against Bellarmine or Socinus. It was a ponderous pleasantry to act, but it is an apposite illustration to adduce in our present argument. A University does great things ; but this is just one of the things it does not do. No Oxford scout, by serving a score of undergraduate masters, ever caught the trick of construing Horace, or reducing a *Bramantip*. And, in like manner, while we do not doubt

that there were far more Irish than English scholars in the eleventh century, we cannot fairly deduce from that superiority that the country priests or peasants of Meath or Leinster had more knowledge of the canons or of the Decalogue than had the clergy and laity of Wessex.

And, in fact, there seems to have been little sympathy between the two classes in question. How came it to pass, that during those centuries of confusion, so many Irish scholars, *gregeſ philosophorum*, as they are called in the trite passage in Eric, crossed over to the Continent? Their convents and colleges, indeed, were in flames or in ashes; but their country remained. Why did they not seek the bosom, and share the hospitality and privations, of either rich or poor within the four seas of Ireland? Is it the true solution of this phenomenon, that as soon as they set foot beyond their own homestead, they almost came upon a foreign soil? We cannot refer it to any want of patriotism or Christian charity in their own breasts, that St. Donatus or St. Andrew found a domicile in Italy in the ninth century, Mark and Marcellus in Switzerland, others who might be named in the west of England, and others in the calm monastic dwellings of Cologne or Ratisbon; but if these holy men were not, and could not be, indifferent to their countrymen, was it not that their countrymen were indifferent to them?

And St. Bernard seems to answer our question in the affirmative. We are far indeed from taking to the letter all that he says of the Irish. We believe that, as in other passages of his history, his ardent temper carried him beyond the truth. We believe that the statements contained in his well-known life of St. Malachi are exaggerations; still, it must not be forgotten that he was a personal friend of St. Malachi, who had visited him at Clairvaux on his way to and from Rome, whither he repaired expressly on the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland. Now St. Bernard, who had his information at first hand, and from the most venerable authority, says, in his life of him, "Our Malachi, born in Ireland, *de populo barbaro*, was there brought up, was there taught letters. However, from the barbarousness of his birthplace he contracted nothing, no more than the fish of the sea contract any thing from their mother's salt. He who *produxit mel de petrâ oleumque de saxo durissimo*, it was He who did this."\*

\* "Malachias noster, ortus Hiberniæ de populo barbaro, ibi educatus, ibi literas edoctus est. Cæterùm de natali barbarie traxit nihil, non magis quàm de sale materno pisces maris. Qui produxit mel de petrâ oleumque de saxo durissimo, ipse fecit hoc" (Vit. c. i.). Vid. also what he says on Malachi being made his bishop's vicar: "Seminare semen sanctum in gente non sanctâ, et dare rudi populo et sine lege viventi legem vitæ et disciplinæ" (c. iii.).

It must be recollected, that we are saying nothing of the Irish people which we do not in another respect impute to our own. Both nations had lost their first fervour; they had not fallen away in the same direction, but neither of them was fitted any longer for the high mission which they had fulfilled in earlier and happier times. The declension was deplorable, and what was to be the end of it?

In one respect England had been the more favourably circumstanced of the two; but the ultimate result was the same. Alfred has been able to do for his country what, from the circumstances of the case, was impossible to Brian. Brian was not in the line of the old kings of Ireland. He was but the representative of a Munster dynasty which had been successfully insurgent against them; and he was unable to secure the throne for his descendants. One thing he could do, and did: he so effectually destroyed the prestige and power of the old monarchy, that though Malachi regained his former dignity, still, on his death, for many years there was no king of all Ireland at all. It follows, that though Brian delivered his country from her external foe, he actually threw her back as regards the prospect of internal consolidation. This great misfortune Lanigan remarks upon. "The anciently established system of succession to the throne of the whole kingdom," he says, "was overturned; and there remained no paramount power authorised to control the provincial kings or minor chieftains. The Irish," he continues, "were during a great part of the eleventh century engaged here and there in wars among themselves; and we find now and then one or other party of them assisted by the Danes settled in Dublin or elsewhere."\*

As to England, on the contrary, both Alfred and the Danes, in different ways, had tended to her political progress. They played as it were into each other's hands; and, while the Danes broke up the Heptarchy, Alfred developed the monarchical power. England was not illegally seized, but fell into his hands. Down went Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia, almost at a blow, before the resistless energy of Ingwar and Hubba, till Alfred was left the sole representative of Anglo-Saxon royalty in the island. Brian had to conquer for himself; but the Danes conquered for Alfred. If ever there was a king who came to great power by the force of events, and without any violent acts of his own, his was that unusual blessing; and he had another still more unusual, that of being supremely happy in his immediate descendants. Charlemagne, a century before, had done his work on a larger scale;

\* vol. iii. p. 427.

but it came to naught for want of those who could carry it on. But Edward and Ethelfleda, the children of Alfred, and Athelstan his grandson, were, in their place and day, as great as he had been in his. Alfred had been the first king of the English, and Athelstan was the first king of England.\* He brought under the Danes, and extended his sovereignty to the furthest point of the north, and became nominal lord even of Wales and Scotland. Thus *suaviter et fortiter*, with the vigour yet the deliberation of some natural growth, was the English monarchy brought into existence. What has been so gradually and carefully accomplished, has never broken into parts again.

It was not the will of Heaven that such a blessing should be accorded to the sister island. That state in which the Northmen found England, is the state in which they left Ireland. Moore reminds us of this in the words with which he introduces to us their invasion. "In the one small kingdom of Northumbria," he says, "we find represented upon a smaller scale almost a counterpart of those scenes of discord and misrule which form the main action of Irish history in those times; the same rapid succession and violent deaths of most of the reigning chieftains, and the same recklessness of the public weal which in general mark their career."† So it had been before the time of Brian, and so it was after him. They even joined the Northmen in their quarrels, whether with Irish or Northmen, and they imitated them in their reckless and sacrilegious deeds. "Several of the Irish princes and chieftains," says Lanigan, "had imbibed the spirit of the Danes, sparing neither churches, nor monasteries, nor ecclesiastics, according as it suited their views; a system which was held in abhorrence by their ancestors, and which often excited them to unite in defence of their altars against the Scandinavian robbers."‡ In the previous sentences he had given some instances of such devastations as their burning and pillaging the church of Ardracean with a number of people in it in 1109; of their plundering and destroying the monastery of Clonmacnois in 1111; of their killing the Abbot of Kells on a Sunday in 1117; of their burning Cashel and Lismore in 1121; of their plundering Emly in 1123; and of their burning the steeple of Trim, with the people in it, in 1127. He expressly tells us that these outrages arose in consequence of the want of a central and sovereign authority in the country. It was "one of the sad effects," he says, "of the contests between various powerful families aspiring to the

\* Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 187.

† vol. ii. p. 6.

‡ vol. iv. p. 55.

sovereignty of Ireland, and again between diverse members of said families quarrelling among themselves for precedency."

Brian, then, was raised up to accomplish for his country great works of a material kind. His arms broke the power of the Northmen; he rebuilt the fabrics of religion; but, as to moral and social matters, he left behind him the bad and the good which were before him. There had been literature among the Irish all along, and civil war all along: he found both, and he left both. Schools had still flourished when the Northmen were victorious; slaughter and sacrilege were still rife when they had been chastised. So was it with the ecclesiastical state of things: the disorders in the church of Armagh, which continued up to the time of St. Malachi, are a clear evidence of it.

Here we must pause in our subject, ere we turn from the contemplation of the religious declension of the two islands, to a review of the means which the Holy See adopted to meet the evil. It was surely incumbent on that power, which had converted them, to interfere when they were lapsing back to barbarism. Every one has a love and a care for his own work; and if children are not fond of their parents, at least the parents, as the great philosopher says, yearn in affection over the children. Rome had had a great success in English and Irish zeal; it had no wish that that success should be reversed. But at this time the people of England were sunk in sloth, luxury, and depravity; and Ireland was convulsed with feuds and conflicts, their scholars having as little power to restore order, ecclesiastical or civil, as faith is able to ensure charity, or knowledge is the guarantee of virtue.

What should the Pope do? He took time to deliberate on the course to be pursued, and then he acted boldly. He applied one and the same remedy to both. He gave commission to a foreign power to take possession of both islands. He did not set one island to convert the other; he did not send the debased English to heal the quarrels of the Irish; he did not send those who sold their own children to the Irish, to lord it over the Irish who bought them. He sent against each of them in its turn the soldiers of a young and ambitious nation—first to reform them, secondly to unite them together; and, strange to say, the warlike host he sent was an offshoot of the very race which had brought them both to ruin. The Northmen had been their bane; and, in the intention of the Pope, the Normans were to be the antidote.

## RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE true history of the struggles of the Catholic Church in England during the persecutions of Elizabeth and James I. is likely always to remain in some obscurity and uncertainty. At the time, and on the spot, there must have been great difficulty in obtaining an accurate knowledge of Catholic affairs; the policy of the government, which in effect offered very valuable consideration to any Catholic who would betray his brethren, though only partially successful in effecting that object, succeeded perfectly in covering every Catholic with suspicion, in closing men's mouths, in making their letters unintelligible, and in reducing correspondence to cipher. It is chiefly out of such cipher, which does not exist in any great quantity, that we have to patch up as best we may the secret, or internal and organic history of the Catholic body in England from the year 1580.

When the law forced the profession and propagation of the Catholic religion either to cease to be, or to be secret, it forced the Church to become a secret society,—a hateful name, and generally a hateful thing, though the tyranny that forces its victims into such an organisation is often much more detestable than the secret organisation itself. This is especially true with regard to the Catholic associations of the sixteenth century. The Church is a society, and must exist; if it can only exist in secret, it must exist as a secret society. And when the whole Catholic body in England was forced into this attitude, by much stronger reason did some of its constituent elements partake of the general character. To be a Catholic at all, however still a man kept himself, was dangerous, and was as much as possible kept as a secret. To be a moving Catholic, was as dangerous as to be a highwayman or a coiner. Hence the Catholic priesthood, and, above all, the Jesuits, were obliged to be dark and suspicious, and were at once stamped in the popular estimation as privy conspirators. Matters which are now managed by simple confraternities, with banners displayed, and with after-dinner oratory, were in those days managed by secret societies. The preliminaries of founding a seminary, or of sending off a few youths for education beyond sea, were as much matters of secret conclave and dark-lanterns as the Gunpowder Plot itself. Altar societies, aged-poor societies, poor-school committees, were shrouded in the gloomy grandeur of political conspiracies. To get one's child

baptised, or the last sacraments administered to one's dying mother, required as many secret conferences and subtle plots as Brutus and Cassius had to organise for the assassination of Julius Cæsar, or Catiline for the sack of Rome. The most ordinary actions became full of terror and mystery; and the peaceable Catholic mind in England, without harbouring a single plot, without entertaining a single design against the safety of the country, was forced into that attitude which Shakespeare so truly, perhaps so feelingly, described:

“Between the acting of a dreadful thing  
And the first motion, all the interim is  
Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream:  
The genius and the mortal instruments  
Are then in council; and the state of man,  
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then  
The nature of an insurrection.”

In this inquiry, we are only concerned with the sixteenth century, and therefore our statements have nothing to do with the condemnations of secret societies which have taken place since. After the most careful search, we cannot find that there exists any decree of the Holy See against them before the Bull of Clement XII., *In eminenti*, against the Freemasons in 1738; and we do not believe that any earlier document of the kind exists; although in St. Leo's time the Gnostics and Manichæans had secret societies in Rome, which of course could not be allowed by the Church. Clement's constitution was repeated and confirmed by Benedict XIV. in his Bull *Providas Romanorum*, 1571, wherein he gives reasons for the condemnation: 1. because men of all religions belong to the Freemason society; 2. because of the strict and impervious secrecy; 3. and because this secrecy is guarded by an oath. He adds, that such associations are contrary to the civil law in general and to the particular statutes of several countries, and that they have a bad reputation. It was Benedict's custom to recite all earlier constitutions of his predecessors in his bulls; and as that of 1738 alone is mentioned in the bull in question, we conclude that no other was known to him.\* It is clear, then, that the associations which we have to describe were not at the time under the ban of the Church, and are not to be reckoned among those secret societies lately denounced by the Archbishop of Dublin as “the cause of the greatest evils to religion, tending to promote impiety and incredulity, and most hostile to the public good;”

\* In this century, Pius VII., in the Bull *Ecclesiam*, and Leo XII., in the Bull *Quo graviora*, have confirmed and enlarged the acts of their predecessors as regards these societies. Pius denounces the *Carbonari*, and both he and Leo go into the details of their proceedings at considerable length.

for which reason, he says, "the Catholic Church has solemnly excommunicated all her children who engage in them." On the contrary, the associations with which we are concerned were formed for the propagation of the faith, and the restoration of the Church; and therefore, so far from being condemned, were encouraged, as we may see by the following passage from the "Faculties granted to Fathers Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion for England, April 14, 1580."\*

"Since sundry persons, priests and others, in England, have determined to imitate the life of the Apostles, and to devote themselves wholly to the salvation of souls and the conversion of heretics; and the better to do this, have determined to content themselves with food and clothing and the bare necessities of their state, and to bestow all the rest of their goods for the common assistance of the Catholics, and to procure alms for this common fund, not only by themselves but by others, and to promote the conversion of England in other ways,"—

the Pope, therefore, on the request of the English fathers and Father Oliverius Monarcus, granted

"to every one that practised this exercise, or who enrolled his name with a promise to practise it as far as he could, whether in prison or out of prison, the plenary indulgence four times a-year, on the feasts of St. George, St. Gregory, St. Augustine Apostle of England, and St. Thomas of Canterbury."

Further light is thrown on the duties of this confraternity by a sentence in the "Instructions given to the first Jesuits who were sent on the English mission."†

"ART. 11. With respect to strangers, first, the fathers shall rather converse with *gentlemen* than with persons of the lower class, both on account of the greater advantage, and because they will be better defended against any violence. Then, rather with reconciled Catholics than with those still schismatical. With heretics they shall not on any account have any personal dealings; *but they shall stir up the Catholics to apply themselves each one to the conversion of his friends*, for which purpose they shall furnish them with arguments and advice; and when the persons to be converted are somewhat softened, and sufficiently cured of their rage and hatred to hear the truth with impartiality, then our missionaries, having a due regard to their safety, and never permitting it to be known that they belong to the Society, shall personally confirm the converts in the faith, and fully instruct them."

It appears, then, that the association was one of priests and

\* State-Paper Office, Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. cxxxvii. nos. 26-28.

† Archives du Royaume, Brussels; Inventaire des Archives du Province des Jésuites, no. 1085.

laymen: the laymen being of good family, able by wealth and influence to promote the cause, and capable of being further employed in propagating the faith among their families and friends. Such an association must almost have arisen naturally from the necessity of the case. Considering the penal statutes against seminary priests, and the impossibility of knowing beforehand whether any given Protestant would take advantage of the law, it was clearly necessary to order that the Jesuits should have no personal dealings with heretics, but stir every Catholic to apply himself to the conversion of his friends. For this purpose, it is evident that the lay Catholic had to be instructed in the most telling points of controversy; had to be urged to lay aside all feelings of indignation and bitterness, and all sense of wrong,—to abstain from all impertinence, cutting sarcasm, and such sharp answers as silence rather than convince,—to make it clear that he was actuated by no other motives than the loving and burning desire that all should come to a knowledge of the truth. All this would naturally require a course of study which, in days when the press was an organ forbidden to Catholics, could only be accomplished in an association or confraternity, and which also required a preliminary education rarely found in those days, except in men of good birth.

Again, in those troublesome times, the priests had to be protected, and conducted from house to house. The operation of penal laws is to render every man an object of suspicion to every other. Fathers were not always safe from their sons; a man's enemies were often those of his own household. Garnet wrote to Parsons, Nov. 19, 1594: "Topcliffe and Tom Fitzherbert pleaded hard in the chancery this last week. For whereas Fitzherbert had promised, and entered into bonds, to give 5000*l.* unto Topcliffe if he would prosecute *his father and uncle* to death, together with Mr. Basset, Fitzherbert pleaded that the conditions were not fulfilled, because they died naturally, and Basset was in prosperity."\* And a Catholic poet of the period thus alludes to these domestic dangers:

"Although your husbands do procure your care,†  
And parents do renounce you to be theirs;  
Although your wives do bring your life in snare,  
And brethren false affright you full of fears;  
And that your children seek to have your end,  
In hope your goods with thriftless mates to spend."‡

\* Tierney's Dodd, vol. iii. p. 80, note 1. The papers connected with this affair may still be seen in the Central Repository of Archives, Fetter Lane. Other documents, which confirm the story, are in the State-Paper Office.

† *i. e.* imprisonment.

‡ Ms. poem in the State-Paper Office.

When even blood-relations were thus suspected, with what misgivings would the wandering priest be received, coming without introduction, with no credentials but his Breviary and sacred ornaments! No clergyman would think of carrying about his certificates of orders,—they would be sufficient testimony to hang him upon; and, even if he had them; they would not prove that the seeming priest was more than a pursuivant or a spy, who had possessed himself of the papers of some captured ecclesiastic; or than a false brother travelling under the name of a priest he had betrayed, and hired by government to worm out the secrets of the great Catholic families; or than a fallen priest looking out for occasion to make his fortune by betraying some specious conspiracy, or some concealed Catholic, to the persecutors. It was necessary, then, that priests, whose missionary wanderings extended beyond a very limited district, should be conducted by some well-known and trustworthy person, who could answer for his identity and his honesty at the houses to which he was introduced. Hence the conductors had to be men of leisure, therefore of property; men well known and respected, therefore gentlemen.

Once more: as many, perhaps most, of the priests were persons of no private means, and as all were entitled to live by the altar which they served with so much risk, and as their fugitive and vagabond life entailed such heavy expenses upon them,—it was necessary that provision should be made for their support, and also for the support of the foreign colleges destined for the continual supply and propagation of the English priesthood; hence it was necessary that persons of property should take on themselves the responsibility of collecting, treasuring, and distributing, the alms of the faithful. That such an association was formed, we have ample evidence; we have found many documents in the State-Paper Office containing “informations” against different persons as “subseminaries,” or as “conductors” or “companions;” or, as Topcliffe calls them, “comphetors” (comforters) of priests. We know also that the organisation was kept a profound secret; so much so, that even Watson, the venomous “appellant priest,” could only speak in the vaguest manner of it in 1602. He calls the associates “lay brothers,” speaks of the society as completely subject to the Jesuits, and spitefully says that the Fathers

“get from them (the associates) either all or most part of their riches, and turn them to be either some of their officers, or leave them at large to be practisers for them in such matters as they think fit to employ them in abroad; as to be solicitors for them, and to

stir up people's charity to that society ; not ceasing to persuade as many as they can to follow their example. Thus they get from them all they have, and then, employing them as aforesaid, procure the Pope's blessing for them ; as appears in the faculties granted to FF. Parsons, Campion, Heywood, &c., about twenty years since."\*

And again :

"It seemeth that the Jesuits work much by inferior agents, employing those that are fit for nothing else to win people's hearts unto them by gifts, bribes, plausible persuasions, words of admiration, &c."†

Again, in 1624, John Gee, an apostate, says that

"every priest of action and ability" (not only the Jesuits) "has two lay assistants to straggle abroad for the bringing in of game ; they do not argue, but pry in by corners, &c., to shake and try weak waverers, and get them to entertain conference of the priest, or in-veigle youths to fly over sea to the seminaries."‡

As soon as the Jesuits arrived in England, the society, already organised by George Gilbert, began its operations. Father Parsons devotes a chapter of his *Ms. Life of Campion*§ to "the Catholic young gentlemen that flocked to F. Campion at his first arrival in London." He carefully avoids saying that they were members of a secret association, and speaks of them as if they had no common tie except an admiration and love of F. Campion. They were, he says,

"young gentlemen of great zeal and forwardness in religion, who, in respect of their estate and parentage, and for that they were more free and able than others (the most part of them being unmarried and without charge) to advance and assist the setting forward of God's cause and religion,—it seemed God chose them for the same, and inspired them with such extraordinary joy and alacrity to be employed therein, every man offering himself, his person, his ability, his friends, and whatsoever God had lent him besides, to the service of this cause ; which was no small comfort unto us at that time, the times being so hard, and so many priests in London to be furnished, and disposed of, and maintained ; but for all these gentlemen offered to provide, as, indeed, they did very sufficiently."

Parsons does not profess to give a complete list of these young gentlemen, but only of those "who were out of the enemy's reach, or who have confessed for themselves." As a specimen of what their duties were, he gives a short account of what one of them, George Gilbert, did :

\* Watson's *Decachordon of Quodlibets*, 1602, p. 89. † *Ibid.* p. 113.

‡ John Gee, *Foot out of the Snare*, p. 66.

§ A copy is preserved among the Stonyhurst Mss. Collect. S. J. 4to, vol. i.

"He took upon him to furnish and maintain at his own charge both Campion and Parsons, and presently he gave them two suits of apparel apiece convenient to travel the country in; and to each two very good horses for them and their men, and sixty pounds in money; promising from time to time to supply their needs, so that they need take nothing from any one. This promise was fulfilled with greater liberality than it was given, and Gilbert personally accompanied Parsons in his preaching expeditions through divers shires."

Matthias Tanner adds to our knowledge of him :

"He was the founder of the confraternity of young men. He made his house a common hospice for Catholics and priests; and if more came than he had room for, he would vacate his own bed and lie on the floor. As soon as his rents came in, they were distributed in charity. His labours for souls were such, that he made as many conversions as any priest. A friend of his declared that the names of the wavering whom he had settled, of the lapsed whom he had restored, of the tepid whom he had warmed (chiefly youths of his own age and condition), would fill a volume."\*

In the catalogue of associates, Parsons gives the first place to Henry Vaux, son and heir of Lord Vaux, who, as we know by a letter preserved in Campion's *Opuscula*, had been a pupil of the martyr before his conversion, and whose life, after the martyr's death, drew from Parsons expressions of the highest admiration,—“that blessed gentleman and saint, whose life was a rare mirror of religion and holiness: long before his death he had resigned his pretensions to the barony to his younger brother, reserving only a small annuity to himself, and had made a vow of celibacy.” Mr. Brooks, his brother-in-law, lived as nearly in the same manner as his married life would allow. Then comes Mr. Charles Arundel, brother of Sir Matthew Arundel, and a courtier (through whom we are able to connect Lord Oxford, Lord Henry Howard, and Mr. Southwell, with the society, as we shall see by evidence to be adduced below; also his companion in banishment Lord Paget, whose house was Campion's church when he first came to London); Charles Basset, George Gilbert, Edward Throgmorton, William Brooksby, Richard Griffen, Arthur Creswell, Edward Fitton, Stephen Brinkly, Gervase and

\* F. M. Tanner, *Apost. S.J.* p. 180. His authority is a Ms. of Father Parsons. Gilbert is reckoned among the Jesuits because, “just before he died, he was allowed to take the vows of the society.” It was he that paid for painting the pictures of the English martyrs in the church of the English College at Rome. Among the Stonyhurst Mss. there is a long account in Italian, written by this same Gilbert, of the method used by the Jesuits, and the members of the association that assisted them, in converting the English to the Catholic religion.

Henry Perpoint, Nicholas Roscaroc, William Griffen, Francis Throgmorton, Anthony Babington, Chideock Titchbourne, Charles Tilney, Edward Abingdon, Thomas Salisbury, Jerome Bellamy, William Tresham (the brother of Francis, of Gunpowder Plot notoriety), Thomas Fitzherbert, John Stonor, James Hall, Richard Stanihurst, Godfrey Fuljambe, and many others. These young men had, as we have seen, been organised into a society before Parsons and Campion entered England, in June 1580. The point that we have now to investigate is, what traces of such an organisation are to be found in the archives of history.

It is well known that the projected marriage of Elizabeth with Francis Duke of Anjou, which seemed almost an accomplished fact towards the latter end of 1580, was bitterly opposed by the Protestant statesmen of England. Walsingham, Leicester, and Philip Sidney, were most prominent in their dislike to the match. On the other side appeared to be the wily old fox Burghley, and a large number of nobles, among whom the Earl of Oxford held perhaps the highest place. The party feeling about the match ran so high, that the earl had already been involved in personal quarrels with Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney on the subject. As yet we have in print only the Protestant accounts of these passages; they represent Oxford as the very pink of foreign foppishness and affectation, Italianated in his talk, rouged, begemmed, frizzled, perfumed, wearing doublet and hose of most astounding colours, jagged and slashed from head to foot all over; with morals, like his manners, more pagan than Christian;—a charge in which Catholics afterwards joined, as we may see by certain passionate remonstrances against him in the State-Paper Office, which proceed from Lord Henry Howard and Charles Arundel, and were occasioned by the circumstances thus related by the French ambassador in a despatch to Henry III., dated London, January 11, 1581:\*

“I must not omit to tell your majesty, that a few days ago, during the Christmas festivities, the Earl of Oxford, who about four years and a half ago, on his return from Italy, had made profession of the Catholic religion with some gentlemen of his family and his best friends, and, as he says, had sworn and signed a deed with them to do whatever they could for the advancement of the Catholic religion, has now accused them to the Queen of England, and asked pardon for himself, saying that he sees he did wrong; and has tried to shift the charge on those who have been his most loving defenders, and who have taken part with him in his various quarrels.

\* Despatches of Castelnau-Mauvissière, 1578-1581; Bib. Impériale de Paris, Fonds Harlay, no. 223, p. 389.

He says that they conspired against the state by making profession of the Catholic religion; and he tries to do them all the harm he can, to their infinite disgust. Though the queen was wonderfully affectionate and favourable to most of those whom Oxford has accused, such as Lord Henry Howard, brother to the late Duke of Norfolk, and Mr. Charles Arundel, great partisans of your majesty and the marriage, and on this account pleasing to her, she has yet, to her great regret, as she told me herself, been forced to put them under arrest: Lord H. Howard in the hands of the lord chancellor; Charles Arundel in the hands of Sir Christopher Hatton, captain of the guard; and Mr. Southwell in the hands of Sir F. Walsingham. They were previously examined on the points of state objected to them by Lord Oxford.\* They cleared themselves very well; and for the matter of the Catholic religion, they are, I suppose, conspirators, because they have ever loved it, and never followed any other in their hearts; in which they resemble the greatest part of the nobility of this kingdom, as the queen knew well; and though Lord H. Howard, Arundel, and Southwell were Catholics in heart, they were yet in high favour with the queen, because they and their friends were always partisans of the marriage and of the French alliance. The Earl of Oxford has found himself all alone, sole witness and accuser; and has lost credit and honour, abandoned by all his friends and all the ladies, because he wanted to compromise other friends of your brother, and has only found regrets and shame. No one now cares for him; nevertheless the queen has till now been trying to make what she can of it, and told me a few days ago that she saw well that they were fools, and had allowed themselves to partake in foreign practices, in which she was sorry to see any of the French party or favourers of the marriage mixed up; but still, if she discovered any harm about them, she would shut her eyes to it as much as possible, because they were friends of the match; but she was very much annoyed at such accidents at such a time.

\* Oxford's Paper of Charges is preserved in the State-Paper Office, Dom. Eliz. vol. cli. no. 39. He asks, "What *combination* (for that is their term) was made at certain suppers, one in Fish Street (as I take it), and another at my lord of Northumberland's,—for they have often spoken hereof, and glanced in their speeches;" but there is no mention of taking an oath, or signing a deed. Then he accuses Howard of saying that if the French match was broken off, within six months the queen would be the most discontented person living; and Arundel of saying that the Duke of Anjou was a villain, and that he should prefer a Spanish alliance. Arundel is also accused of stealing over to Ireland, and being reconciled to the Church five years previously, and of having met certain Jesuits at Sir John Arundel's in Cornwall. Charles Arundel's answers are very voluminous, admitting the truth of his reconciliation, but utterly denying all knowledge of the combination, and retorting the blackest accusations against Oxford. H. Howard was also examined about a book on the troubles of the late duke his brother, and about the Bull of Pius V. There is also a letter of his to Walsingham, owning that he heard Mass and communicated, and promising to abstain from doing so in future. The whole affair is most obscure till lighted up by Castelnau's despatch. Oxford's information about the association was doubtless bottled up for future use, and very sparingly used for the moment. Lord Paget, however, was commanded to go and hear a sermon at St. Paul's, as a penance for hearing Mass.

The Earl of Oxford has several times requested the queen on his knees, when he found that there was no witness forthcoming but himself, to ask me to tell her whether about four years ago I did not know a Jesuit, who had said Mass for them, and reconciled them to the Roman Church, and whom I had caused to be safely conveyed to France at the request of the Earl of Oxford himself. Whereupon the queen besought me earnestly to tell her how it was; not for the purpose of hurting the accused, but because she wished to know the truth. She told me I well knew her feeling towards the Catholics who did not mix up their consciences with matters of state, and entreated me again and again to tell her. I entirely repudiated all knowledge of the matter, and declared that I never heard speak of it, nor knew any thing of it. The Earl of Oxford on this came again, and threw himself on his knees before her, begging her in my presence to beseech me to tell the truth; and prayed me to do him the favour to remember a matter of such importance to him, how he had sent to ask me to aid the Jesuit to escape to France and Italy, and how he had thanked me when he was in a place of safety. I told him and the queen distinctly that I knew nothing, that I had neither remembrance or knowledge of any affair of the kind; so that the earl found himself in considerable difficulty in his mistress's presence. Since then he has again come to see me, and to ask me to be kind enough to remember what I knew of it. I cut him short by telling him that I had no recollection of the matter, and begging him never to mention the subject again to me. He was much astonished, and told me that if I liked I might have saved him from a very painful position. But he had no consideration for the position in which he wanted to place his old friends by this most unfriendly proceeding, if it is true, as I think it is, that they made their abjuration of Protestantism together; moreover I have always known them to be in favour of your majesty and of your brother, and our best allies in the kingdom. There is no appearance of their incurring any punishment or annoyance from these accusations, of which the Earl of Oxford bears all the shame; and no one will ever trust him again.\* Perhaps he was jealous of their being so favoured and consulted about the marriage; he was also much in debt on all sides, and has sold many of his goods, and is selling more every day. He is a man of little consideration in his likes and dislikes and his undertakings, and fancied he should get favour by a means which has only brought him great dishonour; those whom he has accused have more friends than he, and have wit enough to manage to defend themselves against his accusations, if he can bring no testimony but his own."

\* It appears, by a document in the State-Paper Office, that in 1583 the Catholics again put some confidence in the Earl of Oxford. "Knot," says an informer, "assuredly told me they count of my lord of Cumberland, my lord of Worcester, my lord of Oxford, Northumberland, and Lord Lumley, with others." Evidently they did not know the extent of Oxford's treachery, or thought that he had been tricked or frightened into it. This agrees with our supposition that his information about the association was not made present use of, but bottled up for future operations.

A despatch of the same date to Catherine de' Medicis, the queen-mother, informs us that more than four were accused, and that the Earl of Oxford was examined by the queen in council. It will be noticed, that the earl is said to have taken the oath and subscribed the deed about four years and a half before January 1581; that is, about July 1576. Now it is remarkable, that about that time just such a movement was being organised in France, which resulted in a general association of French Catholics to defend their religion and the reigning house of Valois. This movement, which was evidently the precursor of the league, has, we have been told, escaped the notice of the historians of France; and as it is both curious in itself, and interesting to us as probably connected with the Earl of Oxford's association, we will make copious extracts from the documents relating to it, which we discovered among the Mss. of the Imperial Library in Paris.\*

The first paper relating to it is a letter from Henry III. to M. de Montmorency, dated Blois, December 1576. It is endorsed "*Pour le fait de l'association du roy,*" and runs as follows:

"My brother-in-law, Catholic, and zealous for the good of the realm as you have ever shown yourself, I am the more willing to send you in writing what I desire to be done for the establishment of the repose which I wish my subjects to enjoy; begging you to embrace heartily the preparation and conduct of the affair, with that dexterity and diligence which you know well how to employ according to the entire trust which I have in your fidelity and sincere devotion to my service, to the preservation of this crown, and the public tranquillity of my subjects."

Then after a few pages follows a "form of association made among the princes, lords, gentlemen and others, ecclesiastics, nobles, and commonalty, subjects and inhabitants of our good city of Paris and its suburbs:"

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, and of the Communion of the precious Body of Jesus Christ, we, the undersigned, have promised and sworn on the holy Gospels, and on our lives, honours, and goods, to keep inviolably the following resolutions, under pain of being declared for ever perjured and infamous, and of being held as persons unworthy of any nobility or honour."

Thus we see an association with oaths and signatures was being concocted in France when Lord Oxford was there; let us see what were the objects at which it aimed. The document is too long to allow us to give more than an abstract.

\* Coll. Dupuy. vol. lxxxvii. fol. 92, 96, 99, &c.

"Whereas all persons are aware of the conspiracies against Church and State hatched by Frenchmen and foreigners, and the extremity to which the civil wars have reduced our kings, so that they have no longer wherewith to maintain our religion or their own dignity, nor to protect us as formerly; we have therefore considered it necessary, first of all, to render the honour we owe to God by maintaining our Catholic religion with at least as much ardour as its enemies show in attacking it. We therefore swear and promise to use all our might to restore the exercise of the Catholic religion, in which we mean to live and die. Likewise we promise and swear true obedience and service to the king at present reigning, and to all his legitimate successors of the house of Valois. And besides our bounden service, we promise to employ our goods and our lives for the preservation of his state and authority, and to enforce the resolutions that shall be made at the ensuing states-general. For this cause we the undersigned promise to hold ourselves in readiness, well armed, mounted, and attended according to our qualities, to execute what shall be ordered us for the preservation of our religion, and the service of the king. And we offer for Paris a contingent of 500 cavalry and 2500 infantry, besides those otherwise bound to serve. And because such levies cannot be set on foot without expense, and because in such extremities it is just to use all means which each man possesses, there shall be levied and taken on the country such sums as shall be considered necessary by the lieutenant of the king, who shall be petitioned to authorise the same, seeing they are made for so holy a purpose. . . .

All the gentlemen and other Catholics of the Association shall be mutually defended in all security and repose, and delivered from all oppression of others; and all differences and quarrels among them shall be settled by the king's lieutenant and his assessors. And if any Catholic of the province, after being required to enter into the Association, shall make difficulties or delays, seeing that its object is only the honour of God, the service of the king, and the good and repose of the country, he shall be esteemed through the land as an enemy of God and deserter of his religion, a rebel to his king, and a traitor to his country; he shall be abandoned and deserted by all good men, and exposed to all injuries and oppressions that may come upon him; but shall never be received into amity and alliance with the associates and confederates who have promised and sworn to one another.

And since it is not our intention to trouble those of the new opinions who are content not to undertake any thing against the honour of God, the service of the king, the good and repose of his subjects, we promise and swear to prevent their being troubled for their consciences, or molested in their persons, goods, honours, or families, provided they noways resist the *ordonnances* that the king shall make after the conclusion of the states-general.

We have promised and sworn to keep all the aforesaid articles, and to observe them point by point without fail, and without regard

to friends, relations, or connections, of what quality or religion soever, who shall contravene the orders of the king, and the repose of the realm. Likewise to keep secret this present Association, without in any way communicating it to any person except he be a member."

These articles were read and approved by the king, signed by him at Blois, January 12, 1577, and countersigned by his secretary Pinart. In the same volume, a few pages further on, is a similar association, headed by the clergy of Champagne and Troyes, for similar purposes, and similarly approved. Henry III. appears to have wished to have ranged all France under the banners of the same crusade, and thereby to inaugurate the voluntary principle of secret associations as the basis of his power; but our business is not with France, but with the English Catholics.

In England it was openly declared that the queen could not retreat from the marriage with the Duke of Anjou without not only dishonour, but ruin; but whence was this ruin expected? It was chiefly from the English Catholics, who were supposed to be committed to the views of France. As Mauvissière writes to Queen Catherine, March 10, 1581:—"There are several in the council whose dearest wish is to see England and France at loggerheads, thinking that the duke (as is true) has so great a party among the English Catholics, that there is nothing they would not do for him. They have shown, and still show, such friendship for him, that it may well breed jealousy in the queen, and despair in the Puritans." Mauvissière owns the difficulty he is in, the Spanish party doing all it can to frustrate the designs of France, and even acting with the Puritans to this end. He proposes to take the partisans of France into French pay, so as to make them a counterpoise to the Spanish party; a design that was not successfully carried out till 1602. It is certain that in 1580 the Puritan party in England was much agitated; their sympathies with the French Calvinists were redoubled, and their antipathy to the queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou consequently became formidable. But, in spite of this, the tactics of their opposition underwent a sudden and complete change. Instead of vehement opposition, the French ambassador found nothing but agreement with his views: every body was charming; Leicester retracted all his offensive speeches; even the precise and peppery Walsingham thawed; the queen appeared as deeply in love as any school-girl; Mauvissière was positive of success; he treated the marriage as a fact accomplished. But he was never far-

ther from it than at this time. The favourable appearances were the result of a general predetermined hypocrisy. There had been a great council of the Puritans in 1580. What were their secret resolutions we have no means of knowing, but we suspect that the subject of secret associations was discussed. The Earl of Oxford was tampered with; perhaps he was informed against, and he confessed that he belonged to the association; at any rate, his confession, and the facts that were got out of him, seem to have been the reason, not only for the proclamation of January 10, 1581, which first charged the seminary priests and Jesuits with designs for drawing the people "from their loyalty and duty of obedience," and for provoking them "to attempt somewhat to the disturbance of the present quiet,"\* but also for establishing that secret society in England "for the preservation of the queen," the origin of which is generally placed in October 1584, and is supposed to have been aimed exclusively at the Queen of Scots and her party.

Most movements of this kind are slow in developing; they begin perhaps with two or three abortive attempts, and only afterwards spring into a vigorous life. The great secret organisation of 1584 certainly had one anticipation and foreshadowing as early as 1569, and seems to have had a further growth in 1578, and another in 1580. In the State-Paper Office there is a treatise dated June 7, 1569, and headed, "A necessary Consideration of the perilous State of this Time, comprised in two propositions, with their explanations, with some provisions for the same;" the chief provision being a general association in England for the protection of the queen and defence of Protestantism. The whole is "reviewed and corrected throughout" by the hand of Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, who, as Sir Joseph Williamson says in a note, was the first framer of it. The document recites the perils of England by Catholic invasion from without and Catholic insurrection from within, to which no country is more subject, because in none is the anti-Catholic persecution so coldly systematic. "No monarchy is so established by laws in good policy to remain in freedom from the tyranny of Rome, and in constancy and conformity of true doctrine, as England is. Wherein no person, of whatsoever state, is by law permitted to profess openly the contrary without punishment, provided for the same by good order of laws; and the like (kingdom) for policy is not to be found in Christendom." In other countries the persecutions were sudden, arbitrary, passionate, unsystematic, and therefore never led to so bitter feelings

\* Strype's Annals, iii. 40.

as in England, where the religious minority was ground down by a legislation at once large, and descending to the minutest details, not only cutting off the head, but extirpating the roots of religion. But this legislation could not be expected to maintain itself—it must be upheld by a foreign and domestic policy: the foreign policy being to assist all Protestants in rebellion against their Catholic princes; and the domestic, to encourage a general secret association, in two degrees, of the nobility and gentry, and of the middle classes, to aid the council with their bodies and their goods. All who refused to join were to be certified to the council as *recusants*. All who refused to contribute were likewise to be certified, as were also those who were too much suspected in religion to be asked to join such a society.

The second stage of the association in 1578 is more uncertain. The only evidence we have found of it is among the correspondence of Mauvissière for that year, in which he speaks of the Puritans as associating, and binding themselves by oath, to extirpate the Catholic religion. The evidence for the development of 1580 we found among the archives of the *Hôtel du Ministère des Affaires étrangères* at Paris, where there is a volume of original documents connected with the history of England, ranging from 1558 to 1598. Among these is a paper in the French language, bearing date “December 1580,” and endorsed, “Instrument or Deed of Association, into which the true Protestants of England entered in the reign of Elizabeth, when the Papists made diabolical conspiracies against her life, and against the Protestant religion.” Its tenor is to the following effect:

“As God has established princes to govern their subjects, and to keep them in the true religion according to God’s word; and, on the other hand, whereas all subjects are bound to love and obey their princes, and as far as possible hinder and suppress all persons who shall pretend to do any thing injurious to the honour, life, or state of the prince: we, whose names are subscribed, being natural subjects of this realm, and servants of our legitimate and gracious sovereign Elizabeth, who has reigned for many years with great prosperity, to the unspeakable comfort of her subjects; and finding by several confessions and depositions, and advices from foreign countries, by trustworthy persons well known to her majesty’s council, that to advance and realise some pretended right to the crown, the life and person of the queen had been placed in great danger, unless God had protected her by discovering these designs; and knowing the advantages we enjoy by her life,—we declare that we are bound to employ our lives and our goods for her defence and security, and to pursue, stifle, and extinguish, all who may have such pretensions, and all her other enemies, of whatever condition or degree. We therefore declare by

these presents our engagement for the security of the queen ; and we willingly engage one with another in the bond of a firm and inviolable society, and we swear and protest that with all our might, with our bodies, our lives, our goods, we and our children and servants, each one of us will humbly obey our Queen Elizabeth, and will defend her against all states, dignities, and powers ; and that during our lives we will one and all put forth all our strength to pursue and attack, by arms or any other means of vengeance, all persons, of whatsoever condition, with their protectors, who shall undertake or counsel any thing that may tend to the hurt of the queen, never ceasing from the pursuit till they are totally exterminated, they and their counsellors, accomplices, and protectors. And, moreover, we swear and protest, before the eternal and almighty God, to pursue such person or persons to death, each and every one of us, and to exact the last vengeance of him by any means that any of us can invent or cause to be invented, for their total ruin and extermination.

This we have sworn with the express clause that none of us during his life, through respect of persons or causes, or by reason of fear or of recompense, will ever separate from this Association, or the execution of its contents, under pain of being pursued by the rest of us, and exterminated as a perjured person, enemy of God and the queen and the country ; to which pains we all submit ourselves, without any exemption whatever.”\*

Thus we have a strange state of society revealed to us : it was a struggle of “armed doctrines,” propagating themselves through clubs and secret societies ; every undertaking was conducted by plots. The government plotted against the subjects by spies, bribes, and wretches who were employed to draw men on to compromise themselves, and then to betray them. The subjects were continually plotting against the government, for they had no other weapons to use. Thus, with continual real dangers to both governors and governed, the empire of suspicion waxed greater daily, and terror grew out of all proportion with the peril. In the midst of these complications the Jesuits came into England : they could not possibly act in any other way than that which was then in vogue ; the age was running in a certain groove, and those who wished to move at all, were obliged to partake of the movement of the mass. It was an age of secret parleys, whisperings, vague rumours, suspicions, fears that gradually bloomed into frantic terror, and brought forth the usual fruit of remorseless cruelty. If some associations of strong-minded men could keep themselves calm and free from fear in the midst of all the confusion, they could not thereby keep them-

\* This is in all essentials identical with the instrument of the Association of October 1584.

selves from suspicion, which only grew more insane at the sight of the calmness of the parties it suspected. It was in vain, then, that the utmost prudence was enjoined on the missionaries, and that they were forbidden to chatter on any subject, or to enter into conversation about other matters than religion. In vain was it strictly commanded them, "They must not mix themselves up with affairs of state, nor write to us (at Rome) news about the state; nor in England must they either speak, or allow others to speak in their presence, against the queen, except perhaps in the company of men whose fidelity has been long and stedfastly proved; and even then not without strong reasons."\* Not that the missionaries or their associates transgressed this command, but that it was impossible to prevent suspicion and rumour from affirming that they had transgressed it, and from inventing all the circumstances of time, place, and persons, that were necessary to give an air of likelihood to the malignant invention. It was on such a ground as this that the eleven priests were hanged for the pretended plot at Rheims and Rome in 1581 and 1582, and that so many of their lay associates were thrown into prison for years, and mulcted in enormous sums, to gratify the rapacity of their persecutors. The queen, and those of her ministers who had any humanity left, would sometimes pity the victims, and declare that they were a good sort of people, but blindly fanatical, easily duped, and used as cats-paws by fugitive and foreign conspirators, who did not care what amount of misery they inflicted on the world, or on their own instruments, provided they could compass their own ends. Nevertheless the victims were punished. The natural result followed. In a large religious body, it is impossible that all its members should be always strung to the full pitch of ascetic self-sacrificing devotion. There are times of weariness and disgust, when the strongest are in danger of falling; there are always men who, though determined to do their duty, are also determined to allow themselves every advantage that casuistry offers them, and who will consult the laxest adviser they can find—the *Tamburini of the day*—to know how far they may go, if not safely, at least lawfully. Then the instincts of self-preservation and self-defence are strong; stronger still is the feeling of resentment against falsehood and injustice, and the repugnance against weakly yielding in a cause a man believes to be the right one. The man falsely accused will first indignantly deny the charge, and next will begin to ask himself what harm it would be if the charge were true. They who are punished as conspirators, who live in an

\* Instructions, ut supra, art. 18.

atmosphere of conspiracy, and who feel the plots of their persecutors thickening round them, are driven to plot themselves. It is a painful necessity, but they feel it to be a necessity, after all; and it is one into which they enter with the more envenomed bitterness, as it is forced upon them perhaps against their will, against their natural inclination, against the bias of their education, and against all their notions of honour and fair dealing. So it was in 1580 and the following years. The indignation grew, and soon ripened into real plots. The Throgmorton attempt in 1584, the Babington conspiracy of 1586, and the Gunpowder Plot, were the natural fruits of the system, the moulds into which noble natures were forced to pour their strength, in the presence of the great dumb oppression which spread its meshes of suspicion over every man, maintained the ear of an informer at every keyhole, and paid him with the confiscated property of the man he betrayed.

It is remarkable, that from Campion's secret society, or those connected with it, sprung all the most remarkable of the so-called conspirators under Elizabeth and James I.,—such as Francis Throgmorton, the brilliant young heir of Sir John Throgmorton, who was put to death for conspiring to deliver the Queen of Scots from her captivity in 1584; such as Babington and five of his associates, who were executed with the greatest barbarity for a similar cause in 1586. Of these, Lingard has shown how they were gradually drawn on by Walsingham through the instrumentality of a traitor named Poley till they had sufficiently committed themselves, when they were arrested and cut off, except a few apostates. All the other members of the Association, who were probably known by Lord Oxford's means, suffered either banishment or long imprisonment. The chief spite of the persecutors was monotonously directed against them and their families. The terrors of the Protestant politico-religious association inspired its members with quite a passion for exterminating the associates of the Catholic society, who were mercilessly hunted till they stood at bay, and then were killed. The government hounded on the pack, and set the example of illegal conspiracy and extra-judicial vengeance.

The associations which we have described were quite different both in members and object from the *congregation* or fraternity of the clergy, proposed in 1597 to unite the members, and regulate the concerns, of the general body, on the principle of a voluntary association. Its scope was to avoid for the future the quarrels which had divided the imprisoned priests in Wisbeach Castle, to such an extent that they had refused to eat one with another. It was projected by Mush

and Colleton, and was to have had two independent branches, one in London, the other in Lancashire, each branch with its own officers, but both governed by the same laws, and under the management of a common "father," or president, with his two assistants and secretary, annually elected to administer the funds, assign relief to the poor members, preside at the meetings, and determine disputes. The members were to procure permanent missions for each other, to be the guardians of one another's fame, the correctors of each others' failings, and were to seek by prayer and recollection to improve themselves in the virtues of their state.\* Yet even this association, however innocent, and however calculated to raise the character, and restore the influence, of the clergy, could not escape the common malady of the times—suspicion. If there was nothing positive to be complained of, the omissions did not fail to excite the susceptibilities of persons who construed oblivion into insult, and independence into opposition.

Our sketch does not aspire to be a history of this important matter, but only to indicate the materials that we think the Catholic historian should make use of, and the line he should take. Our histories have hitherto been rather guarded (or unguarded) apologies for one side or another, than simple and straightforward statements of all the facts. Such a method of writing is of little use: it teaches no lessons, for it owns no mistakes; it reveals no remedies, for it probes no wounds; and conceals instead of discovering the symptoms of disease. It is unjustifiable even when matters run smoothly, and the progress of institutions is all that could be wished; but in a country like England it is simply intolerable; for it stereotypes error, renders improvement impossible, and takes away all desire of a cure, by keeping men ignorant of their maladies, and contented to be maimed in mind.

---

## Communicated Articles.

### THE ABBÉ DE LAMENNAIS.†

[The Baron d'Eckstein, to whose great kindness we are indebted not only for the following paper, but for those upon M. Guizot in the *Rambler* for last October and November, was a friend of Lamennais, and played a conspicuous part in the events which he

\* Tierney, Annotation to Dodd's History, vol. iii. p. 45.

† *Œuvres posthumes de Lamennais, publiées selon le vœu de l'Auteur* par E. D. Forgues. Correspondance. 2 vols. Paris, Paulin et Le Chevalier éditeurs. 1858.

therein describes. A Dane by family, and a Lutheran in religion, he was soon disgusted by the empty rationalism of his fellow-Protestants, and submitted himself to the Church at Rome at the memorable era of 1807. In the *Memoirs of Guizot* he is spoken of as Commissary-General of the King of the Netherlands in 1814. After the Restoration in 1815 he settled in Paris, and became one of the foremost political writers of that period, editing first the *Drapeau Blanc*, and then *Le Catholique*. In the latter work, which for the space of three years, 1826-1829, was written almost entirely by himself, though in a language not his own, he advocated the alliance of science and religion, with a range of knowledge and learning to which De Maistre, great as was his philosophical talent, had no pretensions. As a political writer, the Baron d'Eckstein is better known in Germany than in France, as having been for above thirty years the correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. We consider ourselves highly honoured and flattered that he should select the *Rambler* as the publication best suited to convey to English readers views on contemporary events and persons, which come with such authority from a man of his mature thought and experience.]

It is satisfactory to know that Lamennais had a tender heart, and, strange to say, this tenderness was romantic. Emphatically a man of feeling, but with a deep penetration of men and of the human heart, he was obliged to make for himself an ideal in human form to be the object of his love—a proof of his solitary disposition, and of his isolated education, away from the life of cities. If he had been born at Paris instead of at St. Malo, Paris would not have fretted him nor worried him; his was a mind to fret others, without allowing himself to be fretted in return, but one of those whose nature it is to bite, and who end by eating away their own best qualities. Such minds reverse their ideal, and transfer it to themselves, instead of letting it remain outside of them, incarnate in another person.

I do not forget the immense difference between a Lamennais and a Rousseau; but I know, too, that, however unlike, they had their points of similarity. Both entirely lacked the true knowledge of mankind, both were unable to read another's soul, both were infinitely wanting in tact. In both passion and rhetoric were the interpreters of every thought and action. The result was a great asperity in all the relations of life, in spite of the incessant need of a complete and happy intimacy, and of a home in another's heart. But Rousseau, a child of the eighteenth century, was depraved in morals and debauched in nature, though at bottom no cynic. While Lamennais, a Breton from the bosom of a religious family, without intercourse with the minds of the eighteenth century, was chaste in thought and pure in morals.

The libertine line made him shudder ; and when he found it, as in Béranger, with whom he came into contact in the decline of his life, he put his own interpretation upon it, and felt almost inclined to think it a disguise, or stroke of policy.

M. Forgues, the editor of Lamennais' posthumous works, has prefixed a short preface to the Correspondence, wherein he exposes, with great penetration and skill, the causes which made Lamennais feel a prodigious friendship for a young Englishman named Moorman, whom he had converted to Catholicity during a brief stay in Guernsey in 1815. The result was a real romance ; a hearty passion for a young man without will or resistance of his own, and with no strength of mind—a tender and puerile being for whom Lamennais had conceived a great affection, by painting him in beautiful colours to his fancy, which, however, did not prevent his reducing his Grandison to the proportions and stature of the shepherd of a pastoral.

The striking thing here is the entire want of judgment which is observable in all Lamennais' relations of life. He always required a *marriage of souls*, and those who could only see in him the selfishness of pride never understood him. The object of his tender feelings could never be other than a delicate and polished nature ; he must be touched, as it were, by a woman's heart. But it was Lamennais who was at the expense of all the imagination in these unions of two souls. He did not observe, but he imagined a man, whom he created after his own fancy, and devoted to him moments of a true passionate attachment, though at bottom it was always the *empire* over another's heart that he sought. He looked not for a hero, but for a tender sympathetic temperament. Moorman, whom M. Forgues sketches so well, was, after all, a very poor creature. Lamennais succeeded better in some other attachments, where his passion changed into ambition without his knowing it—into the ambition of subduing another man's soul, will, heart, and mind, to himself. Here Lamennais altogether differs from Rousseau. Rousseau could be a woman's tyrant, could drive her away, and accuse her of ingratitude ; but a true man's friendship never was his. He had all that was wanted to torment, nothing that was wanted to subdue a soul. In Lamennais there was a fund of energy and character ; Rousseau had but the caprice of a woman, romance united to an imagination whose flight was always close to the ground.

In contrast with Lamennais, I may mention a priest who had a heart of gold, united with a true knowledge of man,\*

\* Vide note 1.

the Abbé Carron, the only priest to whom Lamennais always did justice, and whose death was an irretrievable misfortune for him. He was one of those rare men who never forget any body they once come across. This man had the *genius of goodness*. He had those qualities in which Lamennais was evidently most deficient. A man may have passion united to tenderness, and romance to passion; he may love, he may have strength as well as elevation of soul, without being very good in the sense that I mean that Carron was good. Carron's perfect goodness was, it is true, a gift of nature, or a grace of God: it was so real because it had no triviality, because it was an active goodness, accompanied by a great precision of thought. Such a goodness does not require talent, but most certainly it requires a great knowledge of human nature. Lamennais as priest could see nothing but sin in man, could only make him utterly diabolical—he construed the whole man into vice. When he had renounced his priesthood, he manufactured an artificial man, to whom he gave the name of *people*, and whom he made a native hero of virtue. Carron, the essentially good man, knew the sinner and the penitent, and rejected no human being, yet without deluding himself in the least about him; therefore he peopled the world neither with angels nor with devils, for he had the genius of goodness in just proportion, in the exact measure of his knowledge of mankind. His was the most serious friendship which Lamennais ever met with; he was amiable by the leanings of his nature, but he could read Lamennais' soul as well as he could those of the distinguished circle whom he had attached to himself.

Lamennais was not the apostle (Carron was this), but the oracle of a kind of feminine congregation of ladies, almost exclusively of Breton origin, under Carron's direction. Charged with the education of Breton girls, they had been long tried by the religious persecutions of the Reign of Terror, and by their devotion to the Bourbon cause, both during the emigration, when they lived in England, and after their return to France under the Empire, when they fed the fire of their royalism with the fuel of their faith. They were true servants of God, without pretence and without pride; some were lively and enthusiastic, others observing and patient; but all had the tone of the best society, to which their religious sentiment gave a higher degree of elevation. These interesting persons were long the joy of Lamennais' heart. They basked in the beams of his rising genius, and almost saw in him a modern Bossuet; but they also anticipated the possible vagaries of his mind and his imagination, as their

correspondence proves. Lamennais found here an opportunity of diffusing a quiet and home-like happiness, such as his soul loved ; but even here he could not divest himself of his natural love of dominion ; always and every where he had an instinctive impulse to turn his friends into disciples. This desire of dominion, which leavened all his friendships, was, it must be owned, without selfishness or calculation, for it was in his nature.

Lamennais, then, was in some sense *charming*, for he could charm and inspire choice souls with a passionate attachment. But I should not call his a charming mind. No judgment could be farther from the truth. I do not deny the true charm of Lamennais ; it may be explained by comparison and contrast with that of Rousseau, who, though he had nothing of the world, nothing of the drawing-room in his composition, imported a grace that was all his own into a society which acknowledged no charm but that of intellect, of the polite, agreeable, drawing-room brilliancy of Voltaire. In Rousseau's presence you breathed the atmosphere of his own Alps ; there were some springs of pure and abundant flow ; on occasion he could exhale an air that calmed the mind without freezing the heart. The description applies to a small portion only of his soul, but for that portion it is true ; it exercised a great influence over his imagination ; his villany spoiled the rest of his nature. It was not so with Lamennais ; he had nothing of the villain in him ; he had plenty of badness, but no malignity, and it is unfair to accuse him of it. This absence of baseness, this ignorance of evil, whose fetid exhalations poison one in Rousseau, however he may mingle them with the scent of violets, constitutes one portion of the charm of Lamennais. The rest consists in the real, I may call it the Breton simplicity of his soul. He had nothing of the literary man about him, of the French man of letters, of whom Rousseau is the invalid, Voltaire the robust type ; a kind of man that bestows the most perfect culture on his self-love ; that husbands its successes ; that is constantly acting a part alone as well as in company. Lamennais was simple, not like a child, as people ridiculously assert, but because of his truthfulness of nature, which had no need to disguise itself in its own presence, nor to put on a mask in that of others. This simplicity constituted the charm of Lamennais, and all who knew him intimately could appreciate it. He felt out of place in the world, and was only at home in a small party of intimate friends ; this is the strongest proof that he was never a "literary man." He had no idea of espousing the world, with its success, its fashion, and its noise. Nothing of this sort had any charm for

him. What he wanted was a friendship which could become a fanaticism ; he hungered and thirsted for friends, because he hungered and thirsted for disciples—not, I repeat, through pride, or the ambition of leading a party, but through his overbearing Breton character. In the intimacy of an auditory of Bernardine nuns, who listened to his conversation in Paris, or in the midst of a group of disciples, whose studies were under the direction of his brother, and among whom he lived at Chênaie, his heart expanded, and exhaled a fine and delicate odour, a penetrating perfume, which I should call his great charm, his peculiar grace, but it was not real expansiveness. His soul was not expansive, but communicative ; he lent himself, he did not give himself. He was communicative, not because he wanted to preach—he had no pulpitrty in him, no unction—but because it was his nature to teach, even with enthusiasm. I say to teach, not to profess ; he was no professor, not in the least a *doctrinaire*, no schoolman. In this respect he was the most absolute contrast to Royer-Colard.\* But it was his nature to attract, to draw, to lead.

Doubtless he would have made an utter failure before an assembly of formed men, who would have asked for the two things in which he was most deficient—knowledge and experience. But he had what I have never seen in any other Frenchman,—what struck Schelling when he saw him at Munich, as I was told by M. de Montalembert, who was present,—he was animated with a unique enthusiasm, an enthusiasm for dialectics ; a torrent of argument carried to its extremest limits. It was the sincerity of this enthusiasm, which never vacillated in carrying out its arguments, that constituted the force which furrowed the minds of his hearers as with flashes of lightning, which held under its yoke all the devout women, all the young men so sincere and simple in their new apostolate, and all the neophytes, French and others, whom he was attracting to the faith. They became all ears when they listened to the flow, the vivacity, the close and clear reasoning, and the power of his discourses.

When Lamennais did not spoil his marvellous talent by declamation, when the bad man—mind I do not say the villain—did not show itself, he was really a most able dialectician. Not a link was wanting in the chain-armour of his reasoning ; ornament alone was lacking ; there was neither gilding nor embossing nor wealth, but there was precision and strength. It was a chord at once harsh and sonorous, and yet always in tune, that formed the staple of his discussion, and might even give him the appearance of a Dantesque genius. Not that

\* Vide note 2.

he ever understood Dante either theologically or historically; but the only true poetic chord in his nature, a chord at once ethereal and metallic, a sonorous chord whose expiring vibrations gave out a delicate tone—this chord of his mind gave him a distant but real likeness to the great Florentine, like whom he also had “a soul like a star that dwells apart,” and that loves solitude.

But it is time to escape from Lamennais’ real circle, the sphere of his intimacy and his affection, the esoteric society of good priests, devout women, and serious and enthusiastic young men, who formed a world of which Carron at Paris was the soul, and Lamennais the inspiring spirit at Chênaie. Now we come to consider quite a different Lamennais, in whom some dark shadows prognosticate an unhappy end. In this character Lamennais had two sides, each of which we must investigate separately to come to a solid estimate of the man. One of these sides was turned to the *noblesse* and some of the *salons* of the Faubourg St. Germain, and appeared there as a shade, I might almost say a phantom, half curious, half frightful. The other side faced the old Gallican clergy, a remnant of the old *régime*, whom he wished to crush by his influence, when he could not succeed in making them respond to his Ultramontane cry.

Lamennais did not enter the Faubourg St. Germain through the *salons*, or the court, or literature, or fashion; he approached it on the political side, by his connection with Chateaubriand and Bonald. None of these three men took absolutely the same line; their partnership was only in their antipathies and their dislikes. Chateaubriand,\* with the exaggerated activity of a self-love that had degenerated into spitefulness, oscillating between a poetical melancholy, and the hypochondria of a mind easily wounded; sulky when he could not eclipse the greatness of others by his own superiority,—Chateaubriand was an aristocrat by nature as well as by birth; feudal in his ideas, though he stooped to coquet with the multitude. Moreover, he was a democrat; for he desired to have a press entirely free, and entirely devoted to himself—an organ which he needed, because he was no orator, and could only speak with pen in his hand, for his strokes of oratory were merely laborious efforts of style. Bonald† was a different man, with little ambition for himself, much for his family. A formal mind, which laboured at the details of its thought with clearness and precision, and, on occasion, with remarkable vigour, but all whose political combinations were artificial. He wanted to systematise the old French monarchy, borrowing from

\* Vide note 3.

† Vide note 4.

Montesquieu what he says about the Germans and the feudal system, and from Bossuet a theocratic element, which would result in a Louis XIV. In rejecting Condillac's philosophy, he retained the *tabula rasa*, though it was no longer nature but God who drew the lines upon it. Some features of an old provincial magistrate, and some feelings of a retired country gentleman, complete his mental portrait. He had no knowledge, literary or philosophic, of the Greeks, or the middle ages, to relieve the dryness of a dogmatism at once severe and superficial. The whole effect of his doctrine had a certain sophistic grandeur; philosophy and politics were all artificially arranged; there was a great expense of strength, of thought, and of will. His energy of character, and the keen temper of a reason of no ordinary power, were the supports of a factitious edifice, which could not stand the shock of discussion.

When the advent of Lamennais completed this triumvirate, he had not any of the antecedents of his colleagues. True, he was a Breton, with legitimist and Vendean principles, but his idea of monarchy had nothing in common with that of Chateaubriand and Bonald. It was only the pedestal of his theocracy. He founded it on a philosophy of his own, which I shall soon have to discuss. This whole policy, which opened the world to Lamennais through the Faubourg St. Germain, was in complete contradiction with the men in the midst of whom he was going to set up its standard; but neither he nor those who hailed the prospect of his fame took any notice of this hidden tendency.

In gaining the *entrée* of the Faubourg St. Germain, Lamennais at the same time came into contact with a portion of the Catholic aristocracy of Europe, which brought him into relations with Italy and Germany. For this he was indebted to the family of Senft, which he attached to himself in the beginning of his political and religious career. This family had no influence on his life, but it occupied a high place in, and has furnished the chief materials for, his correspondence. The Count de Senft-Pilsach was ambassador of Saxony during the Empire, and was in high favour at Paris; not so much for his diplomatic talent, for which Napoleon cared little, but because it was the Emperor's interest to court the King of Saxony, in order to weaken Prussia, and to hold Saxony in reserve against her, just as it was his interest to court the King of Bavaria to weaken Austria, and to hold Bavaria in reserve against her. The Count de Senft was a most honourable man, but naturally timid, and subject to the influence of his wife and daughter, who were Lamennais' most animated

correspondents. The family was originally Protestant, but had become Catholic under the Empire. They had no leanings towards the poetical, romantic, eccentric Catholicism of Chateaubriand, and would never have been converted by his Beauties of Christianity. Atala and René signified nothing to them; their aristocratic and feudal pride was more at home with Bonald, though they had no monarchical enthusiasm à la Louis XIV. In fact, they were much more aristocratic than monarchical. They belonged to that Catholic-German school of which Count Frederick Leopold de Stolberg was the head, and Frederick Schlegel the brains. The Count de Senft and his family were very intimate with the Austrian embassy during the Empire; thus M. de Senft came to be very intimate with Metternich, who raised him from the deep disgrace into which he had fallen in Germany in consequence of the events of 1814.

Saxony, or rather the King of Saxony, was the steadfast ally of Napoleon; this led to the disgrace of the ambassador, which was furthered by the peculiar position of Count de Senft as own nephew of the great Baron de Stein.\* During the unwarrantable persecution which that statesman had to endure from Napoleon, Stein's sister, aunt of the Countess de Senft, was threatened with confiscation and imprisonment. The family of Senft succeeded in withdrawing her from Napoleon's vengeance. Still, in the eyes of Stein, he seemed to exceed his duties as Saxon ambassador at the court of France, in affecting such a zealous support of the Emperor's cause. Stein attributed this zeal to the fanaticism of new converts, and especially to the countess's influence over her husband, making him hate Protestant Prussia as the representative of a Protestant policy against Catholic Austria and the Catholic King of Saxony. Hence the extreme disgrace into which the Count de Senft had fallen in 1814, his recall as ambassador, and his disavowal by the allied sovereigns and their ministers. Metternich at last did him justice in restoring him to diplomatic employment, and giving him a place in the Austrian service. The Count de Senft was a very good man, and never had been in any sense the creature of Napoleon; but his wife and daughter, clever women, but violent, ambitious, and, like most neophytes, ultra-zealous, had expressed themselves in a way extremely galling to Prussia. They hated it for its Protestantism, though some of their nearest relations lived there; perhaps the more reason for their paying it in coin struck in the mint of their purely feminine antipathies.

The natural asperity of Lamennais was fomented by his

\* Vide note 5.

intimacy with the Countess and Mdle. de Senft, from whom he derived some of that element of invective which he at first directed against Protestantism. They were also the confidants of his attacks upon Gallicanism, but they could not foresee that he would ever divert his wrath into another channel. These ladies were devoted to the Jesuits, whose credit with Europe Lamennais wished to use for the propagation of his Ultramontaniam, and they applauded his philosophy as passionately as they took up every thing else. But the Jesuits did not choose to be the tools of Lamennais, nor to bow their intellects to his philosophy; hence his hatred against the order, and the disappointment of the ladies de Senft, who had adopted his philosophy. They witnessed also the beginning of his attacks against the Papacy, which had refused to embrace the political radicalism into which he had allowed himself to be carried, and which, by the by, was equally detested by the Senfts. Nevertheless, his relations with the Countess and her daughter only ceased with their death. They never felt the misery of seeing their impulsive friend deny the God-man, and transform Him into the symbol of the people-man, into a figure of humanity; but they followed him through almost all the rest of his extravagances. They were certainly horrified at his cries of triumph over the fall of Charles X.; but he had succeeded in proving to them the absurdity of their horror, "because this fall was the simple result of the attachment of the unhappy king to the Gallicanism of Cardinal de Latil,\* and some other bishops;" and "because the Jesuits, or some of them, had given in their adhesion to the same Gallicanism," and other follies of the same kind. Lamennais was at mortal enmity with the Cardinal de Latil, who was in the confidence of the king. He had been absurdly treated by the Cardinal Prince de Croy,† the grand aumonier of France, the same who had so scandalously quarrelled with the Archbishop of Paris on occasion of the burial of Louis XVIII. Lamennais, who was as mad as Rousseau in discovering every where abominable conspiracies against his person, distracted the women who listened to him, as he turned the heads of the young clergy and his disciples. Certainly Mdme. and Mdle. de Senft were too much women of the world to be deluded by the hypochondriacal fancies of Lamennais, but they entered into the spirit of some of his hatreds. They thought it so delightful to believe in Janse- nistic abominations and Gallican conspiracies. Thus they helped to defend the cause of the Count de Maistre, whom they loved, and of Lamennais, whose principles they admired.

\* Vide note 6.

† Vide note 7.

Lamennais fancied himself placed between four cross-fires: Jansenists and Gallicans, Jesuits and ministers of Charles X., were conspiring the ruin of the Church, some through malice, others through sheer stupidity. Mdme. and Mdlle. de Senft, who only believed in half this conspiracy, attempted in vain to quiet his fears about the other half. Their common love of bitter invective, and their sarcastic spirit, drew them to share each other's aversions. On the ladies' part, all these aversions were artificial, founded on no principles and on no system, whilst they were natural to the temperament of Lamennais. His asperity was only hypochondria; the strength of his hatred was but biliousness. It was not his heart, but his temperament that hated. As for the ladies, they imagined that they loved or hated whatever excited one or the other feeling.

Lamennais' hold on the royalists of the Faubourg St. Germain was his ability to make himself the mouthpiece of a vindictive aristocracy. Chateaubriand's only weapon was the pamphlet, Bonald's the spirit of system. It was thought at one time that Lamennais might become the Mirabeau of a counter-revolution. The power of his dialectics encouraged this hope. He was free from the selfish passions of Chateaubriand, but he had the partisanship of Bonald, combined with an energy to which the author of *La Législation Primitive* was a stranger. He resolutely put himself at the head of the religious, social, and political indignation of the Faubourg St. Germain. Chateaubriand carried the positions of the enemy (the ministry of Louis XVIII. with its allies, Decazes and the incipient *doctrinaires*), and pointed out to the Faubourg St. Germain the Chamber of Peers as the proper pivot of its power. Bonald offered his aid as the philosophic legislator of a Chamber of Deputies composed of country gentlemen. Lamennais led a remodelled clergy to the support of the common cause; which, however, he unconsciously betrayed by aspiring to revolutionise the habits of an old monarchical clergy, composed of *émigrés* all more or less imbued with the Gallicanism of the *ancien régime*. Hence arose a real tumult in the ideas and passions of a quantity of people, who were divided into partisans and adversaries of Lamennais. The women and the young men applauded him, and he was the delight of satirical spirits like Coriolis, who was one of his most constant correspondents, and encouraged the bitterness of his outrageous abuse of his adversaries and enemies. His envenomed pen smites and cuts in a way that becomes tiresome from mere repetition. The same thing is constantly reproduced in the same form; whence there results a monotony unexampled, a

real sterility of thought, which makes a great portion of Lamennais' correspondence a mere stereotyped declamation.

The *émigrés* used Lamennais to discharge the wrath and the contempt of almost half a century of revolution and empire by his mouth. They did not care the least about his theocratic politics, or about the philosophy on which he pretended to base his system: they loved his hate. If the Faubourg St. Germain long considered Chateaubriand to be prince for the attack, Lamennais was its prince for invective. His invective was neither gross abuse, nor flat commonplace violence; it was cutting murderous outrage, spit from the mouth of a volcano, and enough to satisfy even a long-nursed hatred. The revolutionists were always "*scélérats* and felons;" the Bonapartists were always "the satellites of a frightful tyranny;" the *doctrinaires* became "fools, asses, imbeciles." What a pleasure, to rail at conceit and pedantic pretence; to mock the champions of the new parliamentary *bourgeoisie*; to apply the rod to those who are about to whip you!

Among the correspondents of Lamennais is one, M. de Vitrolles,\* who requires a separate notice. A man of the world and of fashion; possessing the ear of Monsieur (afterwards Charles X.); without passion or violence; a Voltairian of the old school, but considering the clergy as the allies of the Bourbons, and loving them as such; full of mockery and irony; benevolent at bottom, but supple, and anxious to rule silently in the closet of a prince, to pull the string of the political puppets without the responsibility of it in the broad daylight of discussion; almost a little Talleyrand at Monsieur's council-board,—M. de Vitrolles took pleasure in the company of Lamennais. Without jealousy or emulation, he felt an interest in talent as such, without setting up for talents of his own. His caustic mind, far as it was from asperity or invective, was amused, in those days of passion, with the pungency of the genius of Lamennais, where the cayenne pepper seemed to agree very well with the Attic salt. The fashionable world, the issue of courts, has always been a world of *persiflage*. It was this that made Lamennais' fortune in the Faubourg St. Germain; but Vitrolles, one of the ornaments of its *salons*, could appreciate talent under all its forms.

Lamennais was too strong in himself to yield to considerations of parties or persons. So he soon began to let one foot slide out of the Faubourg St. Germain. He formed there a separate coterie to help him plant his political theory in the *Drapeau Blanc*, a journal which he did not set up, but which he at last made his own. MM. de O'Mahony and de St. Vic-

\* Vide note 8.

tor then became the companions of his labours and the confidants—one might say the satellites—of his ideas. A sad reflection, considering the want of solidity in these two men ! Lamennais had not that jealousy of other men's glory which from time to time cast a gloom over Chateaubriand's soul, which thirsted for success, especially in feminine circles. As disinterested in this respect as Bonald, Lamennais was not more jealous, because not more vain, than Bonald. If good souls surrendered themselves to him, there was a mutual attraction between them. If men of talent shared his passions, he was delighted with their conversation, and with the interchange of expressions of discontent. In all other circumstances he required familiars, when he could not find disciples.

A man of fashion, but not a man of the world, blown up with pride and vanity, but without a spark of real talent of any kind, cutting and violent in speech, O'Mahony became Lamennais' lackey, in order to be something. His idea was, to use Lamennais' doctrine as the means of shining in elegant society, and to make himself remarkable by making the theory fashionable. M. de St. Victor was a royalist and *émigré*, editor of the *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*,\* and a smatterer in classical literature ; with these antecedents, he became the zealous propagator of Lamennais' passions. These two men closed round the author of *l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*, as if they wished to be his bucklers. They abused Chateaubriand, who had deserted Villèle's ministry ;† they respected Bonald, who had become its advocate in the press ; but they nevertheless pushed Lamennais by degrees into the most violent and factious opposition to it. Lamennais was the most credulous of men ; they cockered up this credulity to believe that they were slighted ; they evidently sought to obtain political credit by means of Lamennais' pen, and to make themselves remarkable at least for their venom, and for their slanderous trivialities. They were, however, but the dupes of their own suggestions ; for they were the kind of men that end by believing whatever comes into their heads.

Such was the beginning of a war which ever grew more and more outrageous in its expression. The chief object of attack was the Abbé Frayssinous,‡ minister of public instruction under Villèle. You could not imagine a man with less hostility to any body, or one who would have been more ready to give his hand to Lamennais, if the other had treated him with proper consideration. Lamennais would do nothing of the kind. Somehow Frayssinous, who, as the so-called liberals

\* Maistre's great work.

† June 6, 1824.

‡ Vide note 9.

would have it, was a Jesuit, had become in Lamennais' eyes a formidable incarnation of Gallicanism. Soon he grew to be a very demon of the most infernal malice. In any one but Lamennais such insanity would have seemed but folly and buffoonery. Then began the open war of the brothers Clausel de Coussergues,\* who were real Gallicans of the old stamp, against Lamennais. He made them butts to shoot at; though they had no talent, they were much better informed on Church matters, and on the relations between Church and State, than Lamennais, who had never seriously studied these questions. The disputes waxed more and more furious; Lamennais vomited his invectives, his two satellites brayed, and the brothers Clausel appealed to the united strength of Church and State. They stirred up a part of the episcopate to form a kind of alliance against the attacks of the young clergy, who were marshalled round Lamennais. The two parties were constantly appealing to the Holy See, which as constantly refused to give any decision on their appeals. The letters are full of passages which relate to this labyrinth of quarrels, each more venomous than its predecessor. Neither side showed any comprehension of the true tendency of things, nor any judgment. Ultramontanes and Gallicans were disputing for a territory on which neither party had the least hold. The substance of their quarrels was every where regarded with the most complete indifference. It was not thus that the great and solid De Maistre† conducted his controversies, or acted in this cause.

Weary of all this barren bluster, Villèle bought up most of the religious and monarchical journals:‡ thus the *Drapeau Blanc* was wrested from the hands of Lamennais, O'Mahony, and St. Victor; the *Mémorial Catholique* was immediately set up, but this time under new auspices, and solely as the organ of the movement party of the young clergy, amongst whom the Abbé de Salinis, lately Bishop of Amiens, now Archbishop of Auch, played the most important part. They aimed at developing a new feeling among the Bishops to support the young clergy that fought in Lamennais' ranks. This was the culminating point of his efforts. He had now arrived at the summit of his royalistic zeal, which was henceforth to give place to the democratic theocracy which he aspired to set up as his own peculiar platform. From this time Lamennais had only to descend the other side of the hill by successive stages, at each of which he was to make a longer or shorter halt.

When the reverend political pamphleteer had arrived at

\* Vide note 10.

‡ Vide note 3.

† Vide note 11.

this stormy elevation, where his religious passions were mingled with those of the spirit of a system which was to convert France to the faith, he pushed himself farther and farther into the thick of the questions of the day, such as form the staple of newspapers, and not of the discussions of real statesmen. His political writings are full of the old-womanisms that abound in his letters. He does not fall into commonplace, nor become trivial; but nevertheless his dignity as a man is compromised by the lava of passion which he pours out from the crater of his absurd dislikes and his stupid anger. It is always the same scorix, the same dry ashes, where no vegetation can spring up nor prosper. The field of his ideas becomes infinitely small; nobody but a few priests takes any more interest in his quarrel; the public yawns, shuts its eyes, and lets him talk on.

Not that his genius was extinguished; it was only hidden under a cloud of smoke from the nation's view. Europe had been deeply moved by the appearance of his first writings; but was tired of his thunder-claps and his black clouds, which no more distilled their genial showers. Whose, then, was the leading mind at this time in Catholic France, which was much more identified with the France of the elder Bourbons than Lamennais would believe or see?

Was this leading man Chateaubriand? He had the genius and the enthusiasm, but could only look upon the world as a stage for himself personally to act a part, and to attract the attention of men; hence those eloquent despatches which he composed with such tedious labour, when, as foreign minister, he was tilting with Canning. Although from his youth upwards he had aimed at being a great writer, and at embracing every thing,—revolution and counter-revolution, France and Europe, the Mahometan East, America, the Colonies, the mediæval history of France, classical literature, the literatures of foreign countries,—though he aspired to the helm of the State, though he was big with the idea of the sublimities of the Church,—all this mass was broken up into a thousand fragments. With plenty of feeling and imagination, with a great fund of poetry, he wanted neither ideas nor conceptions, but he wanted reason and judgment; he had no true philosophy to comprehend the parts of a whole, or to connect what he had comprehended.

By Chateaubriand's side there appeared another gentleman, who was in some discredit because of a certain freedom of mind, which raised him above the narrowness of party spirit, but without giving him the power to guide his originality.

The Count de Montlosier\* was a feudal Quixotic figure, who ended by blaming the *Congregation* for his failures. Full of all sorts of ostentatious disgust, he attacked the *Congregation*,† and denounced the Jesuits, in his famous memorial to the court of peers. This was at the time when the quarrels between Lamennais and the Jesuits had begun. In his memorial he accused them of uniting with the Gallicans to damage him in France, and of delating him secretly to Rome. Lamennais kept quiet, or only whispered a few undecided words, during the explosion of this fantastic quarrel; for fantastic it was, from the manner in which Montlosier conducted it, suddenly associating himself with the *bourgeois* liberals, whose cause he hated from the bottom of his heart.

All goes by luck in this world. Montlosier could not bend to the age which Chateaubriand both courted and contradicted. He knew the mediæval history of France much better than Chateaubriand; for he had enough of the lawyer in him to understand the progress of institutions, and to comprehend the family and the state, the composition of corporations, cities, and communes, and the principles of Teutonic and Roman law; neither was he ill-versed in canon-law. In spite of many mistakes, he had, at any rate, some idea of a *foundation* of society, where Chateaubriand had never seen more than a *surface*. Montlosier, moreover, was a geologist, and had risen to the conception of a Cosmos or genetic whole in the natural order. It was he that started the modern theory of volcanoes. His religious tendencies, I might almost call them habits, were more sincerely Catholic than those of Chateaubriand: but there was no harmony in his mind; it was not a chaos, but a collection of blocks symmetrically arranged side by side. He animated these blocks of knowledge and imagination with a sort of pantheistic philosophy which he had never thoroughly mastered. He was neither Gallican nor Jansenist, nor even an enemy of the Jesuits; for he admired the order and its rule, but he looked upon it as a state within the state. If the Jesuits had embraced his system of a feudal monarchy, such as he had imagined for the purpose of creating places for the celebrities of the Napoleonic empire, which had asked his advice, but forbidden the publication of his works, I have no doubt that Montlosier would have become a champion of the Jesuits. He had the eloquence and power of debate which Chateaubriand wanted, and had given more than one proof of it in the old Constituent Assembly; as when he cried out in defence of the clergy, whose property was being

\* Vide note 12.

† Vide note 13.

confiscated, "You attack their golden cross; they will take a wooden one—it was the cross of wood that saved the world."

We have not discovered the master-mind in Montlosier; perhaps we shall find it in Bonald. Bonald had changed the algebraic formulas of Condillac's school into his new politico-Catholic formulas, in which there was as little life or thought as in Condillac's. They were the intellectual puzzles of a man who mistook wishes for reasons. According to him, every thing was to be ranged under the three classes of sovereign, minister, and subject: he built up his history of the world on this kind of triplicity; his system was a sort of box into which he forced every thing, though he had to lop off the arms and legs of the statue of his idea to make the trunk fit easily into its receptacle. Was this pigeon-hole system the work of a great mind?

The one master-mind was really the Count de Maistre. Not but that many things even in him might have been changed for the better, many altogether left out; but he was the only one who could embrace a living whole, though this whole was not very scientifically arranged. At the time of the Restoration, Maistre was the abomination of the *doctrinaires* much more than Chateaubriand or Bonald, or even than Lamennais; for the *doctrinaires* are schoolmen, while Maistre is especially a man of the world,—and the schools are always jealous of the world. One of the most eminent disciples of the school, himself a man of the world, but nevertheless *doctinaire* from head to foot, M. de Remusat,\* reproaches Maistre for flying where he walks, for sliding on where he stops, for stopping in places from which he turns away. This is why he says that Maistre's mind is altogether superficial, and that he is proud, impertinent, and arrogant as a *grand seigneur*; though he allows him a keen wit, coloured by an imagination fertile in unexpected and sometimes startling conceptions. The poor man has no notion of the real reasons of his antipathy for Maistre.

Maistre was a man full of ideas; Remusat allows it, and yet he asks, What is the use of these ideas? Our business, he says, is not to think, but to reason; to justify the line we have taken in the order of our conception by a chain of argument. Maistre had genius; while the *doctrinaires* were only consequent in their reasons, and sensible in their method, with a dash of a very remarkable power of criticism, and consequently a very correct judgment on a multitude of matters. But a head full of ideas! They had no conception of its use. A creative

\* Vide note 14.

mind was for them a mere eccentricity; a prophet a mere fool; a seer a simple dreamer!

Although the two men were perfect opposites, there was one element in which Maistre and Lamennais were somewhat alike, or which at least made the Senfts and the Faubourg St. Germain think them alike. This high society was more fascinated and struck by the genius of Maistre and Lamennais than by Chateaubriand and Bonald. Chateaubriand was not without an ambition for grand combinations and great actions; but he failed for want of a philosophical mind, and of any genius for real history. Bonald was not without the same ambition; but he shut it up in a prison, where handcuffs were put on his genius, which deprived it of all movement of its arms and legs, leaving its head to brood on vacuity for want of true activity of thought. Montlosier never had this ambition; but he was much nearer success through his great freedom of intellect, than Chateaubriand with all his miscellaneous sentimentality. Maistre had the same freedom of mind, and in this point was only understood by Montlosier. Of all the remarkable men of the Restoration, Lamennais certainly had the least intellectual freedom, less even than Bonald, who had but little; but Lamennais had an aspiring vigour joined to a force of dialectic, of which no one had a trace except Maistre; though what Maistre had was without perseverance, and therefore ineffective. It is not in abundance of ideas, nor in breadth of view, nor in the extent of the horizon which he discovers and takes in, that Lamennais can be compared to Maistre; for his ideas are not original, and the horizon of his mind is naturally narrow; but he has a blaze of discussion and of thought—he has a constancy of will, and a fixity of purpose, in which Maistre is far from equalling him. This is why Lamennais may be reckoned the complement of Maistre in one point of view, which does not readily present itself to those who only seek amusement, without caring to enlarge or to form their minds.

Maistre loves thoughts and ideas; Chateaubriand dresses himself up in thoughts and ideas; Bonald ties up and tickets thoughts and ideas; Lamennais would be their hero and their martyr. Maistre alone had science; Chateaubriand substituted glory; Bonald supplied its place by the resources of an administrative monarchic absolutism; Lamennais, more ignorant than the two last, was the only one who shared with Maistre a true respect for the significance and grandeur of science. Certainly the *doctrinaires*, who appeared after all these men, did not find it very difficult to surpass them in the serious studies which are necessary for the acquisition of science. The learn-

ing of Chateaubriand was exclusively literary, in the sense of the latter half of the eighteenth century. To speak well and brilliantly was every thing. Bonald had studied for the magistracy, although the gentleman's rapier had made a hole in his lawyer's gown. Maistre and Montlosier alone had an extensive knowledge of literature, alone applied literature to history, to politics, and to their philosophy and science. Guizot and Thierry\* followed the tracks of these men's historical labours, by making the first studies on the institutions of the middle ages, on the relations of Church and State, and on those of the various classes of the nation during the centuries that elapsed between the Merovingian era and the time of the *renaissance*. Without digging very deeply into the historical mines of this period, they were certainly much more particular about truth than Maistre and Montlosier; but they never had the profound originality of these two men. They had much more sense, and often much more judgment; they were free from the feudal prejudices of Montlosier, and the faith in the absolutism of Louis XIV., which Maistre had unadvisedly borrowed from Bonald, with whom he corresponded. All of them, on the other hand, and especially Augustin Thierry, were eaten up with the most absorbing prejudices of the *tiers-état*, which prevented their understanding the character of the masses or the spirit of the people, and concentrated all their sympathy on the *bourgeoisie*. Guizot does not animate his historical pictures with the knowledge of details which is the *forte* of Augustin Thierry; his suppressed emotions render him apparently cold; but he arranges, groups, and classifies methodically, and with increasing sagacity as he approaches modern times. The middle ages are much less his field than the *renaissance*, and the *renaissance* than Europe of the seventeenth century. From that time till the Revolution he is a great master, one of the steadiest of politicians, one of the clearest of investigators; but he becomes too logical, too mathematically precise, too dogmatic, when he treats of the Revolution and the Empire. Here, as elsewhere, his sympathies are narrowed too exclusively to the sphere of pure reason. He has great strength of mind, he classifies his materials marvellously; but in all his historical works you may trace the hand of the administrator of a department. Thierry's love of the *bourgeoisie* comes from the heart, not from the head, like Guizot's, who seeks a compromise between the aristocracy and the *bourgeoisie*, which Thierry scouts. This apparently detracts from Thierry's wisdom; but gives him a singular suppleness, which contrasts with Guizot's stiffness. It is

\* Vide note 15.

chiefly against Montlosier's feudality that Thierry uses his pen. Chateaubriand and he at last came to agree, because Chateaubriand, though no *bourgeois* by nature, required universal suffrage. Bonald would have nothing to do with Royer-Collard's system, and mistrusted Guizot, who tripped him up. Lamennais felt nothing but the fiercest disdain for all these people, except in brief moments of opposition, when he could find some good even in a *doctrinaire*, provided he was out of power, and was digging a mine under the men in office, though it were but to occupy their place.

When Lamennais had broken off his relations with the *ancien régime*, and was attacking it as represented in the government of Villèle, his wrath soon turned against the *bourgeois doctrinaires*; for Royer-Collard's party took the side of the Martignac ministry, in which Feutrier,\* Bishop of Beauvais, was flanked by Vatismenil, whose object it was to calm people's minds on the subject of the *Congregation* and the Jesuits. Now, though Lamennais was at daggers drawn with the *Congregation* and the Jesuits, he saw that the blow against them was really dealt against his ideal of a democratic theocracy. He continued his war of extermination against pseudo-Gallicanism, which sometimes timidly peeped out in the speeches of the Bishop of Hermopolis, one of the Villèle administration, and he hit the Bishop of Beauvais quite as hard. It might have been thought that he wished to see Polignac in office, like his friends O'Mahony and St. Victor; but it was not so. As soon as Polignac's ministry was organised, Lamennais shrugged his shoulders, and foretold the fall of the monarchy (no very difficult prediction); but he was absurdly wrong in the reasons of this fall, for he thought it was simply a consequence of their departure from his new ideal of a democratic theocracy, which he was then trying to substitute for his old ideal of a Bourbon theocracy.

The revolution of 1830 gave an opportunity to Lamennais to define his theocratico-democratic republic in contrast with the *bourgeois* monarchy of Louis Philippe. At this epoch the wrath of Lamennais was all poured out on the house of Orleans and on the *doctrinaires*. He entered on a path yet untrodden in his journal *L'Avenir*, and chose the ground of liberty of education as opposed to the omnipotence of a purely administrative university, which centralised education in the hands of the State, and which the *doctrinaires* were about to seize as the basis of their power. In this Lamennais was taking the side of Rome and the whole body of the clergy; but at the same time he was appealing to Poland, and the nations that

\* Vide note 16.

were groaning under tyrannical governments. Therefore, not only Louis Philippe, but all the sovereigns of the *Holy Alliance*, took alarm at a man who was blowing up a blaze in Belgium and Poland. Then Lamennais resolved to go to Rome, with two young men energetic in heart and ardent in mind, Lacordaire and Montalembert, whom he had attracted into his circle.

We all know with what a wounded heart he returned from Rome. He had imagined that Rome would give her enthusiastic support to one who would have brought the world to her feet, on condition of her sanctioning his new politics, founded on his old philosophy. He deceived himself as grossly as the child who thinks that every thing must yield to his feeling or his appetite; or as a seminarist who can only reason by syllogisms, and who knows nothing of the historical realities of the world or of the possibilities of things. The *Paroles d'un Croyant* appeared, and made an immense sensation throughout Europe; the dialectician became a kind of apostle of fanaticism, and set himself up as a new species of Savonarola. Lamennais' Christ now begins to be incarnate in the *Poor People*, in the *Souffre-douleur*,—the Scapegoat since the beginning of the world, in the artisan, in the labourer, and the serf; made chattels of by the priests of paganism, Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism, who confiscate their souls; by emperors, kings, and soldiers, who confiscate their blood; by the *bourgeois* and *doctrinaires* of all shades, who confiscate their cash and coin their sweat. On all these points M. Michelet is his disciple, or rather his plagiarist.

Such was Lamennais' first step towards investing the people with the two attributes of absolute infallibility, which he had formerly claimed for the Pope, and of common sense, which he had always allowed to them, and on which he had based his philosophy and his theocracy. This point deserves a much more exact investigation than it has yet received.

Lamennais, after his fall, taught that all religions whatsoever spring from the *inspirations of the masses*. The people is essentially holy, sacred, sacerdotal; God speaks by its mouth, for *Vox populi vox Dei est*. All religions, though they sprang from beneath, from the primitive ground of a pagan inspiration, were yet divine even in their pagan form; but were one after the other corrupted by the priesthood. Thus the doctrine of Moses was debased, and that of Islam is being degraded; while the corruption of the Roman Papacy attained its zenith at Avignon—for Lamennais still preserved his admiration of the mediæval Popes, in consequence of the com-

bats they had maintained against king and Cæsar. But how did Lamennais arrive at his conception of a holy humanity divinely inspired, and incarnate in the mass of the people?—meaning by ‘people’ only the strata of the working classes, exclusive of the rich and the great. This is the point to be examined.

The idolatry of the masses, which was the last substitute for Lamennais’ other fanaticisms, is found in germ in the primary principle of his philosophy,—I mean, in his theory of *common sense*, reposing not on the *reason*, but on the *inspiration* of mankind; a common sense which is traced up to a divine revelation, and constitutes a divine Word, or *Λόγος*, communicated to the human word, or *λόγος*, at the first origin of our race. This is the source of a *tradition* which lives among every people, and which Lamennais identifies with the *revelation* of the Christian Church. He did not invent this doctrine; part of it may be found in the Fathers, and part in the schoolmen of the middle ages. But its interest and importance had increased in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the two schools of Socinian Deists and of scientific Atheists had turned this fragment of patristic and scholastic theories into a weapon against the Church, and had boldly maintained that Christianity is nothing but the last phase, the refined form, of a theology derived from a mixture of Paganism and Mosaism, from which it had pilfered the very substance of its doctrines. The Protestant apologists who refuted the Deists of Great Britain, and their copyists, the Catholic apologists of France, who repelled the attacks of the Encyclopædists and their followers, gave a fresh support to this dictum of the Fathers and the scholastics. They retorted the arguments wherewith the unbelievers had attacked Christianity for its plagiarism: they insisted on the proof that human nature was studded with the remains of a primitive revelation given by God to Adam, transmitted by Adam to Noah, and lost after the confusion of tongues at Babel. This system of apology, British in origin, and adopted by all the Catholic clergy of all the nations of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, was the source from which Lamennais borrowed without stint. And his originality consists in having been able to construct a philosophy out of such elements.

Lamennais was never proud of his knowledge; and with reason. He had read much, but had seriously studied nothing. He owned it, and boasted neither of his reading nor of his acquirements; but he was proud of his power of thinking, and, unhappily, I must add that he was entirely wanting

in the spirit of science, the strength of which consists in the precision and sagacity of its criticism. The little critical power he possessed was of a kind purely negative. He had no idea of a positive vivifying criticism. This has been the ruin of men of much greater classical acquirements than he ever was, such as Stolberg, who lumps together the most heterogeneous testimonies, without verifying them, without weighing them, and, worst of all, without understanding them. It is true that the enemies of Christianity,—the Tolands of England, the Boulangers of France, the Volneys, the Dupuis,—have shown quite as little judgment; the enemies of Christianity have fought in the dark as much as its apologists.

Bonald in many passages of his works, and Chateaubriand throughout his *Génie du Christianisme*, had set Lamennais the example of this pinchbeck compilation-erudition—of all those Bacchuses transformed into Moses, those Hercules identified with Samson, that Noah's Ark which reappeared in all the "cereal" religions, and finally that Plato, who had drunk so deeply of Moses, and had concealed so carefully the fount of his inspirations. Though Maistre here and there brings into play the same false erudition, at least he manages to bore through to a stratum of profound thoughts and great ideas, as in his treatise on sacrifices, and other passages of his *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, where he at once shakes off the lumber that encumbered his imagination, and arrives at the truth, not by an effort of science, but by profound thought. In Chateaubriand, Bonald, and Lamennais, it all remains as an undigested accumulation of false evidences, as a mere surface, without ideas, without depth. The nature of man, and the relations of a corrupted nature with the Deity through the acts of suffering and expiation—this is the true principle of religions, the eternal principle always hidden under the rubbish of the greatest pagan aberrations; and this is what Lamennais never seriously thought about, while Maistre alone plunged into it like a prophet, and fixed upon it the eagle gaze of his genius.

Thus Maistre alone emancipates himself from the outside of things, and enters into the real marrow of the question. He finds himself face to face with man made after God's image, of man animated with the *ruach Elohim*, the breath of God, which was breathed into his nostrils, of Adam to whom God spoke, and who conversed with God, of a human Word made after the image of the Divine Word. There is nothing of the *tabula rasa* of Condillac, of the empty hollow Adam whom Bonald fully accepts. Maistre, who had con-

ceived the true idea of sacrifice among the pagans, such as it was in its primitive germ, very nearly arrived at the true idea of human language; but as a philologist he was as erroneous, as inexperienced, and often as childish in his analogies of ideas and words and etymologies, as the generality of his contemporaries.

If Maistre, who had at least some real foundation of true Hellenic literature, made such glaring mistakes in philology, what shall we say of Chateaubriand, who studied that literature for its form, not for its substance; of Bonald, who knew nothing about it; and of Lamennais, who, as M. Forgues tells us, only picked up a smattering of Greek at the wretched school of Gail? The spirit of the Indo-European family of languages had really presented itself to the mind of Maistre. He had a glimpse of the great fact that the principal words of these languages are not tropes or figures, as in the Hebrew, nor signs to be explained by gestures and intonation, and which require the aid of a hieroglyphic writing to make them intelligible to the mind, as in Chinese and Egyptian; but that they are myths which depend on the intuitive relation of the mind with the nature of the objects they are meant to express, and that they symbolise this object by means of speech. Maistre did not know this, but he suspected it.

Bonald had broached, in opposition to Condillac, the question of the origin of language. He perfectly understood the connection of this question with that of an original revelation. Lamennais, who was no philologist, cut the question by disguising it in the dress of a philosophy of common sense, of a tradition infused into the hearts and minds of the people. According to him, man knows by reason that alone which is contrary to reason; by reason he creates the unreasonable; and this is really the unreasonable part of his philosophy. According to him, whatsoever man knows, he knows by transmission; there is a voice in mankind, but this voice is only the echo of a primitive revelation. This is the voice that we should consult, this is the voice of true philosophy, for it is *common sense*; it is the voice that proclaims the Christ, even before His advent. That the Christ was the secret voice of human nature, and that mankind recognised and listened to this voice as soon as the Christ manifested Himself on earth, I believe as firmly as he; but I believe also that Lamennais never for a single instant understood the true import of the fact.

How was this possible to so vigorous an intellect, which was always apparently rotating round the question? I have already remarked a want of depth in the naturally sublime

mind of Lamennais; but this is not enough to indicate the real point where all his argument fails. It wants very few words to explain. He did not understand the true question, because he could only see the priest and not the man, and consequently could not understand the true relation of the pontiff to the rest of mankind. Lamennais would have it that mankind was nothing without the priest; and so he substituted the relation of the priest for the relation of God to man. You may imagine his profound irritation when he was condemned by the Vatican, which would not accept the deification which Lamennais offered it. His decision was soon made; he dethroned the Pope, and installed man on the pontifical throne,—man under the figure of the people; and trampled down, cursed, and spat at every pontifical authority in the fury of his disappointment. This is what made Lamennais end by turning his claws on Christianity itself; then he became a rationalist,—a rationalist of his own school, indeed,—altogether in opposition to his previous negation of reason. But to remain faithful to his philosophy of common sense, he transformed his common sense into reason.

The whole theocracy of Lamennais is based on his idea of the priest. He would not consider the priest simply as an organ of the Church, and the dispenser of the Sacraments; he wanted to make him master of every thing, the superior of the state, and the exclusive source of all education and all science among men. He had ill understood the nature of the strife between the Papacy and the Empire in the middle ages, which Maistre had grasped much better than he, and in a spirit analogous to that of Leibnitz, Barneveldt, and Grotius, as well as of Henri IV., who all evisaged the Papacy as a power whose essence it was to be arbitrator and moderator, and to exercise the office of censor, as understood by the ancient Romans, in the midst of a Christian republic, which was composed of a quantity of different kingdoms, republics, and nationalities, whatever might be their forms. Lamennais, on the contrary, wanted to make the priest the source of all power, as well as the source of all knowledge, among men; because the sacred preceded the profane in pagan antiquity; because the domestic hearth was a divinely-consecrated altar; because the political altar, the Hestia of the state, was also sacred; because Christian marriage is a sacrament, and because the priests of antiquity and the monks of the middle ages were the depositaries of philosophy and science;—Lamennais thought that this state of things was meant to last for ever, though it had only been realised once in the infancy of nations, and once again in the transition from the old to

the new civilisation. Finally, because it was necessary to bring back both social and intellectual life to God, and to sanctify them, he concluded that all politics, all science, all jurisprudence, considered as radiations of theology, ought permanently to belong to it in a rigid absolute way. Ignorant of the movement as of the spirit of history, he never had a suspicion of the life of nations, of the true relation of Church and State. So, when the Pope shattered his philosophical bauble in his hands, he jumped from the extreme of immobility to the most absolute instability. He adopted progress in the extreme sense of Condorcet,—not only political and scientific progress, which are the very life of nations, but the progress of religions, which thereupon cease to rest on the basis of an unchangeable revelation, and become merely the endless movement of an inspired sentiment, true in the people, false in the pontiffs. Men of science were destined to be the only pontiffs of the future (exactly as Condorcet said), as soon as they had come to understand the people (this is beyond Condorcet), as soon as they had come to adopt the popular sentiment of the Infinite, and to correct it by their scientific reason.

A mind neither square nor circular, but a mere straight line, without horizon and without opening, gathered up into no centre, reaching round to no circumference, Lamennais only made holes in the things he pierced with his keen glance. He sprawls over objects, he does not embrace them; he only upsets them in passing. Yet he twice tried to rise to the conception of a universe by the sweat of his brow—once before, once after his rupture with the Church—and to master the universe of religion, science, and politics. That which Maistre had naturally,—the intuition of a Kosmos, a sacred universe physical and social,—Lamennais wanted to acquire at first by means of a philosophy absolutely Catholic; and afterwards by means of the same philosophy reversed,—by the dogmatism of a kind of rationalist pantheism, very badly balanced between mysticism and rationalism. Hence his *Esquisse d'une Philosophie*, which is his most remarkable work after the *Essai de l'Indifférence en matière de Religion*: the intervening works were mere pamphlets, of which there is but one of any eloquence, the *Paroles d'un Croyant*; all the rest are compounds of journalism and scholasticism, glued together in the most whimsical way.

I need scarcely add, after all I have said, that Lamennais was wanting in two qualities indispensable for the conception of the totality and unity of the universe,—serenity and harmony. His mind was thoroughly polemical, and his discussion

was either a war or a battle. He never divested himself of his arms, never enjoyed repose of soul or serenity of judgment; how, then, could he get that harmony of mind necessary for contemplating the whole, for binding together the parts into a totality?

Tired in some sense of war, Lamennais had ended by putting his hands on his knees and seating himself in an attitude of profound expectation, when the question of the People came up. This People had become his Christ; in them he predicted the approach of the future of human nature by the advent of a new Christ, the "sublime offspring of the people." Into the hands of this expected Christ he had abdicated his ambition, for he did not wish to make himself personally a Christ. He was not a false ecstatic, nor a calculating charlatan, nor a quack by nature. He would not despair, so he prophesied; and it was in this Christ of his philosophic hallucinations that he reposed, formally repelling the true Christ when He approached him on his deathbed.\*

One word on Lamennais' political system. It is a scholastic abstraction grafted on a revolutionary abstraction; it is a dead square frame, into which he forces the family, the commune, and the state, and arranges them without the least understanding of human nature or the real substance of things. The revolution of February 1848 plunged him into a kind of *constituent* mania, and made him apply himself to the manufacture of a constitution for the social advance of the people towards the inheritance of their sovereignty; this constitution consisted of endless wheels of electoral machines, wherein theory is every where, reality no where. This mania seized him in February, and brought him out as a politician after the model of an imaginary Robespierre, a disinterested lover of the people; while it found utterance in the introduction to his translation of Dante, which was his last work. I almost blush for Lamennais, when I see him hashing up the emptiest and tritest declamations on the centuries between the fall of the Roman empire and the Revolution of 1789, worthy only of the most trivial liberalism of the school of the *Siècle* and other journals of that class, and without the slightest trace of gravity of thought, or power of philosophical and historical conception.

Even while Lamennais was yet in all the glory of his genius, and was still holding aloof from the liberals of the Restoration, whom he considered as Jacobins or Revolutionists, he had only two categories for his political partition of men,—those in office, and those in opposition. The men in office

\* Vide note 17.

were only "contemptible fools" or "asses;" some were "*coquins*," the rest were "idiots;" for Lamennais would not recognise shades of difference either in men or in things. To be always trenchant, he thought most logical, most clear, most neat. Unhappily his wrath, inflamed by his passions, had a share in all his judgments. He would seek for recruits among the members of an opposition which he had just been abusing while in office, and associated those whom he had just cursed in his new cursings. He could find good in the ranks of the "contemptible fools" when some unhappy "*coquin*" had tumbled from power and had entered the opposition; he could find good sense in the "asses" and "idiots" when they chanced to revolt against their old masters. For a long time he called the *doctrinaires* ninnies, when they acted against him under the Restoration. Under Louis Philippe they were no longer asses, idiots, or ninnies; they had become "contemptible fools" and "*coquins*;" and they soon advanced to the degree of "felons." But it was after 1848 that Lamennais seemed altogether to have taken leave of the common sense of which he wanted to make a philosophy; the advent of the new Empire stupefied him and cut him short.

Every limit in a powerful mind is a hidden element of madness. When strength is substituted for largeness of view, it degenerates into exaggeration; and exaggeration utters itself in declamation, while the furious rage which declamation kindles in minds like Lamennais' leads to fanaticism; and there is never more than a step between fanaticism and lunacy. Religious fanaticism and revolutionary fanaticism go hand in hand; they were in Lamennais like Jacob and Esau in their mother's womb.

People have talked of Lamennais' pride as the principle of his thoughts and acts; a pride which, as his enemies of the first epoch pretended, led him to think of making himself the Gregory VII. of the age, and which, according to his enemies of the second epoch, inspired him with the Satanic thought of making himself the forerunner of an Antichrist, the organ and the agent of the masses for the advent of a new Robespierre. Among the Catholics who reproached him with this pride, we must distinguish two classes: the first consisting of modest men, who hated religious controversy, who were afraid of all thought that trenched upon the domain of theology, philosophy, or history; good people, who were not exactly simple pious souls, but timid; who were frightened at all ideas, for the simple reason that they had none of their own, and feared what they did not know, and so contented themselves with repeating those of others—people who would not

touch edged-tools for fear of cutting themselves. The other class consisted of persons of very little modesty. They were generally old Lamennaisians, who copied the passions of their master without having intellectually the right to do so, because there was no originality of any kind in them. They would have been most happy to serve the Church as inquisitors, if the spirit of the age would have stood it; utterly uninfluential by the inherent power of their own intellects, they would have tyrannised over men's consciences and minds by disguising themselves in the vestments of the Church, which they filled with the empty noise of their quarrels and their invectives. The proudest of men, they denounced the pride of Lamennais, who was their father. At the bottom of their soul there always existed a secret leaning to his theory. That which they called traditionalism, or understood as such, was no other than this philosophy of common sense, of the universal suffrage of mankind. As the inheritor and representative of this, the Pope, in consequence of his exclusive delegation, had absolute power over the hearts and minds of his fellow-creatures. They were but Lamennaisians ashamed of their master; who denounced the author of so many hateful apostasies, while in secret they caressed the principle of his philosophy.

There is another point in which the disciples remind me of the master, but of the master shorn of his strength and authority. They were as monotonous as he in the method of their abuse, and in the form of their philippics. Theirs was but a got-up passion, a passion at secondhand; their hate had no life in it; their declamation was in cold blood. Lamennais declaimed like a man in a fever, which is quite another thing. Let them be as angry or indignant as they like, the reader could not get angry or indignant with their intellects, as he might with Lamennais. You would not fight them as if you had to deal with a mind. You might be sorry to see the effects of their declamation, and the influence which they had over a number of honourable and pious men, who were without education, without knowledge of history, and who allowed themselves to be excited by the boiling of these inquisitorial passions, which in kind were absolutely the same as the passions of the fanatics of a Revolutionary Tribunal, or Committee of Public Safety; not that the doctrines were the same, but the language was completely equivalent.

Nothing in a psychological point of view better deserves to be read than Lamennais' correspondence. He was a most significant man in the isolation of his mind; but nothing could be less instructive reading for one who wishes to know about the feelings and ideas of a period when Lamennais'

mind exerted a deep influence. The first curiosity would soon be satisfied, and the reader would be mortally tired in surveying the unvaried thorny scrub of bitter dialectics and violent epigrams, monotonous in idea and expression: it is a flat and thirsty desert of disputes without meaning, and of politics without a future.

LE BARON D'ECKSTEIN.

---

*Historical Annotations on the foregoing Article.*

1. THE ABBÉ CARRON. This venerable priest was as widely known and esteemed in England as in his own country. He was born at Rennes, 1760, where he soon became conspicuous for his charity and zeal. A house which he had established for the purpose of reclaiming young women gave rise to violent animosity, and to an attempt to murder him. He was taken to a secluded spot, under pretence of confessing a man who had been wounded in a duel; on approaching the bed, he found the would-be assassin lying dead with a pistol by his side. During the emigration he continued his labours at Jersey, and from 1796 to 1814 in London, where he is not yet forgotten. Leaving the Abbé Nerinckx to continue his good works, he returned to Paris at the Restoration, and was placed at the head of an establishment for young ladies whose families had been ruined in consequence of their attachment to the royal family. It was broken up during the Hundred Days, but resumed in November 1815. It was situated in the neighbourhood of Val-de-Grace. Cardinal Weld spent some time with him, and Lamennais lived in his house. The Abbé Carron died March 15, 1821. Bishop Poynter preached a funeral oration at his dirge in London. He was the author of many ascetical works, which are mostly forgotten. Lamennais had collected materials for his biography, but gave up the plan when he left the Church.

2. ROYER-COLLARD. Royer-Collard, the chief of the *doctrinaires*, one of the most eminent political thinkers of the Restoration, was born 1763, and died 4th September 1845. He was educated in the spirit of the later Jansenism. During the Revolution he remained faithful to the legitimist party, and spoke eloquently in defence of the clergy in the Council of Five Hundred, 1797. In 1811 he became professor of philosophy at the University, and laboured to replace the popular sensualism of France by the system of the Scottish philosophers. In the Chambers he held aloof both from the Royalists and the Liberals, and became towards 1817 the founder of the party of the *doctrinaires*, who derived from him their abstract and inflexible character. They were in opposition to Villèle, 1822-1827. When Villèle fell, Royer-Collard was at the height of his influence and popularity, and supported the government of Martignac, which was considered a concession to the liberal party. Guizot, the most eminent of his followers, thus describes him: "A

mind of remarkable freedom and elevation, with strong good sense, original rather than inventive, profound rather than large, more capable of carrying out a single idea than of combining several, and too much taken up with itself; . . . a mind inclined to anxiety and doubt, diffident in its resolves, although positive and confident in language." *Mémoires*, i. 18, 358. Royer-Collard's biographer relates that a coldness arose with Guizot, who professed to be his disciple, but whose ideas Royer-Collard did not always approve of. When Guizot was minister, and refused him some favour, he broke with him; but in 1842 Royer-Collard lost a daughter, and Guizot soon after a son, and in their affliction they were reconciled.

3. CHATEAUBRIAND. Chateaubriand, the celebrated author of the *Génie du Christianisme* (1802) and *Les Martyres* (1809), was born at St. Malo in Brittany in 1768, and died July 4, 1848. At the Restoration (1814) he took the lead of the constitutional Royalists, and in 1822 was appointed one of the representatives of France at the Congress of Verona, where he provoked the Spanish war, and became minister of foreign affairs the same autumn; but was dismissed by Villèle, the prime minister, June 6, 1824, for not defending a bill on which the government was beaten. This gave rise to a quarrel between the ministers and the press, which is glanced at by Baron d'Eckstein (p. 54). Bertin, the editor of the *Journal des Débats*, took Chateaubriand's part, and asked Villèle to give him the Roman embassy (Guizot: *Mémoires*, i. 268). This was refused; so Bertin declared that he would go into opposition with his paper, to which the ablest writers, among whom were Chateaubriand and Fievée, contributed: "*Les Débats*," said Bertin, "have already upset the ministries of Decazes and Richelieu, and will find no great difficulty in overturning that of Villèle." The menace was fulfilled four years later, and so was the prophecy of Villèle's answer: "You overturned the two first by crying up royalism; to upset mine, you must cry up revolution."

Against this formidable enemy Villèle tried to make sure of the rest of the press in the summer of 1824. The attempt to ruin hostile papers by vexatious litigation failed with the *Courrier Français*. Then he tried to buy them up by the agency of Sosthène de la Rochefoucauld; and succeeded with the religious and loyal papers, the *Gazette de France*, *Drapeau Blanc*, *Oriflamme*, *Journal de Paris*, as also with the *Foudre*, and the *Tablettes Universelles*, to which Thiers and Mignet were contributors. This made a sensation; and a similar attempt with the *Quotidienne* failed. Upon this, August 15, 1824, a censorship of the periodical press was introduced; but as Louis XVIII. died September 16th, it was rescinded at the accession of Charles X.

4. THE VICOMTE DE BONALD. The Vicomte de Bonald (born 1754, died 23d November 1840) was one of the first Catholic writers after the Revolution; his *Théorie du Pouvoir* was written at Heidelberg during the emigration, 1796, and was suppressed in France. On his return to his own country, he published a treatise



*Du Divorce*, 1801, and *La Législation Primitive*, 1802, and contributed copiously to the royalist press during the Empire. In 1814 the *Journal des Débats* wrote, "Bonald is beyond question the writer who has disseminated the most new ideas within the last ten years." His royalism was too strongly tinged with absolutism to be distasteful to Napoleon, who gave him a seat in the council of the University in 1810. After the Restoration, he became the intellectual leader of the extreme counter-revolutionary party, and declared in the Chamber (1816), "Absolute power is, in my opinion, the best." It was the fault of his political philosophy that he substituted autocratic for anarchical despotism. His system is enunciated in his *Recherches Philosophiques*, 1818. He denies the certainty of any human evidence except that of the senses, which the brutes possess equally with man. To make up for this impotency of reason, an external visible criterion of truth is requisite. This is found in the *primitive revelation*, the gift of language, in which all notions are contained, and which is preserved and communicated to us by a universal tradition. "Man on his entrance into the world finds established in society, under one or another form, the belief in God as creator, lawgiver, rewarder and punisher, the distinction of justice and injustice, good and evil; when he sets his reason to examine how much he is to admit or reject of this general belief on which society is founded, and the whole edifice of law, written or traditional, is based, he thereby places himself in a state of revolt against society, he arrogates to himself, a single individual, the right to judge and to reform the general, he seeks to dethrone the universal reason, and to seat his private reason in her place,—his reason, for the whole of which he is indebted to society, because society, in giving him language, has given him the instrument of every operation of his mind" (*Œuvres*, vol. viii. p. 110). Lamennais derived from this his sceptical rejection of the validity of individual reason in favour of the "general authority or common consent," of which he says (*Essai sur l'Indifférence*, ii. 225, 4th edit.), "The general reason is nothing but the reason of God Himself." Bonald was still more directly the founder of the Traditionalist school, rebuked in the decree of the Index, 11th June 1855, whose leader, F. Ventura, was one of Lamennais' chief antagonists. Since the appearance of F. Gratry's philosophical works, this system has ceased to be that of the majority of French Catholics.

5. BARON STEIN. Stein, born 1757, died 1831, one of the greatest of modern statesmen; became minister in Prussia in 1807, when he carried out a great reform in the state. Napoleon had him dismissed 1808, and in a decree signed at Madrid, 16th December that year, outlawed him, confiscated his property, and declared him an enemy of France for seeking to excite troubles in Germany. In 1812 he was the principal adviser of the Emperor Alexander, and the soul of the resistance of Russia, and of the rising of Germany in 1813.

6. CARDINAL DE LATIL. Cardinal de Latil was born in 1761,

and survived the Revolution of 1830. During the emigration he became attached to the Count d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.), about 1794, and continued to be his chief religious adviser to the end of his reign.

7. THE CARDINAL PRINCE DE CROY. The Prince de Croy, Cardinal-Archbishop of Rouen, was born in 1773, and died in 1844. He was appointed Grand Almoner of France in 1821. Though Lamennais' brother was his vicar-general, he was an early enemy of the Abbé, who, on his return from Rome in September 1824, went to live with his brother in his official residence. The grand almoner was scandalised at this, and insisted on his leaving the house. Lamennais answered, "Three weeks ago the Pope pressed me to accept an apartment in the Vatican. I thank you for having enabled me after so short a lesson to appreciate the differences of men and of countries." The scandalous quarrel alluded to in the text was a dispute respecting precedence between him and the Archbishop of Paris, in consequence of which the clergy did not appear at the funeral of Louis XVIII.

He never preached, and did not write his own Pastorals; but, says his biographer, "quel est, à part trois ou quatre exceptions, l'évêque en état d'écrire un mandement lisible?" (*Biographie du Clergé contemporain*, vi. 284.)

8 M. DE VITROLLES. Though never minister, M. de Vitrolles was for many years after the Restoration the most able and most influential among the political advisers of Charles X. He was the author of the pamphlet *Du Ministère dans le Gouvernement représentatif*, which was answered by Guizot in another pamphlet, *Du Gouvernement représentatif et de l'Etat actuel de la France*, 1816. In his *Mémoires* (i. p. 136) Guizot calls him "a man of intellect and courage, ambitious, moving, adroit, and always malcontent, whether on his own account or on that of his party." He was much with Lamennais during his last days, but has died since.

9. FRAYSSINOUS. Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, was born in 1765, and died in 1841. He was one of the leaders in the restoration of religion in France, by his conferences preached at St. Sulpice from 1802 to 1809, and from 1814 to 1822, when he became Bishop of Hermopolis. On the appearance of the first volume of the *Essai sur l'Indifférence*, he recommended it from the pulpit. In 1818 he published *Les Vrais Principes de l'Eglise gallicane*, in which he defends the Gallican system and the absolute power of the king. The ministry of public instruction and ecclesiastical affairs was created for him, August 26, 1824. Lamennais had published in Latin a little treatise, *Aphorismata ad juniores Theologos*, in which the Gallican system was vigorously attacked. It was read with enthusiasm in all the seminaries, and Frayssinous declared in the Chamber that he had forbidden its perusal by the students. This was the book by which Lamennais exercised the most permanent and beneficial influence. In January 1828 the Martignac administration succeeded that of Villèle, when Frayssinous retired, leaving the ministry of

public instruction and the office of Grand Maître de l'Université to Vatismenil, a Catholic royalist, and that of ecclesiastical affairs to Feutrier. (See note 16.)

10. THE BROTHERS CLAUSEL. Clausel de Montals, born 1769, and advanced to the bishopric of Chartres 1824, which he resigned in 1851. The Abbé Clausel de Coussergues, born 1763, and died in 1833 as vicar-general of Amiens. The Bishop of Chartres was originally a friend of Lamennais; but in 1826 he published a letter, addressed to his diocese, on a writing of Lamennais, *De la Religion considérée dans ses Rapports avec l'Etat*. In this he was assisted by his brother. The Bishop of Chartres was afterwards a vigorous defender of the liberty of instruction, and of the study of the classics.

11. COUNT JOSEPH DE MAISTRE. Count Joseph de Maistre, born at Chambéry, 1754, died 26th February 1821; minister of Sardinia at St. Petersburg, 1802-1817, where he composed the greater part of his writings. His chief political work, *Considérations sur la France*, appeared 1796; it was followed, in 1810, by the *Essai sur le Principe générateur des Constitutions politiques*. His political doctrines are profoundly religious, and lead necessarily to that view of the Papal authority which he defended in his later works. *Du Pape* was published in 1819, *De l'Eglise Gallicane* in 1821, *Les Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, his most considerable work, in 1821, *Lettres sur l'Inquisition espagnole* in 1822. His work on the philosophy of Bacon appeared fifteen years after his death. Of all the writers who defended society against the Revolution, he did most for the revival of Catholic ideas. He was the only French Catholic of his time who felt and urged the necessity of an alliance between the Church and modern learning. In this respect he indicated more than he achieved. His reading was desultory, and he has too much of the levity and unscrupulousness of statement which distinguish his infidel adversaries. For this reason, and because Lamennais appropriated and distorted some of his ideas, his influence has not been altogether beneficial, and there is an essential difference between De Maistre and those who are ostensibly his disciples.

12. THE COUNT DE MONTLOSIER. The Count de Montlosier was born 1755, and died 1838. Before the Revolution, he was chiefly known for his geological researches in his native country, Auvergne. In the National Assembly he became famous for a single striking passage in a speech in which, speaking of the Bishops, he said, "Vous leur ôtez leur croix d'or, ils prendront une croix de bois; c'est la croix de bois qui a sauvé le monde." In 1794 he emigrated to England, where he became acquainted with Burke, and edited, until 1800, the *Courrier de Londres*. On his return to Paris, he became editor of a weekly journal, the *Bulletin de Paris*, chiefly devoted to attacks on England. His articles were collected in a volume entitled *Les Anglais ivres d'Orgueil et de Bière*. In order to prepare the way for the Empire, Bonaparte desired him to prepare a work on the ancient constitution of the French monarchy, its destruction by the Revolution, and the merits of the First Consul himself in restor-

ing society. Montlosier spent four years on the work, and a commission reported that it could not be permitted to appear. It appeared, however, in 1814, under the title of *Histoire de la Monarchie française*; and it is written in the spirit of a feudal aristocracy as against the third estate, the Church, and the Crown. In 1826 he published a series of attacks on the supposed pretensions of the clergy, denouncing in particular the Jesuits, the Ultramontanism of Lamennais, and the influence of the Congregation. This brought him into connection with the liberal party, and he became a contributor to the *Constitutionnel*. On his deathbed he refused to make more than a verbal retraction of whatever was offensive in his writings; and he died, in consequence, without the last Sacraments.

13. THE "CONGREGATION." The Congregation was a very insignificant union of good Catholics, founded by the Duke de Montmorency, who imagined that by adopting and applying to the extension of religion the organisation and association by which the Encyclopædists had done so much harm, results equally considerable might be attained. Its aim was to strengthen the Bourbons, and increase the elements of their popularity by Catholic missions in the country, and by a system of Catholic education for young men of good family, who were gradually to fill every office of administration or diplomacy, every vacancy in army or navy, to the exclusion of all not similarly educated.

14. M. CHARLES DE RÉMUSAT. Charles de Rémusat, born 1797, belonged at first to the *doctrinaire* school, and wrote in the opposition press under Villèle, and in the *Globe* against Lamennais. He was minister of the interior under Thiers, in 1840. Since then he has devoted himself chiefly to the history of philosophy, and the modern history of England. He published Lives of Abelard (1845), Anselm (1853), Bacon (1857), and *L'Angleterre au Dix huitième Siècle* (1856).

15. AUGUSTIN THIERRY. Augustin Thierry, the founder of the modern school of French historians, was born at Blois in 1795, and died in 1856. He was attached in early life to St. Simon, whom he left in 1817, and began to write in the *Censeur Européen*. The political parties of that day were eager to justify their system by appealing to the history of France. This political purpose was also the occasion of Thierry's historical studies about 1820, and it appears in all his subsequent writings. His earlier works relate to the great mediæval contrast of Roman and Teutonic Europe. This antagonism is the key-note of his history of the Norman Conquest (1825), for which he characteristically tells us that he spent four years in working up his materials, and only one in collecting them. Shortly before his death, he was busy with the plan of once more revising this work, in order to bring it into harmony with the religious ideas to which he had been converted by Father Gratry, to whose congregation of Oratorians he bequeathed his library. The problem of the relative influence of the Roman and the Teutonic element in the middle ages he failed to solve, and it is still the weak point of the

French historians. His most valuable and successful labours were devoted to the history of the third estate. They were begun in 1835, at the instigation of Guizot; and were carried on under the affliction of total blindness.

16. L'ABBÉ FEUTRIER. Feutrier was born 1785, became Vicar-General of Paris 1823, and Bishop of Beauvais 1826. The cry raised by Montlosier and the Liberals against the Jesuits and the Congregation frightened the government, and some concession was resolved on; a commission, presided over by Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, was appointed to examine the state of the seminaries. Among other things, it determined "that the state is supreme (*exerce la suprématie*) in matter of education, even religious and theological." In consequence a decree was promulgated, June 16th, 1828, limiting the number of students in seminaries, and depriving the Jesuits of all participation in their education. Feutrier, the Bishop of Beauvais, obliged the king to sign this *ordonnance*. Great excitement followed; most of the Bishops protested; Laurentie wrote in the *Quotidienne*, "Here is the priest who betrays the sanctuary." Feutrier's secretary told the Archbishop of Paris that the clergy were carried away by party spirit. The Archbishop answered, "Why not rather recognise the Holy Spirit in this unanimity of the whole French episcopate?" Another Archbishop replied, in the words of St. Hilary, "*Sanctiores aures plebis quam corda sacerdotum*." Lamennais, in his book on the *Progrès de la Révolution* (p. 12), denounced Feutrier's conduct as an *indigne fourberie*. The storm of indignation was the cause of Feutrier's death, June 27, 1830. Ultimately the French Bishops came round more or less to his way of thinking.

17. LAMENNAIS. Lamennais died February 26, 1854, unreconciled to the Church. He was born at St. Malo, June 19, 1782; and ordained priest in 1816. He first resided at La Chênaie in 1812, and often returned, especially after his second journey to Rome. In 1815 he spent seven months in London with the Abbé Carron. The *Essai sur l'Indifférence* appeared 1817-1820. In 1823 he was tried for an article in the *Drapeau Blanc*; at the same time he wrote for the *Ami de la Religion*, and other Catholic papers. On his return from Rome, in September 1824, he found that most of the Catholic journals had been bought up by Villèle. That winter, therefore, he started the *Mémorial Catholique*, chiefly in opposition to the *Ami de la Religion et du Roi*, which was edited by the incapable Picot. Genoude had broken with Lamennais two years before, and had set up the *Gazette de France*.

The *Avenir*, Lamennais' theocratico-democratic journal, ceased to appear November 15, 1831; after which Lamennais went with Lacordaire and Montalembert to Rome. His system was censured August 15, 1832. He received the breve at Munich, and returned to Paris, where he published his retractation, December 11.

At Munich he appeared profoundly melancholy and low-spirited, and it was thought that he had already conceived doubts on some points of doctrine. He had been much disgusted with several

things at Rome, among others, with the feebleness of the College of Cardinals. He used to declare that one of them had said to him, "It is natural that in every congregation there should be some incapable men, *ma noi siamo tutti coglioni*." He was always busy reading the life of Savonarola, to whom he compared himself. Savonarola "for years had his own way; at length his innocence, sincerity, and zeal were too much for his humility. He presumed; he exalted himself against a power which none can assail without misfortune. He put himself in opposition to the Holy See, and, as some say, disobeyed its injunctions. Reform is not wrought out by disobedience: this was not the way to be the apostle either of Florence or of Rome. Then trouble came upon him; a great reaction ensued; his enemies got the upper hand; he went into extravagances himself; the people deserted him; he was put to death, strangled, hung on a gibbet, and then burned in the very square where he had set fire to the costly furniture of vanity and sin. And then the rich and powerful family returned to Florence, and things went on pretty much as before" (Newman, *Sermons*, 1857, p. 254). The *Paroles d'un Croyant* were published in 1834.

A. D. J.

---

---

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

I DO not know how far the bi-monthly *Rambler* considers itself the representative of the opinions and tastes which belonged to it in its monthly state of existence, but, as far as an individual is concerned, I may be allowed perhaps, without determining this question, to express my own particular agreement with its former self as far as the subject of Gothic architecture is concerned. And I think it has been very hardly treated by a portion of the reading community, as if its writers said what they never did say. The charge has been unfairly made, and pertinaciously sustained, that they have from the first been the enemies of Gothic architecture. In vain did they publish proposed plans of churches, and prevail upon an accomplished Gothic architect to contribute to their number,—thus proving, at any rate, that they thought Gothic as good as, if not better than, any other architecture; in vain did they, when introducing St. Charles Borromeo's *Instructions for Ecclesiastical Fabrics and Furniture* to the knowledge of this country, declare that they protested against nothing in Gothic architecture but the extravagant and whimsical dogmatism of its actual professors. Nothing that they could say was able to modify the impression they had given. If they criticised Gothic architecture, as propounded in those

days, it was because it was made the emblem and advocate of a past ceremonial and an extinct nationalism; because its professors sacrificed all convenience, all accommodation, to their stiff conventional ideas of its proprieties; and because they enforced their views with the shallow dogmatism of conceited ignorance. Therefore the *Rambler* was put down as the enemy of Gothic architecture in general; because it could not go all lengths with the party, therefore, not being with it, it was supposed to be against it; and was looked upon with anger proportionate to the importance which the partisans attributed to their movement. Those who thought that Gothic architecture was orthodoxy, necessarily thought the *Rambler* favoured heresy; those who saw in the movement the machinery for the conversion of the country, of course considered it as the enemy of that glorious revolution. Just in proportion to the good each admirer expected from the revival, to such extent did he put down the *Rambler* as author and advocate of evil. But in all this it was unjustly assailed. For myself, admiring Gothic for its artistic and mystical effects beyond all other styles, feeling myself impressed by the first aspect of the interior of Milan cathedral in a manner that the first entry into St. Peter's at Rome could in no way equal, I have still always found it as possible to pray devoutly in the Madeleine at Paris as in Amiens cathedral; and have never, in my evening examination of conscience, charged myself with choosing a less grace before a greater, if I happened to have preferred hearing Mass in a mere room to hearing it in a Gothic church, or if I had sought a function with florid music and fiddle accompaniments, rather than with the harsh monotony and arbitrary transitions of the Gregorian chant.

I hope this avowal will not involve me in the penalty of being forbidden to offer to the readers of the *Rambler* my thoughts on what may be called the Development of Gothic Architecture. Whether the fruit of my thinking is worth any thing or not, at least it will prove that a person may concur in what the *Rambler* has been in the practice of saying about this style, without being insensible to the charms with which so many of our countrymen have been smitten, and without standing apart disdainfully from a movement which I nevertheless am not slow to criticise. And, if this is my state of mind, it may have been that of the writers in the *Rambler* also.

The Gothic movement has progressed beyond the limit at which its first authors wished it to stay. No artist would now endorse Mr. Wightwick's *Hints to the Young Architect*: "Italian Gothic he will carefully eschew, at least as a model. To

the great cathedrals of Germany, France, and Normandy his continental Gothic studies will be confined; nor will he forget, even in perusing them, that England is, after all, more especially the school in which Gothic architecture develops itself with the most essential truth." Pugin, though his French extraction might have been expected to give him a leaning towards French Gothic; and though in his early works—notably in the cathedral at Birmingham—he discovered a partiality to the peculiarities of French and German arrangement and principles, yet soon changed his mind, and apparently became more and more exclusive, national, and English to the end of his life; and seems at last to have entertained a positive preference for the low wooden roofs, irregular plan, and encumbered perspective, that are so common in our old country churches, over the airy simplicity of continental Gothic. The impulse of the powerful mind of this great genius has continued to make itself felt among Catholic architects; and there is scarcely one that dares emancipate himself from the traditions imposed by him.

But outside our communion the case is different; there eclecticism is openly proclaimed to be the common-sense principle of art, and is most successfully exhibited in realised form in Mr. Scott's design for the Foreign Office. Mr. Petit, whose *Architectural Studies in France* entitle him to a high place among the liberal Gothic revivalists, on the Pre-Raphaelite principle, recommends to members of the Anglican communion a return, not to the Gothic style, but to that out of which the Gothic grew; not, indeed, to our Norman or earlier Saxon, but to the "foreign fashions" which he finds in the south of France. His pet style is a restoration of the Romanesque domed buildings in three compartments—the pier, the arch, and the cupola; this seems to him the truest compromise between Gothic and Classical art. He would have no servile imitation; for "a revived style must show changes, and those not for the worse, accommodating itself to a new state of existence: the revivers of the Classical style never thought of confusing their works with those of the ancients;" they did not aspire to be counterfeits or fac-simile makers, but artists. Mr. Petit proves that the Gothic style is not fit for the Anglican service by a pretty story. A man, he tells us, asked the Pope for absolution for a murder he intended to commit, and made the same request after its commission; but the second time he was simply told that he had done well in assassinating the enemy of the Church. "This Christian feeling," says Mr. Petit, "is not one that we should wish to see revived, even if its revival might be accompanied by that

of the purest Gothic. . . . If I should any where allude to differences of ceremonial, it is only that I may point out the absurdity of imitating buildings adapted to one form of worship in those which we want for another." Mr. Petit apparently has some obscure suspicion that Gothic churches are peculiarly adapted to giving absolution for crimes before they are committed, and so, perhaps, founds his advocacy of a modification of Gothic rather upon doctrinal than æsthetical grounds. Not so, however, Mr. Street, who, if I remember rightly, gave evidence of great architectural talent both in a plan for the Foreign Office and in a design for the Memorial Church at Constantinople. He criticises our Cisalpine styles, advocates the introduction of the Italian Gothic on principles of taste, and has shown in his original drawings a complete mastery of its characteristics. Mr. Fergusson is another who has contributed to this tendency of taste; and among ourselves, Mr. Wigley, though I cannot compliment him much on the church he has built at Rome, yet evinces in his writings an intelligent appreciation of the principles of Italian Gothic, and, by his useful if inelegant translation of St. Charles's *Instructions*, has done something towards inoculating Catholics with more liberal feelings. The numbers of Catholics who have travelled into Italy, and seen with their own eyes the beauties and defects of the Gothic of that country, constitute another element of change; and though all buildings in that style leave something to desiderate, yet they reveal an idea much more sublime, if more indefinite, than that of other styles. Such persons are led to feel that the Classical and the Lombard schools attained perfection, expressed what they had to express, and accomplished their purpose. Gothic never did so; it always left a place for longing. The ideal beauty that it aims at is unapproachable; hence the enthusiasm with which it may still be worked, and the true developments which it promises to men of genius.

Writers like Petit, Street, and Fergusson have approached the subject of architecture in the same spirit that Cuvier and Owen approach the animal frame. To their eyes the great original works of architecture spring up like a natural production of the soil,—they scarcely look upon them as works of manual labour and calculation. It is long before they think of examining the mechanical structure; and when they do, they take its perfections for granted, as they do those of any other natural object of spontaneous growth. They do not criticise so much as observe the "intuitive unerring knowledge of construction and decoration;" or, if they do criticise any irregularity, they do it as reverently as they would judge

nature herself: as in nature, they look for the typical form, not in one example, but in many. This feeling goes far to excuse our facsimile-making architects; if they considered the models of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries as productions of nature, they did not transgress the fundamental principles of art in imitating them.

The investigators of the natural history of architecture have traced it up to four different originals; Pugin gave them the idea of looking for its birth, not in the fancy of man, but in the necessities of materials. The Egyptian was not led into his massive style by any *à-priori* preference for it, but because his first temple was a cavern, whose character he wished to reproduce in all his after-buildings; the Persian and Greek architecture was founded on no original innate preference for the parallelogram, but because the wooden beams which were used for construction first of all determined the general character of the style. So the Gothic architect was actuated by no predetermined theory of aspiring vertical lines, but he was gradually led into the system by the structural necessities of the pointed arch. Hence architecture is traced to no innate principle working in us *à priori*, but to the outward accidental determining models—the cave, the tent, the beam, and the arch. And although these four originals have been developed into four styles as distinct as possible, so that no taste could be so cosmopolite and eclectic as to wish to jumble together the cavernous Egyptian temple, the tent-like Buddhist dome, the Grecian colonnade, and the Gothic pinnaced and buttressed arcade, yet these styles, in their sources, in the reason of things, and in the innate principles of beauty, cannot be said to exclude one another, or to defy amalgamation. The origin of the styles was an external accident, and cannot be erected into a universal and necessary system. We can never say that it is impossible to mix the arcuated and trabeated systems,—to correct the verticalness of Gothic by an admixture of the horizontal element of Classical architecture. Facts would be against us. The *sacro speco* of Subiaco is as real a cavern as that of Elephanta, or as any on the Nile; and yet it is as real Gothic as Salisbury Cathedral. The church of St. Eustache is beyond comparison the finest ecclesiastical interior in Paris; yet it is in a “debased” style, and mixes up the beam with the arch almost as completely as Sir Christopher Wren’s admirable little church of St. Stephen in Walbrook. The Arabian dome is adapted to Gothic with marvellous success in the interior of St. Antonio at Padua, and in the exterior of the Duomo of Florence. These examples disprove the assertion that there is any radi-

cal incompatibility in the first ideas of the four styles, whatever there may be in the styles as developed into their perfection.

The necessities of materials, the original models, the purpose to be compassed, and the ground to be covered, have much to do with the common sense of art, but very little with the abstract principles of beauty, which may have been awakened and brought out into consciousness by the combinations thus accidentally originated, but cannot be governed by them. It is impossible, for instance, that the controversy, how much development is to be given to horizontal features in Gothic architecture, should be determined by the fact, real or supposed, that the horizontal line is the characteristic of the beam, and is therefore only to be developed in trabeated or classical architecture. As little can the theory that the first idea of the cupola was taken from the tent determine the inconsistency of the dome with the real principles of Gothic beauty. Such inconsistency may exist, but it cannot be determined by such exceedingly material and accidental arguments. We should rather look for the historical development of the styles, and seek for those critical periods when principles seemingly contradictory were admitted or rejected.

Let us, then, examine the struggles of the vertical and horizontal principles in Gothic architecture. Gothic began by adopting the whole arrangement of the church such as we see it in Lombardy, and as it is described and prescribed in St. Charles's rules, only replacing the cupola by the tower and spire, and substituting the vertical for the horizontal principle, which still lingered in the Lombard and Romanesque architecture, and consequently adopting the pointed instead of the round arch; hence came an unlimited power of vaulting, increased height of roof, lightness and reed-like elasticity of pier (Goethe, by the by, compares the shafts to tobacco-pipes), shooting up into the arch, and continuing its flight to the roof; hence, by easy changes, the enlargement of the spaces for light, leading to the tempering its glare with painted glass, and the various products of groining, pendant, mullion, tracery, flying-buttress, pinnacle and spire, and the life and animation, the vigour and freshness, the exulting consciousness of power, the luxuriance, rivalling nature herself, that pervade the whole pile. The upward spring, the vertical tendency, is the key to the whole change from the horizontal lines, circular arches, and expanding cupola of the Lombard, to the pointed arches, aspiring vaults, and intricate tracery of the Gothic.

But now, in the conflict of these two principles there must have been a time when they were balanced,—when the horizontal and vertical, the “trabeated” and the “arcuated” systems were fighting for supremacy, and were being combined with more or less felicity. Is this transition style more or less perfect than those which preceded and followed it?

Let us for the time put aside the Italian Gothic, which never freed itself from the supremacy of the horizontal principle, and examine only the Cisalpine specimens, continental or English, of the style. I assert, then, that by far the most magnificent development of Gothic was in that early period of its triumphs, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when it had not liberated itself from the horizontal traditions of its parent Romanesque. In the “early English,” and in the corresponding French styles, one seems to discover the point of uncertainty and struggle between the horizontal and vertical systems: in some instances the horizontal line is predominant, not only in the subordinate divisions, but also in the main outlines, as in the façade of Notre Dame at Paris; but generally it is much more subdued, and only brought out in a well-marked arcade, a heavy string-course, or a notable cornice. In the struggle, the vertical system gradually gained the day; and the ambition of the later Gothic architects seems to have been to eliminate every thing that should remind one of the horizontal principle. In the exterior this was not possible, the long summit of nave and choir could not be otherwise than horizontal; but in the interior the vertical element was completely triumphant, till the flamboyant style banished the horizontal element from the eye, and produced the reedy interiors of Louvain and Orleans, without a capital or a string-course visible in the perspective to break the monotony of the ascending lines.

By some secret sympathy, the style which amalgamates the horizontal and vertical principles, and that which aims at isolating the vertical principle from all admixture, are distinguished by their own characteristic systems of ornamentation. It is evident that you can either carve your ornaments on the building as it stands, by paring away what is superfluous, or can plaster them on afterwards as an addition and after-thought. There are, then, two kinds of ornamentation, that of subtraction and that of addition: the first, being obliged to respect the strength of the lower parts of the building, and only being able to pare away at will where the walls have less to support, gives the appearance of increasing lightness as you ascend,—it is tapering and aspiring, there is nothing overhanging, no projection unsupported by pilaster or

buttress; while the system of addition delights in projections, in heavy cornices, in well-marked horizontal features, in the appearance of weight above, as if to keep things in their place by pressure. By an easy development the ornament of subtraction is reduced to a system of paneling, while the ornament of addition may luxuriate in patches of purposeless sculpture; but the former style is mechanical, the latter always more or less artistic. The ornament of subtraction seems proper to the vertical style, that of addition to the horizontal.

Without drawings, it is difficult to make my meaning quite clear; but the divergence of the two principles may be traced in the way of treating the circular window which was universal in the façade of Lombard and Romanesque churches. It was there treated as a simple feature, inserted above the central door, with no attempt at apology or harmony. The same feeling prevailed through the first period of Gothic architecture. In the façade of Notre Dame at Paris, in the transept fronts at Chartres, in the south transept of York, and in all buildings of that pure period, the circular window is put in naturally and simply, without a thought of its being a discord requiring to be prepared and resolved,—if we may borrow a musical phrase to express the feeling with which it afterwards came to be regarded. In this style there was a love for circular panels: they were placed in the spandrels of arches, on the face of buttresses, on any part of the wall that required to be made very prominent. Their use may be studied on the façade of Peterborough Cathedral. But as the vertical system prevailed, eyes educated in that principle saw in these features only circular plates put up at random, and not growing out of other parts of the design. I recollect when I first saw Italian Gothic, in the not very brilliant façade of Como Cathedral, it struck me as a mere wall, without buttresses to speak of, with doors and windows pierced in it, and ornaments stuck on in a way that seemed to have no necessary connection with the design, to which any other shape or position of door or window, or niche, or ornamental panel, would have appeared quite as concordant. The ornaments did not seem to my eye governed by the elevation, but the elevation a mere vehicle to display the exquisite ornaments, as in a shop-window.

How, then, did the developers of the vertical principle deal with the rose window? They tried all sorts of ways to bring it into a general system of paneling. First, they put legs to it, by flanking it with columns and throwing an arch over it; or if it was high up in the gable, they put a spherical

triangle round it, to harmonise it with the external contour of the wall. These contrivances failing to satisfy them, they at last reduced the rose window to a mere portion of the tracery of a large pointed window, that is, to a member of the paneling. Thus it lost all its importance, and, in England, was suppressed when the geometrical window-tracery went out of fashion. It was continued in France, not as a window complete in itself, but as the chief feature of an ordinary arched window with straight sides; and as all systematic paneling belongs to the ornament of subtraction, the whole idea and feeling of the circular window was changed. In the Italian and early French façades it is always an ornament of addition.

I may attempt to explain how the system of panels grows out of the vertical principle. As the vertical pressure in a Gothic building is concentrated in a few points, marked by piers and buttresses, all the space between being left for arch, or window, or ornamental wall; and as the strength was materially increased by putting great weights on these vertical supports, from which the idea of pinnacles was developed, —the general skeleton of a Gothic building came to be, not a series of vertical lines bound together at the top by a strong horizontal member, but a series of such lines bound together in the middle by arches; the skeleton was not a sturdy set of posts and rails, like the temples of Pæstum from a distance, but a stack of hop-poles twined together with vine, like the spire of Strasburg as seen from the surrounding country. Now the tendency of all art is to reproduce in details the ideal of the whole. No wonder, then, that in the “perpendicular” and “flamboyant” developments the vertical lines of the buttresses were repeated over the intermediate surfaces, and the idea of the skeleton carried out in the flesh and fibre. All the walls were ruled over with these lines, connected at intervals by arched mouldings as by garlands; some of the spaces were pierced and became windows, the rest were only cut to a shallow depth, and became panels.

But this development ruined Gothic architecture. It was a deep degradation from its former simplicity. The more imperfect a being is, the more do its individual parts resemble each other, and the more do these parts resemble the whole. The more perfect the being, the more dissimilar are its parts. In the former case the parts are more or less a repetition of the whole; in the latter case they are totally unlike the whole. The more the parts resemble each other, the less subordination is there of one to the other; and it is subordination of parts that indicates the highest grade of organisation.

Even after the vertical lines of buttress and pinnacle were well developed, the great heavy lead roof seemed, on a side view, to give a reason for them by giving them a weight to support. It had the same effect as the heavy cornice of Classical art. Mr. Street affirms, quite wrongly in my opinion, that the northern roofs have a vertical effect: this may be true for the steep sides of the gable end; but for the side view, the broad band of heavy lead colour, the broader the steeper the roof, is the chief horizontal feature, and the only one that reconciles the eye to the endless series of vertical lines. But when, for economy, or in order to give a complete triumph to the vertical principle, the steep roof was cut down, flattened, and concealed behind the parapet, and the buttresses and pinnacles left standing out naked against the sky like scaffolding-poles, it was soon felt that some compensation was required. This was sought, and partly found, in attracting the eye to the details of the paneling; the endless repetition of the same form in the parts seemed to account for it in the whole. Thus the style which is symbolised in Henry VII.'s chapel grew out of that which is exemplified in the magnificent abbey-church of Westminster. In the abbey the ascending lines of the buttresses and pinnacles are capped and weighted with the enormous cornice of the great leaden roof; in the chapel the thin pinnacles stand pertly out against the sky, and the unfinished outline is filled up with an incrustation of minute paneling.\*

In Italian Gothic there were never the vast roofs to which we are accustomed; but their absence was compensated by the great development of the cornice. When the cornice was discarded, the same result followed as in England: witness the Duomo of Milan, which externally, perhaps, is the most unartistic sugar-palace or ice-pavilion conceivable, but internally the very finest conception ever realised by Gothic art. Externally, the main idea of the architect was to suppress

\* Of course I do not mean to say that paneling is peculiar to the later Gothic styles. It is found in Classical architecture, in Lombard, and in the first Gothic; but in Lombard and early Gothic it is subordinate to the arcade, and rather used to mark architectural divisions, and to fix the attention on the most important parts of the design, than as the final cause of the elevation, as it becomes in the Gothic of Henry VII.'s chapel and of the Houses of Parliament. No doubt this exuberance of ornament was prepared for by the rich façades of the first Gothic, where arcades and bosses and panels are crowded together so as to leave no space of wall blank. But this was a mere exuberance of power; each separate feature was distinct and independent. The ornament was not formed by a mechanical ruling of lines, but by the free hand and artistic eye. The vertical lines were so little cared for, that very often there was no attempt to preserve even an analogous and multiple number, much less the same number, in the superimposed features: five arches above occupying the same space as three or two below quite destroy all idea of vertical unity.

every horizontal feature: no dark roof to back up the thin outline of the weak pinnacles that stand out so painfully against the deep blue sky; the walls covered with paneling, which is continued to the top without any decided line of parapet or cornice, and finishes in a rough serrated line of small gables, restless and wanting in the repose that a true horizontal feature alone can give. Even the string-courses are frittered away by a continuous trefoil arcading on their under side. Great flying buttresses span the aisles; and then in the clerestory is repeated exactly what we have seen below,—the same paneling, the same parapet, the same light pinnacles; and then another set of flying buttresses and another clerestory finish off the elevation with a third edition of the same features. Even in the transoms of the great windows of the external aisles the horizontal line which we might expect is replaced by a line of tracery, surmounted in each light by a crocketed canopy running up into the light above. Altogether an effect of a prodigious number and repetition of vertical lines is produced; and yet the real arrowy flight, the true characteristic of Gothic architecture, is altogether lost; “the effect of the entire building is rather horizontal and depressing than otherwise.” “Extremes meet; and so the attempt to avoid absolute horizontal lines has completely failed.” Such is Mr. Street’s judgment of this celebrated exterior, which has every advantage of climate, material, and size in its favour, and in spite of all is a most striking failure.

But the interior! No one but a poet could represent in words the overpowering grandeur of the view as you enter the western doorways—the only entrance left by the architect, as if he would not allow the first impression to be other than the best. The immense height and length; the five aisles, the two outside being lower than the second and fourth, each of which, like the central aisle, has a clerestory to itself; the immense windows of the external aisles and of the apse, filled with gorgeous stained glass; the four rows of little clerestory windows up aloft, diffusing a deep orange light; the rich colour of the half-transparent alabaster of which the whole is built;—all contribute to the effect, but they are not enough to account for the whole. Bourges Cathedral has five aisles, arranged in the same way, and may compete in loftiness, if not in length, with Milan; Chartres is even richer in the tones of its painted windows; Amiens and Cologne are purer in their style, and as perfect in their construction; yet none of these approach in interior effect to Milan. The grand secret is, that the horizontal principle, totally eliminated from the

exterior, receives a prodigious development in the interior. The enormous supercapitals of the piers give the effect of a cornice, broken indeed by the arches, but reunited in the perspective, and by its importance reducing all the vertical members to a proportionate insignificance. Whether the German architect was impressed with the significance of the Classical rule, to let no arch spring directly from the capital of a column, but from an entablature or piece of architrave above it; or whether he had seen and appreciated the effect of the supercapitals in the portico of the cathedral at Halle in Swabia;\* or whether his own genius led him to the discovery, —he seems to me to have solved the great question of the importance of the horizontal feature in the Gothic interior. Over the usual foliated cap of his magnificently lofty piers he has added a kind of octagonal turret, each face of which is occupied by a rich niche of ever-varied design, containing a statue, sometimes of great merit. Seen in perspective, these supercapitals constitute a horizontal band about twenty feet tall, extending the whole length of the church. Almost all the internal sculpture is gathered up in them, so that in all respects they become the most important feature in the church,—a broad band of ornament running all round the nave, choir, and transept, attracting and fixing the attention from the first. If Heinrich of Gmunden had given as great a development to cornice or roof in the exterior of his cathedral as to the entablature over the columns in the interior, the outside would probably have been as original and as magnificent as the inside: the proper development of the horizontal features would have released him from the necessity of covering his walls with panels, and of frittering away both his money and his genius in a loosely-organised mass of details.

How radically incongruous the rule-and-compass system of paneling is with the strong development of horizontal features, is shown by the example of the clock-tower of the Houses of Parliament. At first sight nothing can be finer than a tall tower with deep machicolations, an overhanging parapet, and a heavy roof. What beautiful specimens have we seen in Italy and Belgium,—the great campanile and the tower of the Uffizi at Florence; the old *beffroi* of Ghent, before the reformed corporation replaced the old top by the present cast-iron abomination; and the graceful overhanging towers of Warwick Castle! But in all these the architects wisely omitted the eternal repetition of paneling: if there

\* One of these is figured in Heideloff's *Ornamentik des Mittelalters*, Heft v. pl. 4. The date of the building is 1156.

were ornaments, they were arcades, not panels; there was no endeavour to break up plain surfaces, but, on the contrary, the effect of breadth and dignity was sedulously preserved, to keep the substructure in harmony with the overhanging crown. In the Houses of Parliament the two incongruous systems are united; and the result is that wonderful tower, which, in spite of its beauty of detail, is nothing better than a gigantic Chinese kitchen-clock for the million.

My conclusion is this: the horizontal—I will not call it the *trabeated*—principle prevailed in the Lombard, the Romanesque, and the Norman, three cognate styles which mark the same artistic periods in Italy, France, and England. In the Gothic, which grew out of these styles, the horizontal principle was still struggling with the vertical. In Italy, so far as the national Gothic was concerned, the horizontal principle was never conquered; in France, Germany, and England it was beaten out of the field. But almost all educated and artistic tastes prefer that style where it yet maintains an equal combat, and confess that as it was eliminated, so architecture degenerated. Where it was restored, wholly or in part, architecture revived. To such happy and hardy renovations we owe the overwhelming interior of Milan, the magnificent interior of St. Eustache at Paris, and the well-developed cornice which surmounts the aisles of the apse at Orleans,—perhaps the only part of that ill-used church which deserves any study.

The development of the horizontal features that I have recommended is a different thing from the technically *trabeated* construction of which we may find a multitude of examples, generally in small adjuncts. The north and south porches of Chartres Cathedral, the aisles of Rosslyn Chapel, the curious and beautiful gallery supported on detached shafts which threads the aisles of Rouen Cathedral at mid height, and winds gracefully round the columns, are instances in point. The flat stones of altars are often laid on the capitals of short columns, as are also pulpits and balustrades. All these have good effect in their place; but they exemplify the *trabeated* construction, as distinguished from the more ideal *horizontal* principle. It is this last that I would affirm ought to be developed,—by cornices and arcades outside, by the development of capitals and strongly marked string-courses inside, and, especially, in a building of sufficient pretence, by working out the magnificent idea of Milan Cathedral, and replacing the Classical entablature by the Gothic supercapital.

## THE ANCIENT SAINTS. No. I.

I CONFESS to a delight in reading the lives, and dwelling on the characters and actions, of the saints of the first ages, such as I receive from none besides them; and for this reason, because we know so much more about them than about the saints who come after them. People are variously constituted; what influences one does not influence another. There are persons of warm imaginations, who can easily picture to themselves what they never saw. They can at will see angels and saints hovering over them when they are in church; they see their lineaments, their features, their motions, their gestures, their smile or their grief. They can go home and draw what they have seen, from the vivid memory of what, while it lasted, was so transporting. I am not one of such; I am touched by my five senses, by what my eyes behold and my ears hear. I am touched by what I read about, not by what I myself create. As faith need not lead to practice, so in me imagination does not lead to devotion. I gain more from the life of our Lord in the Gospels than from a treatise *de Deo*. I gain more from three verses of St. John than from the three points of a meditation. I like a Spanish crucifix of painted wood more than one from Italy which is made of gold. I am more touched by the Seven Dolours than by the Immaculate Conception; I am more devout to St. Gabriel than to a seraph. I love St. Paul more than one of those first Carmelites, his contemporaries, whose names and acts no one ever heard of; I feel affectionately towards the Alexandrian Dionysius, I do homage to St. George. I do not say that my way is better than another's; but it is my way, and an allowable way. And it is the reason why I am so specially attached to the saints of the third and fourth century, because we know so much about them. They have written autobiography on a large scale; they have given us their own histories, their thoughts, words, and actions, in a number of goodly folios, productions which are in themselves some of their meritorious works.

I do not know where else to find the daily life, the secret heart, of such favoured servants of God, unveiled to their devout disciples in such completeness and fidelity. Modern times afford one or two instances of the kind: St. Theresa is one of them; St. Francis de Sales is another: still, on the whole, what should we have known of the generality of the great saints of the last centuries, had we been left to them-

selves for the information?\*

There is one circumstance, indeed, which tells in their favour; we have their portraits. This, I grant, is in favour of the moderns; certainly we have no idea at all of the personal appearance, the expression of countenance or the bearing of St. Athanasius or St. Hilary. It is assuredly a great point, if the case be so, that we have likenesses of the modern saints. But I am not sure that we have; often there was no attempt at all made to take their likenesses in their lifetime; sometimes they would not let themselves be taken when there was. St. Philip Neri once caught an artist in the very commission of that great offence, and stopped him; and the unfinished picture hangs up to this day at the *Pellegrini*, a memorial of a painter's devotion and a saint's modesty. Sometimes, again, there may be a good likeness; but, however interesting in itself, it was taken before the saint's conversion, and can only satisfy a human curiosity: sometimes it was taken, indeed, but has been lost, and the copies, if there are any, are not to be trusted. Sometimes the artist's veneration has idealised the countenance, or the popular demand has vulgarised it. How has a devout poetry embellished some of the ordinary portraits of the great St. Carlo! how does the original likeness of St. Ignatius differ from the military countenance and figure which ordinary pencils have bestowed upon him! You cannot thus wander from the original, in the new edition you put to press of St. Cyril or the blessed Theodoret.

I repeat, what I want to trace and study is the hidden life, or the *interior*, as it is called, of such glorious creations of God; and this I gain with difficulty from mere biographies. Those biographies are most valuable both as being true and as being edifying; they are true to the letter, as far as they record facts and acts; I know it: but actions are not enough for sanctity; we must have saintly motives; and as to these motives, the actions themselves seldom carry them along with them. In consequence, they are often supplied simply by the biographer, and with good reason supplied, from the certainty which he feels that since it is the act of a saint which he is describing, it must be a saintly act. Properly and naturally supplied, I grant: but I can do that as well as he; and ought to do it for myself, and shall be sure to do it. The biographer is no longer a mere witness and reporter; he has become a commentator. He gives me no insight into the saint's *interior*; he does but tell me to infer that the saint acted supernaturally from the reason of the case, or to hold

\* I set aside visions, ecstasies, prophecies, and other supernatural writings.

it on faith because he has been canonised. When I read in such a life, "The saint, when asked a question, was silent from humility," or "from compassion for the ignorance of the speaker," or "in order to give him a gentle rebuke,"—I find a motive assigned, whichever of the three is selected, which is the biographer's own, and perhaps has two chances to one against its being the right one. We read of an occasion on which St. Athanasius said nothing, but smiled, when a question was put to him: it was another saint who asked the question, and who has recorded the smile; but he does not more than doubtfully explain it. Many a biographer would out of piety have pronounced the reason of that smile. I should not blame him for doing so: but it was more than he could do as a biographer; he would do it, not as an historian, but as a spiritual writer.

On the other hand, when a saint is himself the speaker, he interprets his own action; and that is what I find done in such fullness in the case of those early luminaries of the Church to whom I am referring. I want to hear a saint converse; I am not content to look at him as a statue; his words are the index of his hidden life, as far as that life can be known to man, for "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." This is why I exult in the folios of the Fathers. I am not obliged to read the whole of them, I read what I can and am content. Though I may not have advanced into their *interior* more than a certain way, still, what I have read is good so far as it goes. It does not derogate from the reality of such knowledge and love of a saint as I have got from what I have read already of his writings, that there is much more of those writings to be read and much more of him to be loved. Cannot we know and love the King of Saints? Yet we always can know more, and gain further motives for loving Him.

Now the ancient saints have left behind them just that kind of literature which more than any other represents the abundance of the heart, which more than any other approaches to conversation; I mean correspondence. Why is it that we feel an interest in Cicero which we cannot feel in Demosthenes or Plato? Plato is the very type of soaring philosophy, and Demosthenes of forcible eloquence; Cicero is something more than orator and sage; he is not a mere ideal-ity, he is a man and a brother; he is one of ourselves. We do not merely believe it, or infer it, but we have the enduring and living evidence of it—how? In his letters. He can be studied, criticised if you will; but still dwelt upon and loved. Now the case of the ancient saints is parallel to that

of Cicero. We have their letters in a marvellous profusion. We have above 400 letters of St. Basil's; above 200 of St. Augustine's. St. Chrysostom has left us about 240; St. Gregory Nazianzen the same number; Pope St. Gregory as many as 840. St. Nilus close on 1400; St. Isidore, 1440. The blessed Theodoret, 146; St. Leo, 140; St. Cyprian, 80 or 90; St. Paulinus, 50; St. Jerome, above 100. St. Bernard, the last of the fathers, supplies 444; and St. Anselm, the first of the schoolmen, nearly the same number. I am passing beyond the early saints; but they all belong to one school of literature, which is now well-nigh extinct.

These letters are of very various characters, compared one with another: a large portion of them were intended simply for the parties to whom they are addressed; a large portion consist of brief answers to questions asked of the writer, or a few words of good counsel or spiritual exhortation, disclosing his character either by the topic selected, or his mode of dealing with it. Many are doctrinal; great numbers, again, are strictly ecclesiastical and *ex cathedrâ*. Many are historical and biographical; some might be called state-papers; some narrate public transactions, and how the writer felt towards them, or why he took part in them. Pope Gregory's epistles give us the same sort of insight into the holy solicitude for the universal Christian people which possessed him, that minute vigilance, yet comprehensive superintendence of the chief pastor, which in a very different field of labour is seen in the Duke of Wellington's despatches on campaign, which tell us so much more about him than any panegyrical sketch. Those of St. Isidore and St. Nilus consist of little more than one or two terse, pithy, pregnant sentences, which may be called sermonets, and are often as vivid as if we heard them. St. Chrysostom's are for the most part crowded into the three memorable years in which the sufferings of exile gradually ripened into a virtual martyrdom. Others, as some of those of St. Jerome and St. Ambrose, are meditations on mystical subjects. Those of St. Dionysius of Alexandria, which are but fragments, recount the various trials of the time, and are marked with a vigorous individuality which invests the narrative with an interest far higher than historical.

This manifestation of themselves the ancient saints carry with them into other kinds of composition, where it was less to be expected. Instead of writing formal doctrinal treatises, they write controversy; and their controversy, again, is correspondence. They mix up their own persons, natural and supernatural, with the didactic or polemical works which engaged them. Their authoritative declarations are written,

not on stone tablets, but on what Scripture calls "the fleshly tables of the heart." The line of their discussion traverses a region rich and interesting, and opens on those who follow them in it a succession of instructive views as to the aims, the difficulties, the disappointments, under which they journeyed on heavenward, their care of the brethren, their apprehension of living teachers of error. Dogma and proof are at the same time hagiography. They do not write a *summa theologiæ*, or draw out a *catena*, or pursue a single thesis through the stages of a scholastic disputation. They wrote for the occasion, and seldom on a carefully-digested plan.

The same remark holds of their comments upon Scripture. A speaker and an audience are prominent throughout them; and we gain an insight into their own character and the circumstances of their times, while we are indoctrinated in the sacred text. When Pope Gregory comments upon Ezechiel, he writes about the Lombards, his own people, and himself. What a vivid idea we have of St. Chrysostom! partly from his style, partly from his matter; yet we derive it from his formal expositions of Scripture. His expositions are discourses; his discourses, whether he will or no, are manifestations. St. Gregory Nazianzen has written discourses too, by means of which he has gained for himself the special title of "Theologus;" yet these same orations give us also a large range of information about his own life, his kindred and friends, his feelings and his fortunes; and, as if this were not enough, he has bequeathed to us, besides his letters, his poems, a huge collection of miscellaneous verse, full of himself and his times. They are his confessions.

Here I am reminded of the celebrated work of St. Augustine's which bears that name, and which has no parallel in sacred literature. Of the same character are portions of the correspondence of St. Basil, and, again, of St. Jerome. It is remarkable, on the other hand, that certain ancient writers, who, able and learned as they are, have no title to be called saints, such as Tertullian and Eusebius, afford as few instances as possible in their works, as far as I know, of that tenderness and simplicity of character which leads their saintly contemporaries to an unstudied self-manifestation.

It is perhaps presumptuous in me to have spoken of the Fathers thus universally, and I may have made mistakes in detail; but I have confidence in my general principle, and its general exemplification in their case. Words are the exponents of thoughts, and a silent saint is the object of faith rather than of affection. If he speaks, then we have the original before us; if he is silent, we have only a copy, done

with more or less skill according to the painter. But in saying this, I do not mark off the saints into two distinct classes, those who speak and those who are silent; I am only contrasting two kinds of exhibition which are variously fulfilled in them, taken one by one. Nor is a silent saint one who does not write, but one who does not speak; and some of them may manifest themselves by their short sayings and their single words more graphically than if they had written a volume. When St. Philip Neri excused his abstemiousness on the ground of his fear lest he should get as fat as his friend Francesco Scarletti, or hid his religious tears with the jest, "Mayn't a poor orphan weep, who has neither father nor mother?" he let us into his character better than by many treatises. Nor are any words at all necessary in some cases; for I suppose the martyrs, who are the most ancient saints of all, speak by their deaths; whereas some of the Fathers, as St. Isidore of Seville, and various medieval saints, have written many large books, and tell us, alas, about themselves nothing. And further still, it is the state of education among us which gives force to the point on which I am dwelling. The bulk of the faithful have nothing at all to do with saints' lives or writings, for this simple reason, because they cannot read. They are devout to a saint, as they are devout to their guardian-angel, because he is a work of God, full of grace and glory, and able to protect them. I recollect an Irishman of the humblest class complaining of the sermon of a Religious because it had nothing in it about the saints: the fact was not so at all, and in the pulpit from which the sermon was preached there had been much about saints Sunday after Sunday. But it turned out that the complainant was devout to St. Joseph; and his real grievance was, that St. Joseph was not mentioned in the sermon. Nor did he want more than the mention of his glorious patron's name; his very name inspired devotion, he needed no life of him. I wish we, with all our learning, were sure of having this poor man's devotion; but it is nothing to the purpose in my present argument, in which I am not contrasting educated and uneducated piety, but the biographies of saints and their actual writings.

Nor must it be supposed that I think lightly of the debt of gratitude which we owe to their biographers. It is not their fault if their saint has been silent; all that we know about him, be it much, be it little, we owe to them. As I was saying just now, some of those who have written most have told us least. There is St. Thomas; he was called in his youth the *Bos Siculus* for his silence; it is one of the few personal traits which we have of him, and for that very reason,

though it does but record the privation of which I am complaining, it is worth a good deal. It is a great consolation to know that he was the *Bos Siculus*; it makes us feel a sympathy with him, and leads us to trust that perhaps he will feel some sympathy for us. But it is the sole consolation for that forlorn silence, since although at length he broke it to some purpose, and became a marvel (according to the proverb in such cases), still he is as silent as before as regards himself. The angel of the schools! how overflowing he must have been, I say to myself, in all bright supernatural visions, and beautiful and sublime thoughts! how serene in his contemplation of them! how winning in his communication! but he has not helped me ever so little in apprehending what I firmly believe. He wrote his *Summa* and his *Hymns* under obedience, I suppose; and no obedience was given him to speak of himself. So we are thrown upon his biographers, and but for them, we should speak of him as we speak of the author of the *Imitation*, or of the *Veni Creator*, only as of a great unknown benefactor. All honour, then, and gratitude to the writers of saints' lives. They have done what they could. It would not have improved matters if they had been silent as well as the saint; still this does not touch the truth of the contrast I am drawing between a saint's life and his writings.

I feel his writings to be his real life; and what is called his life to be by comparison but a *pietà*. Perhaps I shall be asked what I mean by life. I mean what impresses the reader with the idea of moral unity, identity, growth, continuity, personality. When a saint converses with me, I am conscious of the presence of one active principle of thought, one individual character, flowing on and into the various matters which he discusses, and the different transactions in which he mixes. It is what no memorials can reach, however skilfully elaborated, however free from effort or study, however conscientiously faithful, however guaranteed by the veracity of the writers. Why cannot art rival the lily or the rose? Because the colours of the flower are developed and blended by the force of a hidden life; and on the other hand, the lights and shades of the pencil are diligently laid on from without. A magnifying glass will show the difference. Nor will it improve matters, though not one only, but a dozen good artists successively take part in the picture; even if the outline is unbroken, the colouring is muddy. Commonly, what is called "the life," is little more than a collection of anecdotes brought together from a number of independent quarters; anecdotes striking, indeed, and edifying, but valuable in themselves rather than valuable as parts of a biography; valuable who-

ever was the subject of them, not valuable as illustrating a particular saint. It would be difficult to mistake for each other a paragraph of St. Ambrose, or of St. Jerome, or of St. Augustine; it would be easy to mistake a chapter in the life of one holy missionary or nun for a chapter in another's.

An almsgiving here, an instance of meekness there, a severity of penance, a round of religious duties,—all these humble me, instruct me, improve me; I cannot desire any thing better of their kind; but they do not necessarily coalesce into the image of a person. From such works I do but learn to pay devotion to an abstract and typical perfection under a certain particular name; I do not know more of the real saint who bore it than before. Saints, as other men, differ from each other in this, that the multitude of qualities which they have in common are differently combined in each of them. This forms one great part of their personality. One saint is remarkable for fortitude; not that he has not other heroic virtues by *concomitance*, as it may be called, but by virtue of that one gift in particular he has won his crown. Another is remarkable for patient hope, another for renunciation of the world. Such a particular virtue may be said to give form to all the rest which are grouped round it, and are moulded and modified by means of it. Thus it is that often what is right in one would be wrong in another; and, in fact, the very same action is allowed or chosen by one, and shunned by another, as being consistent or inconsistent with their respective characters,—pretty much as in the combination of colours, each separate tint takes a shade from the rest, and is good or bad from its company. The whole gives a meaning to the parts; but it is difficult to rise from the parts to the whole. When I read St. Augustine or St. Basil, I hold converse with a beautiful grace-illuminated soul, looking out into this world of sense, and leavening it with itself; when I read a professed life of him, I am wandering in a labyrinth of which I cannot find the centre, and am but conducted out of doors again when I do my best to penetrate within.

This seems to me, to tell the truth, a sort of pantheistic treatment of the saints. I ask something more than to stumble upon the *dissecta membra* of what ought to be a living whole. I take but a secondary interest in books which chop up a saint into chapters of faith, hope, charity, and the cardinal virtues. They are too scientific to be devotional. They have their great utility, but it is not the utility which they profess. They do not manifest a saint, they mince him into spiritual lessons. They are rightly called spiritual reading, that is just what they are, and they cannot possibly be any thing better;

but they are not any thing else. They contain a series of points of meditation on particular virtues, made easier because those points are put under the patronage and the invocation of a saint. With a view to learning real devotion to him, I prefer (speaking for myself) to have any one action or event of his life drawn out minutely, with his own comments upon it, than a score of virtues, or of acts of one virtue, strung together in as many sentences. Now, in the ancient writings I have spoken of, certain transactions are thoroughly worked out. We know all that happened to a saint on such an occasion, all that was done by him. We have a view of his character, his tastes, his natural infirmities, his struggles and victories over them, which in no other way can be attained. And therefore it is that, without quarrelling with the devotion of others, I give the preference to my own.

This is why it is so difficult to be patient with such Church histories as Mosheim's, putting out of the question his Protestant prejudices. When you have read through a century of him, you have as little distinct idea of it as when you began. You have been hurried about from subject to subject, from external history to internal, from ceremonies to divines, from heresies to persecutions, till you find that you have gained nothing but to be fatigued. If history is to mirror the actual course of time, it must also be a course itself; it must not be the mere emptying out of a portfolio of unconnected persons and events, which are not synchronous, nor contiguous, nor correlative, but merely arranged, if arrangement it can be called, according to the convenience of the author. And I have a parallel difficulty in the case of hagiographers, when they draw out their materials, not according to years, but according to virtues. Such reading is not history, it is moral science. Chronological considerations will be neglected; youth, manhood, and age, will be intermingled. I shall not be able to trace out, for my own edification, the solemn conflict which is waging in the soul between what is divine and what is human, or the eras of the successive victories won by the powers and principles which are divine. I shall not be able to determine whether there was heroism in the young, whether there was not infirmity and temptation in the old. I shall be wearied and disappointed, and I shall go back with pleasure to the Fathers.

Here another great subject opens upon us, when I ought to be bringing these remarks to an end. But I am getting far more argumentative than I thought to be when I began, so I lay my pen down, and retire into myself.

## Correspondence.

*To the Editor of the Rambler.*

### OUR MARTYRS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SIR,—I enjoy the happiness of having just built a Catholic church; and am now anxiously considering the many questions which suggest themselves as to the most appropriate and instructive decorations, whether in painting or sculpture.

Preliminary to all detail come the questions of subject for chancel, nave, or transepts; and although in some particulars my wishes are sufficiently decided, it is precisely in these that I am met by doubts as to whether such subjects are as yet permissible.

I refer to formal commemoration—even outside the sanctuary—of some or all of our glorious post-Reformation martyrs. My desire is in some way to do homage to Campion, Arrowsmith, and the rest of the saintly band, who are doubtless interceding hourly for us; to whom, both as labourers during their lives and intercessors now, much of the progress of religion amongst us is doubtless due, and through whom many more wonders of divine grace will surely be accorded, when we for whom they plead shall offer them more of that love and reverence which faith teaches to be their due.

May it not be that “the Second Spring” is retarded because, among other exhibitions of tepidity, we do not openly glory as we ought in those victims of persecutions from which, possibly through them, we are exempt? What other Catholics in the history of the Church have ever been so regardless as we of the blood shed amongst them by such heroes of the Cross? We seem scarcely to associate them in our minds with the “white-robed army,” because they bore familiar names like to our own, and were Englishmen of modern times. But distance, either of place or time, should not thus affect religious appreciations. Yet the ancient martyrs of pagan Rome, or those of the present hour in China or Siam, seem more readily to assume their thrones within our hearts than those of our own race, dying directly for *our* souls but a few years ago, in places immediately accessible to us all, and in circumstances at once minutely reported in records of unquestionable authenticity.

In this we dishonour their and our Master; and doubtless we suffer spiritually in return. They are evidently specially meant to be examples and encouragements to *us*. They are specially *our* patrons, because we are both of their race and of theirs who inflicted their torments, and gave them their crowns. The descendants of their nearest and dearest are still amongst us; and the same is true of their persecutors. On both grounds their intercession is without

doubt mighty and unceasing for this land. But if they are our patrons, why are we not, in word and act, their clients?

Such persecutions as they endured may yet be our lot, for want of the life and progress which might ensue from a more generous obedience to Catholic instinct regarding them; and should that evil day arrive, we may some of us fail under the trial for want of having fed our hearts from fountains so obvious to use. Loving, devout practice in their honour may avert or mitigate coming sorrows, or must at least assist us in the encounter.

The Protestant twilight in our land may ere long turn to blank darkness and to total eclipse of faith. Protestant prejudice may any day develop into a temper no longer furnishing safe topics, as now, for our pleasantries. The clamours of evil and foolish men may of a sudden prosper against us. Then we shall perhaps regret that we failed to honour with the customary tributes of Catholic love those whom our Lord honours, and whom He wills that we should honour also.

At any rate, I for one desire to use the time afforded me, and to learn precisely what outward memorials of these glorious saints are permissible within a Catholic church.

Can we go as far as the English College formerly did in Rome? In their chapel, afterwards destroyed by the French, were many pictures of our post-Reformation martyrs conspicuously exhibited. If such could be the case in Rome, why not here?

If it required any special permission in the case of the English College, why should not the earnest petition of British Catholics obtain a similar boon for their churches at home?

But I go farther. Why should not the faithful of these islands zealously petition that such steps be taken by the Holy See as its wisdom may see to be fitting, for an open acknowledgment of the heroic merits of these servants of God, for the express encouragement of our confidence in their prayers, and of our profit by their example?

I cannot see why a great movement of this sort should not now, at last, arise; or, if so, how it should possibly fail. To me, at least, it seems as if the very effort might well of itself bring down blessing beyond all hope, even were consent to the petition either refused or deferred.

Pardon me if I have overstepped the limits which I should have observed, as one whose immediate object was to obtain information on a practical question of ecclesiastical decoration.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

R. M.

---

#### RELIGION OF SHAKESPEARE.

DEAR SIR,—An article headed “Modern Biographical Researches respecting Shakespeare,” recently published in the columns of the

*Viener Zeitung* for January 13th and 14th, the official organ of the Austrian government, is just now exciting much attention among literary men in Germany.

This article is from the pen of Dr. John Henry Löwe, professor of speculative and moral philosophy at the University of Prague, who, it will be interesting for you to know, was prompted to write it by reading the series of papers on the religion of Shakespeare which last year appeared in the *Rambler*. Of those papers, Dr. Löwe in his article gives a most interesting account, the effect of which is to leave the mind of the reader strongly inclined, at any rate, to think "that Shakespeare, the son of Mary Arden, the cousin of the innocently executed Edward Arden, the relative of so many persecuted families, whose father was so often called upon to answer for non-attendance at the Anglican church-service, could not but be profoundly affected by the sufferings of his kindred and friends;" and that "if we are not to assume that his mother, and not less so his father, imbued him with sympathies for the Anglican Church, from whose communion they did not without danger keep aloof, it is not less improbable that what he experienced in the circle of his family should have attracted him in the direction of that Church."

Still, with regard to the task undertaken by the writer in the *Rambler*, namely, "to show the probability of the assumption, that whatever Shakespeare's practice in religious matters may have been, he never yet wholly tore himself away from the Catholic Church," Dr. Löwe goes on to say, "Unfortunately, it is precisely here, where it is most of all wanted, that we miss the basis of sure and decisive documents. It were to be wished that the author, in this part of his essay, had been able to avail himself of similar sources to those in the former part, towards which the publications of the state archives offered him so much effectual aid. Not being able to supply the want of authentic accounts of Shakespeare by any kind of documentary proofs, the author has often recourse to conjectures and combinations, in which there is nothing binding, and which have therefore to expect a very different reception, according to the direction in which our subjective sympathies run. Meanwhile much is to be found, even here, that at least is not without general interest."

After relating the rest of what the writer in the *Rambler* has to bring forward on the subject, Dr. Löwe concludes his article as follows: "It cannot be asserted that he has incontrovertibly solved the problem which he set himself to do. But even if he have only so far attained his object as to reduce opposite pretensions within their just bounds, his performance is not without desert. For it certainly does not appear that the comprehension of Shakespeare's genius is essentially promoted by proclaiming Shakespeare himself as the complete incarnation of the Protestant mind; a thing so often done already, and again lately in a book published a short time ago. Indeed, even more wonderful things have been asserted, that one-sidedness being opposed by another extreme, to wit, the stupidity of those who, like a modern Danish writer, deplore 'the

want of a thoroughgoing Christianity in the English master-mind ;' or who, like the Englishman Birch, accuse him of blasphemy, of mockery of religion, nay, of Atheism itself ! Others, on the contrary, place the greatness of his genius precisely in his independence of all positive religion ; and, again, others rejoice in finding nothing but Pantheism in his productions. Truly, when we reflect on all that is read out of Shakespeare, or, more properly, read into him, we perceive to what an extent the saying once made use of by Goethe to Eckermann is correct : 'Shakespeare gives us in silver dishes golden apples.' We get, it is true, by the study of his plays the silver dishes, but then we have only potatoes to put into them. There is the mischief."

Another feature of interest, which, says Dr. Löwe, if it were for nothing else, would give the three papers in the *Rambler* great value in his opinion, is the light they throw on the religious state of the times to which they refer.

I am yours truly,

R. Y.

January 26th, 1859.

#### TEMPORAL PROSPERITY A NOTE OF THE CHURCH.

SIR,—It is not quite easy to acquiesce in a proposition of which we are sometimes reminded, when we are tempted to grumble at the slovenly, disgraceful way in which things go on in certain Catholic countries. I am alluding to Italy. We are told in answer, that temporal prosperity is not a "Note" of the Church ; but, left to ourselves, I think we should have decided that it was ; and so Bellarmine, I think, determines it. Such a doctrine certainly does come home to our common sense. Religion may preach poverty to the saint, but it teaches worldly success and the comforts of life to the faithful at large. It is the foster-parent, if not the natural mother, of industry, thriftiness, order, honesty, and equitable dealing ; and these virtues are the infallible antecedents of making money, gaining a character, and rising in society. I cannot see the flaw in this argument ; and when Protestants urge it, I cannot answer them.

Nor do I think that Catholics, and especially our rulers who formally represent the Holy See, like to give up the argument. They set forth Rome as the mother of modern civilisation : they make Italy, and truly, the centre in times past from which literature, the fine arts, philosophy, physical science, commerce, and terrestrial discovery proceeded. But we must take things as they are, not as they were. Greece once was the source of intellectual and social progress, and Greece is so no more ; Egypt was so once, and Egypt is so no more. How do we account for this national decay in the case of Greece and Egypt ? We answer, that the *cause* of the political greatness of those countries has *ceased*. If, then, in like manner, Italy once was great, and now is not, a hard logician will

press us with this dilemma—either religion is *extinct* there *now*, or religion was *not* the cause of her greatness *then*.

The Protestant likes to secure both horns at once; and he infers from the past and present state of Italy, *both* that religion *is* at present extinct there, *and* that it was *not* the cause of her past greatness.

I, on the contrary, think it reasonable to take *neither* horn; they are too sharp to be either of them true. I think each conclusion is half of it true. The more exact conclusion I believe to be this,—on the one hand, that religion is the providentially intended, not the necessary nor the only cause of national prosperity; and, on the other, that religion is not indeed extinct in Italy, but still in a most unsatisfactory state. And therefore the contemptible figure which that famous country cuts at present in the eyes of Protestants arises from the circumstance, that religion must not be merely existing or vegetating in a country, but be in a really *vigorous* state, if it is to develop itself in *temporal prosperity*. Faith is not enough for the presence of this Note of the Church; there must be some modicum of hope and of charity in a population too. Italy, viewed as a whole, and in her influential and ruling classes and places, seems to me to be in a state of spiritual decadence, and therefore of intellectual.

What has brought the length and breadth of that fair land into such a state? It is not the fault of the *existing* generation; it is not the fault of *one* age; but it must certainly be the fault of the governments. I cannot escape this conclusion. The state of the country is such, that there is a chronic expectation or apprehension among all classes of insurrection and revolution. Is the administration, then, bad? if so, *that* is at once the fault of the governments. But no; it is not that the people are really discontented; it is that foreign incendiaries are able to make the Italians blaze up at will. Then, I say, they must be mere children: and *why* are they so provokingly childish, except from the fault of the governments? I repeat, I cannot escape this conclusion. The governments may not be worse than the people; but they must be as bad; and then, observe, it is their duty to improve the people, not the duty of the people to improve the governments. Thus we lose a Note of the Church.

You must not mistake me to be a zealot for constitutions, much less for the British lion, as if his presence were a panacea. What we should all mean by a state well governed is, not one in which monarchy is limited, not one in which there is a president and chambers, but one in which there are good laws vigorously and impartially enforced; this is the great duty of governments. If, then, the present disturbed state of Italy be in matter of fact a proof of its being badly governed, what we mean by that is just this, that the administration is bad, that its people are not under the impartial and vigorous sway of laws suited to their geographical, national, and social characteristics. And this is what it wants, and nothing but this, to reverse its miserable state. Questions about autocracy, aristocracy, democracy, are nothing to the purpose.

How the aforesaid *status*, if revolutionism can be a *status*,—how this condition of things has come about, is too deep a problem perhaps for any of us. So far is pretty clear, that, if not the cause, at least the sustaining power and the sanction, of this serious mischief is Austria. I acknowledge with joy the change of sentiment and policy which has lately taken place in that august court. I am even tempted to believe that a providence more than ordinary protects the throne of the Cæsars, so wonderful have been its fortunes in these latter centuries. Let us hope that the warnings which its adherents have had lately will open their eyes to the dangers of their repressive, suppressive, oppressive system of government. But still, at present the fact is as I have stated it; viz. for the last forty years Austrian influence has been supreme through the Italian peninsula, and a melancholy failure has been the end of it. Its present state is simply a disgrace to the protecting power. What could France have done worse? Would there have been more infidelity, blasphemy, and profligacy; would there have been more of the hideous frantic rebellion against the Almighty which the *Jew of Verona* depicts to us; would there have been more deadness in priests and people, more relaxation and disorder in convents in this year 1859,—if France, and not Austria, had held Lombardy all these years by possession, Tuscany and the Duchies by relationship or special treaty, Naples by sympathy and good offices, and Rome by the ties of ancient alliance? I am as jealous as any one can be of the British Government in matters of religion; but I doubt much whether the Western powers, as they are now termed, would have done near so much harm to the religion of Italy in the last forty years, by letting the wild winds of heaven dance over it, as the Austrians have caused, by excluding from it light and air, shutting and barring the gates, and making it a prison or a charnel-house, in which thought turns putrid and breeds infection by want of circulation, instead of being reared up to the atmosphere of heroic elevation and Divine philosophy.

Italian society is honeycombed with secret societies, as if with the red ants of Africa. Why do they not spread in England or in Germany? how is it that London or St. Petersburg can admit their central committees without harm to themselves, while they act so fatally upon Italy? “Those wicked societies,” says the Archbishop of Dublin lately, “which ever sap the first principles of social order and the foundations of civil life, have found their echo in Turin, Paris, Westminster, and St. Petersburg; and all their deadly hostilities and fierce invectives are directed against the temporal sovereignty of Rome. And whilst they assail the temporal rule of the Holy Father, they vainly hope that the powers of hell shall lead captive the spouse of Christ.” How true are the words of the most reverend prelate! Yet that they should be true is a most severe reflection on those who have allowed such a state of things to grow up; and who are they but the soldiers and diplomatists of Austria?

I see that the *Dublin* of this month blames Austria in terms little less severe than my own; though the writer speaks severely of France too, which he has a right to do. "Down to the last few years," he says, "the government of Austria was at once anti-papal and despotic; and of all who suffered from its despotism, none suffered so deeply as the Popes."\*

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

O. H.

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—The remarks in your short Prospectus on certain purposes which the Correspondence in the *Rambler* may subserve, chimed in with certain ideas of my own, which I shall ask your leave to express in your pages. That is, I shall avail myself, if you will let me, of the opportunity which, by means of that department of your Magazine, you offer, to comment on the reasons you assign for offering it.

Yes, there are many purposes to which such an opening may be turned, and I hope not unprofitable or dangerous. Where education is widely promoted, and thought in consequence is active and incessant, it is a great thing to have a safety-valve, lest in particular minds there should be a formidable generation of steam and an explosion. There are few among us, perhaps, who pay so little regard to their own present or past as not to acknowledge the chronic irritation which may befall even religious men, from the working of their own thoughts, when they have no one to converse with about them. They suffer from perplexities, not exactly of faith, but relative to the logic of faith, or to the consistency of doctrines with each other, or to their limits, or to their form and drift, or to points of history, or to matters of philosophy or duty; of which the very enunciation, if clear and full, would probably be the solution, or, if not so much as this, yet the proximate means of obtaining a solution. It is scarcely possible to overrate the amount of minute uneasiness, vague wonderment, and superstitious apprehension, which take possession of religious minds, Catholic quite as much as Protestant, merely because they are afraid or forbidden to speak out boldly what they feel; or the immediate and perfect relief which they experience on being allowed an honest recognition of difficulties which neither involve doubt in the speaker, nor demand severity in the respondent.

\* We are very glad to hear it generally reported that the retirement from the *Dublin*, after years of patient service, of some of those distinguished and able men whose zeal has been the means of raising it to so honourable a place in contemporary literature, is to be compensated by a set of fresh writers, whose known talent is the guarantee to the public that the *Review* will not in years to come fall below the standard of the highest successes of its past career.—*Ed.*

This might be illustrated in a number of ways, distinct from each other; I will venture to give one instance of what I mean from the subject of *mysteries*.

1. First, one great perplexity is caused to a reflecting mind by not knowing whether a particular point is a mystery or not; or, in other words, whether it ought to attempt to answer objections urged against it, or to acknowledge at once and from the first that they are unanswerable. It is a great comfort to a man to know that he ought not to lose time on a point, or to fidget himself, but to say to himself or to others at once, "It is unanswerable, it is beyond us, it is above reason, it is one of the things which we must take upon faith." I have always felt the truth of a passage in *Loss and Gain*. The hero of the tale is represented as asking his Anglican tutor about the doctrine of eternal punishment. "He had had some difficulty in receiving it; it had seemed to him the hardest doctrine of revelation. Then he said to himself, 'But what is faith in its very notion but an acceptance of the word of God when reason seems to oppose it? How is it faith at all, if there is nothing to try it?' This thought fully satisfied him. The only question was, *Is it part of the revealed word?* 'I can believe it,' he said, '*if I know for certain that I ought to believe it; but if I am not bound to believe it, I can't believe it.*'" Accordingly he is represented as putting the question to his tutor, and failing in obtaining any answer at all, one way or the other.

On this particular point no Catholic can have any difficulty, for the first priest he meets with will give him a categorical answer; and if he asked a hundred, they would all give him the same. But there are questions which do not yet admit of so distinct a decision.

For instance, we may take the uncertainty which a Scripture student may sometimes feel as to the nature and limits of Inspiration. The Church has not formally determined many of the questions which necessarily arise as he reads the Pentateuch; and he does not know what he is bound to hold of the statements contained in that sacred volume, and what he need not hold. Three centuries ago, there was a doubt among Catholics whether they might believe that the earth went round the sun. Half Christendom would have told an inquirer that it was a dangerous doctrine; and if he had answered, "But the Church has not spoken on the point," he would have been told, "True; but if necessary she will speak, and just in one way, viz. against the opinion; for it is plain," they would have said, "that unless the earth is in the centre, and the sun and stars go round it, the sun and stars were not made for the earth, nor has man that supreme importance in creation which revelation ascribes to him." Thus the person in question would have been driven back into himself, half-satisfied, and continually murmuring in his own heart, "I wish I knew for certain whether I am at liberty to hold with Galileo or not." He would not be asking to be dispensed from the law of faith, but to know whether in this particular case he was called upon to exercise it.

And so now, Are we at liberty to hold the probable conclusions of human sciences, *e. g.* of geology, astronomy, ethnology, history, &c.; or must we reject them, as temptations to faith, if the letter of the Scripture text is against them? Are we at liberty in any case? if not in all, in what case? with what limitations? under what cautions?

This, then, is one use of asking questions, viz. to know distinctly, if we can, what is mystery and what is not, what is to be taken on faith, and what we may reason about: to know what we ought to say to a Protestant; and to know what may be held, and what it is prudent and safe to hold, without danger to oneself.

2. In the next place, there is a real relief in knowing just *where* and *in what* the difficulty lies; to throw the mystery into a sentence, and to give it a term or name, though that name does not make us at all wiser about it.

Let it be recollected that a mystery in religion is not a real thing *in rerum naturâ*, not any thing objective, but something subjective. It presupposes a particular intellect contemplating facts or truths, and it is an incidence of the imperfection of that given intellect; and, as regards the race of man, it is in great measure the effect of that penal ignorance which is one of the four characteristics of our fallen state. Like evil, ignorance has no substance. As knowledge, so ignorance, so mysteriousness, is something relative to us. When we say that the Almighty is incomprehensible, we do not mean that incomprehensibility is, strictly speaking, an essential attribute of His nature, else He would not comprehend Himself; but we mean that, from the nature of the case, He cannot be comprehended *by any creature*.

And this is the true meaning of the word *mysterious*, whether used of religious matters or scientific. For instance, when we consider a cone and its sections, and evolve their properties, we come to two separate conclusions about a certain straight line called an *asymptote*: one is, that it is always approaching a certain curve; and the other is, that though it starts at a given finite distance from it, it never reaches it, even though curve and line are produced indefinitely. *Each* of these two conclusions is intelligible in itself, both a straight line approaching a curve, and a straight line not reaching a curve; but *the compatibility of the two at once* is incomprehensible or mysterious. But that incompatibility which distresses us is not a real thing, but our view of the mutual relations of the straight and curved lines towards each other evolved from the two real facts themselves. That is, mysteriousness does not lie in any thing substantive, but in our mode of viewing what is substantive. We do not see how a certain relation is possible, viz. that one thing should ever be approaching another, and yet never meet it. We cannot frame to ourselves an idea imagining this relation; but at the same time each of the two conclusions, taken by itself, is perfectly intelligible.

And in like manner as regards the supernatural doctrine of the

Holy Trinity. That the Father is God, is in form an intelligible proposition; and so also, that the Word is God; and again, that the Holy Ghost is God. Again, it is sufficiently clear what we mean when we say that there is only one God: but take all four propositions together, and you have the Mystery. It lies in the impossibility of any human intelligence being able to perceive how propositions can be all true, which seem to it destructive of each other, that is, as self-destructive as the above mathematical dictum that a line is always approaching what it never reaches.

Theologians cannot comprehend these relations more than we can; but they can give *names* to them. They cannot understand the distinction between God and the Word, or between Father and Son, more than the dumbest clodhopper; but they can distinguish them from each other in scientific language. The name which they have given,—given under a supernatural guidance,—is just as unintelligible as the truth itself is incomprehensible. We gain nothing by it in the way of explanation, but it is a *recognition* on their part that there is a mystery—that is the first gain; next, it is a declaration *in what* point or points the mystery lies; and thirdly, it does for the mystery what the symbol  $x$  does for an unknown quantity,—it enables the mind to use it freely, to recognise it whenever it comes up again in the course of investigation, and to speak of it and discuss it with others.

The term which we introduce as regards the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is the word *Person*. It expresses, it does not explain, the point of mystery. We know nothing more than before; but we have located the mystery, and may shut up the subject.

But, though the intellect gains nothing in the way of real *satisfaction* by having a name given to the mystery, it seems to have gained something. It is one thing to know the fact that there is a mystery, and a call for faith; that we have got to the bottom of the inquiry, and have nothing more to learn; of this I have spoken already: but now I say secondly that a *name* acts in some sort as an explanation, though it really is not. Metaphysicians must account for this, if my analysis of it will not hold; but still the fact, I think, is so, however it is to be accounted for. Take another instance. We sufficiently understand what is meant by the proposition, "Our Lord has a body;" and again, "Our Lord is present on our altars." The mystery is in the union of the two, viz. the corporeal Presence. Theologians try to reduce this mystery to its most elementary form, and they say that "His body is present *after the manner of a spirit*." Such a proposition is no removal of the difficulty, it is but a statement of it; yet it is something to take hold of. It is at least a putting of the mystery into shape; the mind no longer floats about in a dreamy way, catching at phantoms. If not an explanation, it is a clear conception of the mystery. Locke, I think it is, who says, that though a shadow is negative, our idea of it is positive: and so here, the vague perplexing mystery is invested with a sort of positive form, and can be dealt with by giving it a name.

If in the above remarks I have rambled on till you may ask me how I can pretend to refer my remarks to the announcement contained in your Prospectus, with which I started, I must proceed to shelter myself under your own name, who are the *RAMBLER par excellence*. However, if I am driven to bay, and must per force explain myself, I shall best do so by asking a question on which I really do myself want information, and should be much obliged to any of your readers who would give it. It is one which not unfrequently comes up in conversation with others. My question is: How far is it allowable, or desirable, for laymen to study theology?

I am, dear Mr. Editor, yours, &c.

H. I.

---

### THE PROSPECT OF WAR.

SIR,—I do not yield to any one in sensitiveness at the thought of the scandal which is involved in a war between three Catholic powers, though the prospect of one is at this moment doubtful; but should it come to pass, I shall be tempted almost to reconcile myself to it, under the feeling that there are worse scandals than it, and that perhaps it will put an end to them. I am not speaking of the horrors and miseries of war, considered as such, but of the scandal of a war between Catholic nations. As to those intrinsic evils, it is difficult to find a common measure between good and evil, and to determine how much evil is a fair price for a certain good, or the chance of a certain good. But the determination of this problem is not necessary for my purpose; I only say, that if there is war between France and Austria, with that cock-sparrow Sardinia on the side of the former, I shall solace myself with the hope that good will come out of it, and not merely in the Vicar of Wakefield's sense of that phrase.

It was not so with the Russian war. What good could be expected from a war in which our motive was mere jealousy of Russia, and our aim the consolidation of a barbarous Antichristian power? But even though we view that Anglo-French expedition against Russia in its best light, and the Sardo-French attack upon Austria in its worst, even then there is enough of analogy between the two, to make it wonderful that Englishmen should take it for granted that nothing can be said in behalf of the latter, and that nothing need be said in behalf of the former.

You will perceive that I am supposing the success of France when I speak of "good;" for what good can come from the success of Austria, I am simply incapable of imagining.

Now, I must observe, I am no defender of Louis Napoleon, for the simple reason that no one can defend what he does not understand. He is a man to wonder at and admire; but in order to our trusting him, he ought not to be so reserved. I am no lover of

those strange cloudy oracles which he utters, whether from the throne or in the *Moniteur*. They remind one of a certain classical personage who began on a certain occasion

“Criminibus terrere novis, et spargere voces  
In vulgum ambiguas, et quaerere conscius arma.”

Once, however, he has spoken clearly; and then the light was still more ominous than the darkness, and the sun came out to burn, not to gladden us. He has told us in one of his works, “Il n’y a jamais eu chez les peuples libres de gouvernement assez fort pour réprimer longtemps la liberté à l’intérieur sans donner la gloire au dehors.”

Nor do I forget that from his position he cannot exert a strictly conservative influence in Europe. By conservatism, I mean a policy founded on the observance of treaties; but Louis Napoleon is on the throne by virtue of a breach of the international engagements of Europe in 1815, in which it was determined that the family of Bonaparte should be for ever excluded from the French throne. He cannot be in love with these treaties, which are aimed at his house; and he could not observe them, if he would, without abdicating. It is no greater breach of the Vienna treaties to put Austria out of Lombardy, than to put him into France. It is plain there is no motive but expedience to persuade him to maintain the *status quo*. While I write, a foreign newspaper reports of the “French Emperor, that, accepting as a fact the existence of the treaties of 1815, he will never consent to give them, by his signature, a new consecration.”

Nor is Louis Napoleon only mysterious in his personal character, and anti-conservative from his political position; he is also ambitious in his national capacity. It is impossible to forget the history of French rulers towards Italy for the last four centuries. Yet Italy is not the only country which they have attempted: Louis Napoleon was reserved in 1854 as well as now; and his position was the same then; and if France has cast greedy eyes on Italy, she has not been without covetousness towards Turkey in the present generation (Algiers to wit, to say nothing of Syria or Egypt): and yet we were her good friends then, and were the friends of Sardinia too.

Why is it that we are now showing such unamiable caprice to our dear friend Sardinia? How must Victor Emmanuel be pained and surprised at the ill-treatment! We encouraged and applauded his going to war with Russia; he fought between France and ourselves. What, in the world, was his excuse for going to war? What business had he in the Crimea? He had not the zeal which France showed for the Holy Places; he had not the apprehensions which England felt on the score of India; he fought for fighting’s sake. Perhaps, in consideration of the antiquity of his house, he was tolerated as a knight-errant in the nineteenth century; perhaps it was on the plea of pure philanthropy that he defended the innocent Turkey, with which he had no concern, against the Bear of the North: but he may reasonably argue now, that if he might allowably feel philan-

thropy for the Levant then, he has at present some excuse for feeling patriotism in the cause of Italy, of which he is a neighbour, if not a part; and, if he might decently attack Russia then, he may more reasonably attack Austria now. Yet the gracious and paternal *Times*, after smiling approval at his feat of arms in the Crimea, now gravely declares that its highness has never recommended any thing but internal development to Sardinia; and that Cavour, the prime minister, to its own surprise and sincere concern, is now suddenly beginning an altogether different course, in going to war.

Certainly we are not the most consistent people in the world; we are astonished that Sardinia should keep up an effective army at a great expense, though it is not four years since we suddenly thought of asking it whether it had some few thousand men to spare, and borrowed them for a purpose of our own. We thought Charles Albert a great hero for attacking the Austro-Lombards in 1847, and Victor Emmanuel a detestable firebrand for threatening the like in 1859. No wonder Italians trust us as little as we trust Louis Napoleon.

And now for the latter. I can fancy the Russian minister thus addressing the French three years ago, during the peace negotiations at Paris: "You think it all fair to be jealous of us; yet you allow the encroachments of your neighbours. Austria is your Turk and Russian rolled up into one;—worse than the Russian, because she is an actual occupant of a country which is not hers; as bad as the Turk, as ruling by force, not by reason, and as the enemy of reform and improvement. We at least should reform the Turks; we were putting an end to the Black-Sea slave-trade when you interfered with your armies; we were enfeebling an enemy of the Christian name, and you proceeded to exalt the Crescent to the level of the Cross. You forced us to keep our hands off barbarians whom all your past Popes denounced; and you allow Austria to keep her hand upon the throat of a people whom the present Pope defended against her." Louis Napoleon was the man to understand the force of such remarks, for he has been a Philitalian all his life; and accordingly his minister proceeded to introduce the subject to the assembled plenipotentiaries.

We English, on the contrary, have fallen off in the opposite direction; and I think there are three good reasons for our doing so. First, war is no longer a novelty with us; five years ago, even tailors and pastrycooks, who live in good measure by the superfluous wealth of the community, were eager for the new and strange excitement with which the war furnished them: but they have found that sort of amusement too costly to be worth the purchase. So has the nation at large. The upper classes have given their flesh and blood, and the middle and lower classes have given their earnings; they complained little, but they felt the more. And then the Russian war was hardly over when the Indian revolt broke out; and now, like the burnt child, they wisely dread the fire. Moreover, they are now jealous of France, as they were then jealous of

Russia ; and this personal feeling determines them in preaching peace, in spite of whatever the logic of the case may be able to plead the other way. And lastly, in spite of their bad opinion of Louis Napoleon, they think he has religion enough to wish to do a service to the Pope in his own way, whereas they themselves have not quite so much religion as that ; and though they might, indeed, be tempted to go to war to annihilate the Holy Father, they have no desire at all that others should fight in order to seat him more firmly on the throne.

But I have wandered from the point with which I started, which was, not the question whether England was or was not inconsistent, but whether there were not scandals, whether there were not evils, in the *status quo*, more prejudicial to Catholicity than there would be in a war and its consequences ; though I should be very sorry indeed to seem to speak in any but the most deprecatory language of the latter.

Now then, first as to evils. A war between Catholic powers is bad, but a massacre of unarmed ecclesiastics is worse. If the present unsettled state of Italy ends in bringing the Red Republicans upon Rome, and they butchered, as they have threatened, Holy Father, Cardinals, and priests,—if this be the prospect, I suppose I might be allowed to acquiesce in a war now as the less evil of the two.

And next, a war between Catholic powers is certainly a great scandal ; but many will think that the presence of Austrian and French troops in the Pontifical States is a more grievous scandal still. Is it not portentous that the Holy Father, the Vicar of Christ, should be sustained on his throne against the rising of his own people by foreign bayonets ? Is it not a thing to make a Catholic blush, to think that the mildest and kindest of men should be made to seem to the world like some Pygmalion, with no home in the affections of his people, no power of exciting their loyalty and veneration, no refuge but in their simple dread of the strong arm of Frank and German barbarians ? And here is another thing to be considered—What is so contradictory as a ruler who cannot rule ? St. Peter had, indeed, no temporal kingdom, nor St. Dionysius, nor St. Sixtus ; but, according to the divine will, and for the good of the Church, such power was bestowed upon their successors. The Popes might have it, or they might not have it ; but it is neither one thing nor the other to accept it and not be able to use it, to have the name and not the power. If it is the divine will that they should have a temporal sword, it is equally so that they should “not bear it in vain.” It is an intolerable contradiction that they should reign and not rule. And further still, let it be recollected that one of the principal reasons in the line of expediency put forward, and reasonably put forward, for the Pope having a territory of his own, is, that he may be independent of Catholic powers ; and the history of the Avignon Popes is reasonably quoted in favour of this expediency ; but how is he independent of them if they garrison his country ?

I have no scruple in thus speaking, because we know it is what the Holy Father feels himself. Let us recollect his conduct at the very beginning of his reign. Then the Austrians only, not the French, were in Italy; and he wanted simply to get rid of the Austrians from Italy altogether. "Nous avons la confiance," he said, "que la nation *allemande*, si généreusement fière de sa propre *nationalité*" (you see, it was even a question of races), "ne mettra pas son honneur dans des tentatives sanglantes contre la nation *italienne*; mais qu'elle la croira plutôt intéressée à reconnaître noblement celle-ci pour sœur, toutes les deux nos filles, toutes les deux si chères à notre cœur, consentant à habiter chacune son territoire naturel, où elles vivront une vie honorable et bénie du Seigneur." In like manner the Holy Father blessed the national flag, "leur recommandant expressment de se borner à *défendre le territoire des états de l'Eglise et à en garantir l'inviolabilité*."\* What he said to the Germans, he doubtless would have said to the French also. When he returned after his exile, then, indeed, while he was grateful to those who brought him back, he asked them to protect him for a definite time; but after that he proposed to do without them. Again and again has he wished both French and Austrians to withdraw. Mr. Bowyer, in his place in Parliament, announced their withdrawal a year or two ago; and it has been lately stated in the papers, not only that the foreign troops are to go, but that the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli have ever wished it, and have been thwarted by others.

It will be worth a good deal, then, if the French open a way for placing the lives of ecclesiastics at Rome on a better tenure than they have at present, and its temporal affairs on a better footing. It will be best, indeed, if this can be done by diplomacy under threat of a war, but without actual war; if there is war, and this is its result, the guilt of the war must lie some where or other; but the war, with all its miseries, at least will have a compensation, which the Russian war, our pet plaything, had not.

I am, sir, &c.

April 2.

J. O.

## TRADITIONS OF HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS.

SIR,—There is a passage in the letter of an eminent theologian, which appeared in your Number for December last, which seems to me obscure, and to need explanations, unless I am supposing in it allusions which it does not contain.

He had first said, that St. Francis de Sales "*had convinced himself that the common teaching and tradition of the Fathers of the first four centuries was opposed to . . . the opinion of St. Augustine*;" and that Serry "*rebukes the saint for this, which he says is a false and dangerous opinion, that has been rejected by the schools*." That is,

\* Les Annales, 1849, par M. l'Abbé Petit, p. 123.

as I understand him, the notion of St. Augustine's doctrine being opposed to that of the common teaching of the early Fathers is rejected by the schools.

Then the learned writer proceeds: "In this question, which must be discussed on *purely historical grounds*, it matters not what the Thomists and Augustinians, in the traditional theology of their schools, have *settled* on the point, or what they have laid down in their lectures. Among theologians of *real historical and patristic learning* the matter has never been doubtful."

Here he seems to contrast the theology of the schools and real historical and patristic learning, as if the school-divines did not know history. I am not quarrelling with this proposition, because it is one which I certainly have entertained myself; but I want to know if I am right in thus interpreting him.

J. J.

## Literary Notices.

*The Failure of the Queen's Colleges and of Mixed Education in Ireland.* By John Pope Hennessy, of the Inner Temple. (London, Bryce.) We have elsewhere referred to this seasonable and telling pamphlet, which is too full of facts to condense into a notice. It seems from it that Sir Robert Peel's government, in 1845, established three colleges for superior education at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, on the principle of uniting all denominations, both as professors and as students. They were opened in December 1849, under the name of the Queen's Colleges; and in 1850 the Queen's University was founded also, not as an educational body, but for the purpose of granting degrees in arts, medicine, and law to the students of the three colleges. The building and establishing of the colleges cost the country 100,000*l.*, which has since been increased by 25,257*l.* The original endowment 18,000*l. per annum*; but soon afterwards this endowment was raised to 21,000*l.*; in 1849 there was an additional grant of 12,000*l.*, and since 1854 there has been an annual addition of 4800*l.* Mr. Hennessy does not give us the gross sum to which these several grants amount; but from Mr. Maguire's statement, which we quote below, it appears they reach the enormous sum of 375,000*l.* The gentlemen holding office in the three colleges amount to 260. The Commissioners report that the total number of students who have entered the colleges since 1849 is 1209: this Mr. Hennessy declares is incorrect; but, assuming it, we find that the average per annum will be 134; that is, the officials of the colleges are as near as possible twice as many as the undergraduates. During the same period the total number of scholarships offered to (that is, we suppose, enjoyed by) these students is 1326, with the addition of 1000 class prizes: this will give a yearly average of 147 scholarships and 111 prizes, the average students being 134; that is, the scholarships are more, and the prizes not much less, than the students. The

numbers were largest in the year that the colleges opened. In that year forty-five students at Belfast competed for forty-three scholarships of 30*l.* each. The Dean of Law at Cork advocated before the Commissioners the abolition of his faculty, on the ground that "he had found *no* students." The Professor of Metaphysics at Cork, who had seven students in class in 1851, now has only four. The Professor of English Literature in (we suppose) Cork has only five. The Professor of Jurisprudence at Galway has only two. The Professor of Medicine at Galway has five, the Professor of Law three. Then, as to degrees, each graduate has cost the country above 1000*l.* a-year. The total number of graduates in law in ten years does not equal the number of professors and examiners in that faculty in one year. The number of university medals and money exhibitions actually given in the faculty of arts is greater than the number of candidates. The number of graduates has been diminishing for the last three years. As to the non-matriculated students, in the first year there were fifty at Cork, the next year thirty, the next twenty-one, at the last return twenty. In the first year the Professor of Greek had fifty-six, now twenty-seven. It is as regards the non-matriculated students that Mr. Hennessy has most to say as to the inaccuracy of the Commissioners' Report. We will quote but one sentence from him: "I have in my possession unequivocal evidence that in the grand total the same individual students have been counted by the Commissioners seven and eight times over." Lastly, he gives the obvious reason of this deplorable failure, viz. that the grants from Government have not met and stimulated any existing zeal and pecuniary sacrifices in the community, Catholic or Protestant; but have been simply lavished independent of any action or coöperation whatever of the voluntary system. He contrasts the case of grants to English education. To the National Society's Training College the Government gave only 7242*l.* out of 32,578*l.*; to the College of the British and Foreign School Society not 4000*l.* out of 20,100*l.*; to the Wesleyan Colleges, 5049*l.* out of 38,150*l.*; but for a variety of interesting details, we must refer the reader to the pamphlet itself.

*Lectures and Essays on University Subjects.* By John Henry Newman, D.D. (London, Longmans.) The author notices in the preface of this small volume, which we are surprised to see is dated so far back as November last, that it does but supply another instance of his lot all through life, to have been led to his publication not on any matured plan or by any view of his own, but by the duties or the circumstances of the moment. Early in life he wished to devote himself to the study of the Holy Fathers; and even before he ceased to be tutor of his college at Oxford, he entered upon it. Hardly had he published his work on the Arians, when he was called off by what has been called the Oxford Controversy; but even in that controversy his first work, the *Church of the Fathers*, was patristical in its subject. When, after the No. 90 affair, he retired from the controversy, he returned at once to the Fathers, and pub-

lished a translation of *St. Athanasius* and an *Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles*. But the necessary course of events carried him again off from his books, and he cannot be said even yet to have returned to them. As to the present volume, it is perhaps the most miscellaneous which he has written. Some portions of it have already appeared in the *University Gazette*; but the greater part of it is new. By thinking it worthy of being dedicated to a friend and a public man, it is to be presumed that, on the whole, he is not dissatisfied with it.

*The complete Latin Prosody of Emanuel Alvarez, S.J.* By James Stewart, M.A., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in the Catholic University of Ireland, and late of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Dublin, Duffy, 1859.) This useful little work, or at least as much of it as is practically necessary for the ordinary student, is here presented by Mr. Stewart for the first time in an English version. The writer was a Portuguese of Madeira, was Rector of the Portuguese Colleges of Coimbra, Evora, and Lisbon, and died in 1582. The book is a standard one in itself, and has been repeatedly edited with alterations keeping it on a level with the advance of knowledge, and is now enriched by Mr. Stewart with similar additions,—as, for instance, with an analysis of the measure of the hexameter verse (p. 107), with an appendix of exercises in the Elegiac, Alcaic, and Sapphic stanzas, and with an elaborate catalogue by Stirling of all the ordinary rhetorical and grammatical figures of speech. “The book is intended,” says Mr. Stewart, “to prevent the evil of entire dependence on the *Gradus*, and as help towards systematising that knowledge of metrical quantity and metrical composition, which is most usually secured, not by the mere study of abstract rules, but by continual practice in the writing of Latin verse.” Used in this way, it cannot but be a valuable addition to a schoolboy’s library; and we wish so useful a book, in so compendious a form, had existed in our own early days of verse-making. Mr. Stewart would be doing a service by putting together a similar manual for the composition of Greek verse, for which there is at present very little assistance provided of this sort, not even, we believe, any thing worthy of the name of a Greek *Gradus*. A friend has suggested to us a small work of this kind, published by Parker, Oxford, in 1824, called the *Indices Attici*, and drawn up by the late Mr. Tyler of St. Giles’s, and the two Mr. Newmans; but we believe it is out of print.

In preparation, *A Translation of the Psalms from the authentic Vulgate Version: with a Comment from the original Hebrew*. By Ambrose St. John, M.A., of the Oratory, late Student of Ch. Ch.

With the author’s exclusive sanction, shortly will be published, in two volumes 8vo, *The Gentile and the Jew: an Introduction to the History of Christianity*. From the German of Professor Döllinger. By Nicholas Darnell, M.A., of the Oratory, late Fellow of New College, Oxford.

## Contemporary Events.

### HOME AFFAIRS.

#### *Judgment of the English Bishops on the Royal Commission.*

As we have given admission to the objections which have been felt—and that, we are bound to say, by many considerable persons—to the mode in which it was rumoured that our Bishops intended to meet the Royal Commission, we are called, not only by duty, but by simple justice, to insert the formal expression which they have given in their late pastorals to their decision on the subject of its provisions and their reasons for making it. To that decision we submit ourselves most sincerely and unreservedly, though it is superfluous in a magazine professedly Catholic to make such an avowal.

The Cardinal-Archbishop speaks as follows:

“There is no subject on which we have more frequently or more earnestly addressed you in our Pastorals than on that of education. It is one which is daily brought before our minds by the exigencies of our diocese, and even by its general interest in the public mind. We should indeed be happy if these were the only motives that impelled us now to return to this subject. But the enemy is choosing it for the field in which to sow the tares of division among Catholics. Deeply, indeed, do we deplore that any one should endeavour to lead you astray from the simple path of right and dutiful feeling, on a matter so obviously belonging to the ecclesiastical authority. The circumstances which have given rise to the dissensions to which we allude are briefly these:—

“Some time ago a Royal Commission was issued to inquire into the state of education. To the questions proposed by it, to be answered in writing, objections were not made, after they had been revised, provided they were communicated to schools through our recognised channels; but on deliberate consideration, the construction of the Commission was not considered by the

Bishops fair towards Catholics, nor such as could be acquiesced in without modification. For the matter was considered sufficiently important to engage all the Bishops of England to come together at a most inconvenient period of the year. They met consequently in London, on the 9th of November last. They entered into a full consideration of the case. In the Commission, not only Anglicans, but Dissenters were represented; while not a single Catholic had been placed upon it. We knew by experience, as well as from the very nature of the case, how difficult, not to say impossible, it is for a commission to draw just inferences, or judge accurately where Catholic education is concerned, without any competent person assisting to give explanations. It was therefore considered all-important to obtain the addition of one single Catholic to the Commission. This was peremptorily refused, and all negotiations ceased.

“But further, this Commission named a number of sub-Commissioners, to inspect schools of every religion—ours, of course, included. Not one of these was a Catholic; yet the instructions issued to them enjoined as follows: ‘The Commissioners wish you to ascertain, exclusively as a question of fact, what are in practice the difference(s) between the course(s) of religious instruction afforded by different religious denominations; what (if any) are the recognised formularies adopted by them, and how far those formularies are taught in such a manner that the pupils have such perception of their meaning as children of an early age and average intelligence may be expected to acquire’ (p. 14).

“This rendered the difficulties of acquiescence infinitely greater. We recalled to mind how, from the beginning of our participation in the benefits of educational grants, we had made it a condition for accepting them, that Catholic inspectors should be appointed for the inspection of our schools, exclusive of all others; and that even

these should exercise no inspection whatever of their religious teaching. Now here it was proposed to permit Protestant inspectors to assume, not only the functions accorded hitherto solely to Catholics, but those jealously reserved from them. They were to examine if our formularies (that is, our catechisms) were taught in a way suitable to the understanding of our children. We need not ask how a Protestant, possibly abhorring every Catholic doctrine, could be intrusted to examine how far our children acquire a proper perception of the rosary, or of confession, or of invocation of saints, or of transubstantiation; for we cannot realise how we should be able to examine Protestant children, so as to ascertain whether they obtain adequate perception of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, or the Lutheran theory of works, or the Anglican latitude on the Eucharist. But, putting aside the mere absurdity of sanctioning such preposterous examinations, not merely to satisfy any curiosity, but to afford materials for a judgment on our religious teaching, the Bishops have felt that a sacred and religious principle was at issue, and that the concession demanded was equivalent to a surrender of the very ground on which Catholic inspectors had been demanded and obtained.

"Consequently, it being entirely optional whether or no these new inspectors should be admitted into our schools, it was decided that they should not. A circular was therefore drawn up, addressed by each Bishop to his clergy, cautioning them against permitting the proposed inspection; and every Bishop, without exception, forwarded it to his priests.

"This was, clearly, a joint and concurrent act of our entire hierarchy, enough to confute all vague and general insinuations of any difference in its action.

"We therefore exhort you, dearly beloved in Christ, not to be led away by attempts to detach this question, and the course which we have felt bound in conscience to pursue, from the great cause of Catholic education, and its broad and now established maxims. It is not a political, nor a governmental, nor a secular educational question. It is, in the true sense of the word, a religious con-

sideration; whether, by sanctioning the introduction of inspection of our schools, even in religious matters, by Protestants, we should not completely wrest from its proper ground the principle hitherto strenuously maintained by us, of keeping Catholic education entirely in Catholic hands.

"To preserve intact this principle belongs to us, in virtue of our office; and we cannot commit to others, whatever connection they may have with secular education, the duty of directing the flock committed to us, on the course which has to be pursued in a matter so intimately involving the spiritual welfare of our poor. 'Let no one, therefore, deceive you with vain words' (Ephes. v. 6), but listen to the voice of your pastors; 'Obey your prelates, and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account for your souls' (Heb. xiii. 17). Be assured that they solicitously attend to every thing connected with the education of the poor, and with double earnestness to whatever regards their religious instruction. Their eyes are as open as others' can be to difficulties and obstacles, only they look, perhaps, more to providence and grace for overcoming them. 'As the eyes of servants are on the hands of their masters, so are our eyes unto the Lord our God' (Ps. cxxii. 2); our eyes are 'lifted up to the mountains, whence help will come to us;' for 'the Lord is our keeper, the Lord is our protector in our right hand' (Ps. cxx.)."

And the following is an extract from the Pastoral of the Bishop of Birmingham, who goes into the subject more at length:

"That you, dearly beloved, are not without that spirit demanded by our Lord, urged by His Apostle, and described by His holy Martyr [St. Ignatius,] we joyfully bear you witness in the Lord. Nor are you disposed to make any thing appear reasonable apart from your Bishop; to question his acts before you even know what those acts were, or what their motives; still less to discuss those acts before the world at large: this conduct would not be yours, only that one or two, here and there, using the public press as a weapon against the conduct of the episcopacy, might, had you been so disposed, have separated you from us, and that in a matter

which intimately concerns our duty and pastoral vigilance, and which involves a principle of ecclesiastical freedom, of episcopal prudence, and of religious discipline. And upon this subject it now becomes our part to give you correct knowledge for your guidance.

"You are well aware that we acceded to the Government system of education for the poor, and thankfully accepted its aid; but only with this express condition,—that the secular department of education alone should be inspected in our schools, and that only by inspectors previously approved by the Catholic Poor-School Committee. And as the Poor-School Committee is appointed by the Bishops, this was in fact an inspection to be exercised only by Catholics. The religious department of education was to be left entirely free from Government inspection. This was the only principle upon which we saw that we could safely accept the Government plan.

"In the course of last year, the Parliament prayed the Sovereign for the appointment of a Royal Commission, whose purpose should be to inquire into the state of popular education in England; and such a Commission was appointed. This Commission consists of seven members, lay and ecclesiastical, and of various denominations. The Commission, after its appointment, nominated ten Assistant Commissioners, deputed to collect, by local and personal examination, the facts on which their report is to be grounded. Yet, though every other important religious division of the community was either directly or indirectly represented, to our great surprise, we found that neither on the Commission nor amongst the Assistant Commissioners was there a single Catholic member; though, if there be a distinction in the country, in matters of secular and religious education, broad and deeply marked beyond all others, it is that which defines off the general body of Catholics from the general body of Protestants. And it is altogether impossible for the representatives of one of these bodies wisely and faithfully to investigate and report upon the conduct of the other, in the secular and religious training of youth, when acting apart from the members of that other body.

However estimable, and however well disposed to act fairly, these Protestant noblemen, clergymen, and gentlemen may be, can any of them, in the nature of things, be in a position to correct and obviate erroneous impressions once imbibed, as to what may be the spirit and the principles on which Catholic schools are conducted? If there is one thing in this world more clearly obvious than another, one thing which the events of every day score more deeply on the Catholic mind, it is this, that only a Catholic can understand the mind and spirit of a Catholic. The most enlightened and best-intentioned men are continually misunderstanding us and misinterpreting us, both as to our conduct and our principles. And were Catholic education to be put upon its trial before a tribunal so exclusively Protestant as not to have even one Catholic member to act as interpreter, it would be as a witness set before a court, standing alone, and without any friendly counsellor to correct the evidence elicited by his cross-examination.

"We now draw your attention to a point of considerable importance to the case in hand. The constitution of the Royal Commission expressly provides, that the managers of schools and others are perfectly at liberty to receive or not to receive the visits of the Assistant Commissioners, and to answer or not to answer their inquiries. We invite you to bear the fact in mind throughout the explanations which follow.

"About the close of last autumn, the Secretary of the Royal Commission wrote a letter to our Poor-School Committee, inviting its assistance in procuring the coöperation of the clergy, and others, connected with Catholic schools. This request led to an application from the Poor-School Committee for the introduction of a Catholic element into the composition of the Commission. The application was refused, and consequently the Committee declined to give their coöperation. Meanwhile circumstances arose which attracted the serious attention of the Bishops. The instructions given to the Assistant Commissioners became public; and some of these gentlemen were endeavouring to gain entrance into our schools with the view of car-

rying them into execution. From these instructions it became known, that they were not only to make a complete investigation into the secular instruction, but, what was of far graver importance, they were directed to make precise inquiry into the quantity and even into the quality of the religious teaching given in the schools. The following passage is quoted from the 14th page of those instructions : 'The Commissioners wish you to ascertain, exclusively as a question of fact, what are in practice the differences between the courses of religious instruction afforded by different religious denominations ; what (if any) are the recognised formularies adopted by them, and how far these formularies are taught in such a manner that the pupils have such perception of their meaning as children of an early age and average intelligence may be expected to acquire.' Here, then, plainly and incontrovertibly, if we acceded to the request for coöperation with the Commission as now constituted, was our whole system of doctrinal teaching to be made the subject of visitatorial examination by Protestant Commissioners, some of whom were laymen, some clergymen ; and from their impressions would be derived their report.

"While these things were occupying the attention of the Bishops, there was a difficulty found to exist in another quarter, which, though unconnected with the Royal Commission, failed not to throw its own light upon the plan of operations contemplated by that Commission. To our own surprise, we found a system of Protestant clerical inspection of our religious teaching actually insinuating itself into operation. This fact will require some brief preliminary explanation.

"Encouraged by the invitation and the aid proffered to all alike by the Government, the Catholics began, with no small cost and exertion, to establish Reformatory-Schools for the recovery of depraved youth to honesty and virtue. And, on their first institution, they were put under the same rule of inspection as prisons, and as to their 'condition and regulations,' they were reported upon by the Inspectors of Prisons. But, soon after, the Committee of Council on Education offered to put them on the footing of Industrial Schools, and to have them inspected as

such by the Inspectors of Poor-House Schools. However, on a representation made by the Catholic Poor-School Committee, the Committee of Council consented that the Reformatory Schools should be inspected by the Catholic Inspectors of Poor-Schools, limiting their inspection, as usual, to secular education, and not touching the religious element.

"At the close of the year 1857, another change took place. Government found it inconvenient that the same establishments should receive grants of money from two several departments of administration. The result was, that the Committee of Council withdrew their aid, and the reformatories remained exclusively under the Home Secretary ; who directed, by a minute, 'the Inspector of Prisons shall discharge the functions hitherto assigned to the Inspector of Schools.' This, be it observed, did not put these reformatories on their original footing as to inspection ; for they were now examined, not simply as prisons, but in the same way as other schools ; and we very soon found that the inspector who visited certain of our reformatories, and who happened to be a Protestant clergyman, insisted on it, as a part of the duty enjoined upon him, that he should examine into the religious teaching of Catholics. Considering it his *right* to exercise this function personally, the inspector, as a matter of courtesy and consideration, is willing that the priest should examine the children in his presence, not, as he says, 'to criticise doctrines, but to see whether they are taught effectually and earnestly ;' and whether those who teach religion are 'fit for their work.' You cannot fail to see how much this language sounds like that of a Bishop making his visitation. We except, indeed, the point of criticising doctrine, into which he might still consciously or unconsciously enter, having the field open to him. Yet it is a government inspector's recorded view of his duty. What follows is extracted from the same correspondence : 'It seems to me an essential item in the effectual inspection of reformatories, that I should be in a condition to certify to the public that the essentials of a Christian's faith and duty are taught, and well taught, in it. By essentials, I mean the great funda-

mental points on which all Christians are agreed; no points of controversy need be brought in. Conducted by a Catholic teacher, as the examination would be, no opportunity for any objectionable questions would be given.' This, again, is a Protestant clerical inspector's view of his duty in a Catholic school. So that a priest, examining under his official superintendence, is to draw a distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals, and between what Catholics believe and what all Christians are agreed upon. In other words, the priest, when under the eye of a government official, is to lower his teaching down to that of the lowest of Christian sects, whatever that may be. What greater proof can there be that a Protestant is incapable of understanding the duty and work of a Catholic teacher? That the inspector claims the right of making the religious examination in person, is proved by his having done so already. For, in one case, as the priest declined to coöperate, with our catechism in hand, the Protestant clergyman actually did examine the religious teaching of a Catholic school. But the proposal to make the examination of religious teaching through the priest is even worse, on more than one important view of the subject, than if the inspector himself examined. For this would not merely be a religious inspection of the school, but would wear the unavoidable appearance of an inspection of the priest in the exercise of his clerical duty. No priest could submit himself to a position so ambiguous and objectionable.

"Such is an instance of the proceedings of a Protestant clerical inspector acting upon his instructions from higher State authority; and although it has no official connection with the Royal Commission, yet it involves an identical principle. And it throws light on the similar instructions which the Commission has given to the Assistant Commissioners, with reference to their inquiries into the formularies of religious doctrine, and the methods by which they are taught. But what Catholic can fail to see, that if we, with direct concurrence, admit the State to examine, inspect, and report upon our religious formularies and modes of teaching them, we not

only compromise our religious freedom, but actually admit a species of visitatorial power in matters religious and Catholic on the part of the crown? Who sees not, even at a glance, that if Royal Commissioners, and Government inspectors, invested with this visitatorial authority, enter our schools to examine in what way the clergy and the teachers inculcate the doctrines of our faith, the impression on those rude, uncultured, simple-minded, poor children must be that, after all, the State must have some kind of rule and predominance over the Catholic religion? It is not so easy even for a well-educated mind to draw the subtle distinction between the visitation and inspection of religious teaching on the one hand, and authority exercised in such inspection on the other. Can they be separated? Does not official inspection essentially imply authority over whatever is officially inspected and examined? To a Protestant this causes no uneasiness, perhaps awakens no reflection; for he considers supreme authority over religion to lodge in the State. Not so can it be with a Catholic. A Bishop comes and inspects the religious teaching in a school; and the result is, a deep impression on the minds of the children, that he is one who exercises authority over the priest, the teachers, and the children, in matters religious. A Royal Commissioner, or a Government inspector, comes in the name of the State, —a Protestant, whether layman or clergyman,—and does the selfsame thing, and, according to all outward appearance, in the selfsame forms. Can this be done without leaving an impression of the State's exercising authority in matters religious?

"It is in vain to argue, as one or two Catholics have unwisely done, that the Royal Commission is not a permanent institution, but only an organisation for a temporary purpose. It is a precedent, and may be followed by others. The question is one of principle; and a principle given up once, is a principle for ever surrendered. By the very fact of that surrender, it ceases to be accounted for a principle. Once yield that principle, and, as already attempted in the reformatories, religious inspection may be forced upon every department of

Catholic education. What is to prevent its even entering our churches? Virtually, indeed, it would do so. For what is the religious teaching in our schools, but the work of the Church done in the school? In vain would be our efforts at resistance. We should be told that we had already practically admitted that no principle had been compromised. Nay, we have already been told this on the part of the Government with respect to the reformatories, notwithstanding all protests that inspection of religion had there crept in without our having any knowledge of what was doing. And the Secretary of State even declined making any change, on the ground that 'the course pursued had given general satisfaction.' One proof more, how totally incapable is the Protestant mind of understanding Catholic sentiments and feelings. But better far is it that we should be misunderstood negatively, and that our passiveness should be misinterpreted, than that we should give rise, by our active concurrence and by yielding of principle, to our old system of education being misapprehended; as assuredly it would be, if none but Protestants were our examiners and judges.

"The subject of the Royal Commission and of the reformatories combined, was considered of sufficient importance to engage all the Bishops to assemble in London, at whatever inconvenience, in the month of November last. They entered fully into the consideration of the question. The result we will give in the words of the Cardinal Archbishop, and will conclude this pastoral admonition with the words which his Eminence has addressed in his own pastoral letter to the faithful of his archdiocese."

[Here follows an extract from the pastoral of the Cardinal-Archbishop, which will be found in a preceding column.]

We do not consider that any allusion is made to the *Rambler* in particular in these remarks. It is true that the Bishop of Birmingham speaks of the "public press" as having interfered in a question which belonged to the Bishops, and so far we are included in the censure: but the Catholic newspapers admitted letters from correspondents who spoke in the same spirit and tone as our own writer; and we

are sure that what the Bishops allow to a weekly paper they allow to a magazine, and what they deny to a magazine they deny to a newspaper. Whether in regard to circulation or character of readers, there is no doubt which of the two is the more *popular* publication. Speaking, then, not simply in our own defence, but in that of the public press, we make two remarks.

1. Most certainly we did not consider that in any remark of ours we were opposing any episcopal decision; we should have been the last to take so indecent a step. For episcopal decisions are matters too serious to admit of being made except in form. We did not know the Bishops had spoken formally, and we do not know what is meant by an informal decision. We knew what they were likely to do; we did not know that they had actually put the question out of their own hands by any irreversible act or judgment; we are very sorry for our mistake, but we are not sure, from what is reported, that they have done so even now.

2. This leads us to our second remark. Acknowledging, then, most fully the prerogatives of the episcopate, we do unfeignedly believe, both from the reasonableness of the matter, and especially from the prudence, gentleness, and considerateness which belong to them personally, that their Lordships really desire to know the opinion of the laity on subjects in which the laity are especially concerned. If even in the preparation of a dogmatic definition the faithful are consulted, as lately in the instance of the Immaculate Conception, it is at least as natural to anticipate such an act of kind feeling and sympathy in great practical questions, out of the condescension which belongs to those who are *forma facti gregis ex animo*. If our words or tone were disrespectful, we deeply grieve and apologise for such a fault; but surely we are not disrespectful in thinking, and in having thought, that the Bishops would like to know the sentiments of an influential portion of the laity before they took any step which perhaps they could not recall. Surely it was no disrespect towards them to desire that they should have the laity rallying round them on the great ques-

tion of education with the imposing zeal which has lately been exemplified in Ireland, in the great meeting which was held at Cork. If we have uttered a word inconsistent with this explanation of our conduct,—if we argued in a hard or disrespectful tone,—if we put into print what might better have been conveyed to their Lordships in some other way,—we repeat, we are deeply sorry for it. We are too fully convinced of the misery of any division between the rulers of the Church and the educated laity,—we grieve too deeply, too bitterly, over such instances as are found, either in the present day or in the history of the past, of such mutual alienations,—to commit ourselves consciously to any act which may tend to so dire a calamity. It is our fervent prayer that their Lordships may live in the hearts of their people; of the poor as well as of the rich, of the rich as well as of the poor; of the clergy as well as of the laity, of the laity as well as of the clergy: but whatever be our own anxious desire on the subject, we know that the desire of the Bishops themselves is far more intense, more generous, more heart-consuming, than can be the desire of any persons, however loyal to them, who are committed to their charge. Let them pardon, then, the incidental hastiness of manner or want of ceremony of the rude Jack-tars of their vessel, as far as it occurred, in consideration of the zeal and energy with which they haul-to the ropes and man the yards.

#### *Education Movement in Ireland.*

We just now alluded to the great education meeting at Cork; but so much is doing in Ireland at the present moment in various ways in the cause of schools, seminaries, universities, and other educational establishments or associations, that we have a difficulty in entering on a subject which will prove too great for the space we can afford to give it.

Before we draw attention to this meeting, it may be well to devote a few lines to a review of the state of the education question at this moment across St. George's Channel. Though the English people cannot endure the thought of a compromise between religious parties on that vital subject in their own case, and the introduction

of a system of mixed education, they think it good enough, or the very thing, for Ireland; and both Conservatives and Whigs have played a part in its establishment there. The Whigs began it, thirty years since, under Lord Grey, by setting up the national system of schools for the population at large; Sir Robert Peel set up the three Queen's Colleges, at Cork, Belfast, and Galway, about fifteen years after; and Lord Clarendon, we believe, set up the Queen's University. Lately a commission has been appointed to inquire into the funds, and their application, of the endowed schools throughout the country, with a view of framing a large measure of intermediate education. At the same time, the gates of Trinity College have been opened wider than before, and certain emoluments placed within the reach of persons of every denomination. Such has been the gradual extension and advance of a scheme which, tending as it does, on the one hand, to educate all classes, on the other to detach all whom it educates from the Catholic Church, cannot be considered a Whig or a Conservative scheme, for it belongs to one as much as to the other; nor a Tory scheme, for it has never been acceptable to the Orange party; but which, as being a deep design of English statesmen upon the faith of Ireland, and that on a basis of operation which would not for an instant be endured by their own countrymen, may, from its bold and overbearing oneness, be fitly called an English system.

However, even at the end of thirty years, the principle of mixed education has not taken root; and, in spite of its superficial progress, the establishments based on it seem falling to pieces. The system of poor-schools, commonly called the national system of education, we believe, was never approved at Rome; and, though for a time it worked well for Catholics, still, as time has gone on, it has become more and more distasteful both to the Church and to the Orange party. As to the Queen's University and Colleges, for the moneys they have consumed and the work they have done for it we refer our readers to a recent parliamentary return, of which we shall speak presently. The plan of intermediate education has not

yet got so far as to be brought before the legislature.

Here we are concerned with the opposition directed against these measures by the Catholic body. As regards the national system of education for the humbler classes, it remains as yet untouched; though from the present aspect of things, it would not be surprising if the Protestant prelate Dr. Whately, who was the instrument of the Whigs in commencing it, was destined to see its termination. The scheme of higher or university education was disowned and resisted by the national synod of Thurles, in 1850, when a decree was passed for the erection of a Catholic university; which, as our readers know, has now been in operation for several years, and that with such promise, that a charter is in prospect, of which we shall speak before we conclude. The principal object, however, to which Catholic exertions have been directed during the last few months, has been to anticipate and act upon the projected Government measure of intermediate education, to which the labours of the late Commission necessarily tend. The great meeting of Cork was held with this purpose.

#### *Cork Meeting on Intermediate Education.*

Cork is the place in which the Queen's-College scheme promised most success; it is therefore significant that the demonstration against mixed education should proceed from that city. The meeting took place in the cathedral, on Wednesday, March 2d, on the requisition of the Catholic noblemen and gentry of the neighbouring counties; and was attended by the Bishops of Cork, Cloyne, Kerry, and Ross, by various ecclesiastical dignitaries, members of parliament, deputy-lieutenants, and magistrates, three hundred priests, and eight thousand of the Catholic population. The sacred building, though spacious, was filled, the area presenting, as the report informs us, "a sea of heads," though "there were scarcely any present below the rank directly interested in the question;" while the neighbourhood of the various entrances was filled by the crowds who had sought admission in vain. The meeting was addressed by the four Bishops, by

Sergeant Deasy, M.P., Mr. Maguire, M.P., and others, and passed various resolutions, the most important of which was to the effect, "that no form of intermediate education is suited to a Catholic people, unless it be granted to them in separate schools, and on terms always strictly in accordance with the teaching and discipline of the Catholic Church."

The place of the meeting was significant for more reasons than one. It was significant from the circumstance that the excellent prelate who fills the see of Cork, and presided at the meeting, has ever been remarkable for the extreme moderation of his views and conduct on the subject of education. He reminded his hearers of this circumstance in his opening speech. He appealed to them, that "the elder clergy of the city and neighbourhood, who, like himself, had grown old among them, had never on any occasion whatever exhibited the least leaning towards the curse of the country, bigotry;" and then he continued, "we are all united, bishops, priests, and people, in the matter. We will make one combined effort; and we are thoroughly determined to persevere till we are crowned with success. I therefore begin by asserting, that for Roman Catholic children separate intermediate Roman Catholic education is necessary." What is still more significant, he said, "I do not believe that, *in the entire extent of this country*, there are any Catholics to be found who will oppose us: and I am sure there is not one amongst those I know, and who are my friends, who may have supported mixed education, that will continue to do so."

These anticipations were repeated by other speakers. Sergeant Deasy said, "There is no doubt of the feeling of the Catholic population of this city and county. I believe *all Ireland* agrees with you, and I believe Protestants of the city and county entertain views of the same kind." Mr. Maguire, in like manner, spoke to the certain effect of the meeting upon the Government. "There is not a line of the bill," he said, "yet drawn out; I believe that the Government are waiting for your pronouncement; *I believe they are waiting for your unanimous verdict* before they attempt to legislate."

These are not words of course: we

consider that the Cork meeting has by one effort decided the momentous question which called it together.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the movement, formally inaugurated at Cork, is already making itself felt, as the speakers there announced, in other parts of Ireland. There are to be formal meetings on the subject in the south and west, Killaloe being the first of them; and allusions to it have appeared in the Lent Pastorals of the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, and the Bishops of Clogher, Meath, and other prelates.

#### *Charter to the Catholic University.*

The same month which has witnessed the commencement of the movement in behalf of a Catholic system of intermediate schools, is also memorable for an important step in advance towards the secure establishment and legal confirmation of the Catholic University of Ireland. In a great undertaking such as this, to be simply *recognised* as existing is the whole of the battle; and the only protection which its enemies have against it, and their only weapon of attack, is to *ignore* it. This they have accordingly done, as regards the University, as long as ever they could. The English newspapers either did not seem to know of its existence; or it was "Dr. Cullen's College," "the seminary in Stephen's Green," or "the Ultramontane establishment." But now a cabinet minister, the leader of the House of Commons, has received a deputation of members of Parliament, Protestant as well as Catholic, on the subject of conferring on it the legal power of granting degrees. Here, then, the very fact of the deputation, and its admission to an audience, is the victory of the University. When they entered the Chancellor of the Exchequer's room, the battle was won: the present Government may refuse the request, there may be delay and trouble in carrying the matter through; but it will be simply the University's fault and no one's else, if it does not now get a charter: it is but a matter of time. As a record to look back upon hereafter, we proceed to give some account of what passed at the interview of which we have been speaking.

The deputation consisted of every section of opinion among the Irish members of the House; the speakers were Mr. Maguire, Mr. Deasy, and Mr. Bowyer. They represented to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that an application had been first made to him on the subject by the rector and professors of the University, in the course of last July; then in January of the present year, by all the Irish Catholic members of the House of Commons but one,—that one, who otherwise would have taken part in it, being absent on the Continent. The deputation was now making a third application. No less a sum than 80,000*l.* had been raised by voluntary subscriptions for the University; this had been done, not in opposition to the Queen's Colleges, but because of conscientious scruples which Irish Catholics felt in availing themselves of the advantages which those colleges furnished. Even the vice-president of Galway College had confessed to the late Royal Commissioners that "the objections to the colleges by the Roman Catholic prelates were not altogether unfounded;" for "there are certain chairs in which the professors have opportunities of throwing out *innuendos* respecting the truth of revealed religion, and one of the textbooks used in the colleges speaks slightly of certain doctrines held by the Romanists." The Queen's Colleges had cost the country already an outlay of 375,000*l.*, whereas the deputation did not ask a shilling for the Catholic University. The University embraced five faculties, of which four were in active operation. The medical faculty was in possession of large buildings,—theatres, laboratory, dissecting-rooms; it had a library of 5000 well-selected and rare volumes in seven languages. It had last year as many as eighty students, with the prospect of increase; and had commenced a system of lodging-houses. The faculties of philosophy and letters and of science had a periodical of their own for the advancement of the subjects they profess, which brought them into correspondence with learned bodies in Great Britain, the Continent, and the United States; and, in a word, last year there were as many as 249 students attending the University lectures. This being the case, there was

force in the words of the University memorial of last year: "We hope we may, without presumption, ask for that recognition from the State which we are continually obtaining from the great centres of learning and science in Europe and North America. In referring to the Charter lately granted by the Government to the Roman Catholic University of Quebec, we both explain what we venture to anticipate, and our reason for anticipating it."

It was also mentioned, that as many as twenty-three\* Irish Bishops had written letters authorising the deputation to make use of their names. Of these, for instance, the Archbishop of Cashel wished the Chancellor of the Exchequer to know his earnest desire, in conjunction with "all the Bishops of Munster and Dr. Cullen," for the grant of a charter; the Bishop of Kildare said, that "success in the application would be most gratifying to the Catholic people" of Ireland; the Bishop of Waterford, that "there was nothing which he desired more;" the Bishop of Cloyne, that he "felt the warmest interest in the success of the great undertaking;" and the Bishop of Kerry, that it was "the strong determination of the Catholic laity to keep intermediate or secondary education under purely Catholic tutelage;" and that "a University was its necessary complement."

We quote these passages as a decisive answer to the rumour, which we know is even matter of gossip at Rome, that the Irish Bishops are lukewarm on the subject of an undertaking which they have themselves decreed in national synod, and for which they have collected such large sums.

We give Mr. Disraeli's answer at length.

"Mr. Disraeli said, he hoped the deputation would now excuse him for bringing their conversation to a close; but a Cabinet had been suddenly called that day at two o'clock: such, however, was his anxiety to have the honour of receiving them, that he had had it delayed to three o'clock. He begged to assure them that, since his attention had been first called to the

Catholic University of Ireland last year by Mr. Monsell, the subject had engaged his earnest attention, and he had inquired into, and was quite aware of, all the circumstances of that institution. He had always felt that its existence was a memorable instance of the zeal and liberality of the Catholics of Ireland. In consequence of the weight to be attached to this deputation—of the importance of which he of course felt thoroughly aware—he should again bring the subject under the consideration of the Cabinet; and they might feel quite certain, that whatever the decision of the Government might be, the subject would be considered with a full sense of the importance due to it. He distinctly held that the question ought not to be dealt with as one involving any rivalry between the Queen's Colleges and the Catholic University, but on its own merits. And he had again to repeat, that fully recognising its importance, the Government would give the subject their most attentive consideration."

We add the following information, given by the *Nation* newspaper, which has an intrinsic probability:

"There is in the hands of the four Archbishops one of the most remarkable and important rescripts upon the subject of education that has ever emanated from the Holy See. The Propaganda, in proof of its solicitude and anxiety regarding the education of the Catholics of Ireland, gives an historical *résumé* of the various Bulls, Rescripts, and other official documents, which it has forwarded upon this subject for the last century. It sets forth the unfavourable reports which have reached it respecting the working of the ordinary National Schools, of Model Schools, and of the Queen's Colleges, and refers to the projected scheme of intermediate schools. The Archbishops are called on to reply to a series of categorical propositions in relation to those institutions; and, in so doing, to ascertain the opinion of their suffragan prelates, and inform the Holy See. Provincial synods and a council of the whole Irish episcopacy are suggested; and we have reason to expect that a national meeting of the prelates will be held at the earliest possible moment."

\* This number was soon increased to twenty-nine. The whole number of Bishops is thirty-one.

*Queen's Colleges.*

In the beginning of March a Parliamentary return was made, on the motion of Mr. Monsell, of the whole of the expenditure paid by the country for these three colleges, of the number of students, and their religious denominations respectively, and of the scholarships and other emoluments bestowed on any of them.

From this Report we learn the following startling fact:

<i>Expenses.</i>	£	s.	d.
Erection of the three colleges . . . .	100,000	0	0
Maintenance, repairs, &c. . . .	13,041	16	5
Support and endowment of University and Colleges . .	266,516	8	11
	£379,558	5	4

*Persons taking Degrees in Law, Medicine, and Arts.*

Belfast . . . . .	116
Cork . . . . .	72
Galway . . . . .	51
	—
	239

Thus for each person who has become a graduate the country has paid nearly 1600*l*.

We were proceeding with our analysis when Mr. Hennessy's pamphlet came into our hands, which supersedes the necessity of making one, and of which we have given an account in a foregoing page. In the above average we are still less favourable to the colleges than he is. We do not believe, however, that there is any real difference between him and us, since we have spoken of graduates, he really of degrees: if there is, we must throw the blame upon the obscurity of certain items of the Return. Mr. H. brings a more serious charge against the defenders of the colleges.

*Cork Young Men's Society.*

If we single out this Society from so many flourishing branches of the same excellent institution, it is, first, because its sixth annual report has come into our hands; and next, for the sake of the Bishop's address.

We cannot resist the pleasure of reprinting the following weighty words of that estimable prelate.

"You have 1500 young men meeting together for the purpose of virtue; and six years have passed over their heads, not showing symptoms of decay, but growing strong in their union, gaining new acquisitions to their numbers, and bidding fair, I trust, to enlist every young man of this city and community in the same holy bond of brotherhood.

"In your studies I feel great delight, observing that there is such a list of illustrious men coming to deliver instructive lectures amongst you. But while I admire these intellectual feasts, thus spread before you, I would take the liberty, at the same time, of observing on the way in which alone they can be made useful to you. *Join the classes.* Labour hard. Lay deep the foundation of solid knowledge, without which there never can be any useful education. You hear lecture after lecture, on various subjects; but these topics must displace each other in your memories when thus multiplied, and nothing of solid benefit will be left to you, unless you, in your individual capacities, devote yourselves to private study. The classes, therefore, and your own studies, are the all-important objects. Lectures are invaluable. By them you get condensed knowledge put before you. You get new views suggested to you. You find various objects that reflect light on each other grouped together. Various are the advantages of these lectures. But, believe me, all will be utterly unprofitable, unless each of you becomes a diligent and hard student in his private capacity."

We wish we had room for a larger extract. We will but add, that the report itself is so beautifully drawn and got up, as to form a literary work in itself.

*The Reform Bill.*

A retrospect of home affairs during the last two months is little more than an account of the ministerial measure for Parliamentary Reform; of its rejection by the House of Commons, and the intended dissolution;—subjects exciting doubtless to those who tread the highways of the world, but not to ourselves, who do but

"peep at it through the loopholes of retreat, and see the stir of the great Babel, and not feel the crowd," and who are old enough to recollect the former agitation of 1830-32 and its results. The former crisis of the fortunes of England has not only taken away the novelty of such constitutional change as is contemplated by Mr. Bright and his partisans, but has destroyed the possibility of its having any parallel in after times from the circumstance of its being the first of the kind. From William III. to William IV. there had been no Reform Bill. The reform which took place under the former of the two monarchs was an acknowledged revolution, and in many respects the measure passed under the latter was a revolution too. At any rate, a question of *principle* was then on trial, which can never be decided more than once. The principle of the admissibility of great fundamental changes in the constitution was acknowledged once for all. Never was a greater mistake committed by a clever man than by Lord John Russell, when he spoke of *finality*. On the contrary, the originality and unprecedentedness of the measure of 1832 necessarily made it a *beginning*; whether the beginning of the end, is yet to be seen. The anti-reformers of that day took their stand upon antiquity and prescription. They professed to transmit what they had received. They cried out with the old barons, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*;" and with Lord John himself, in his younger years, they disdained "to change their old lamps for new ones." It was not with them a question of abstract perfection or of popular right, but of things as they were. They considered that a *reform* was in *rerum naturâ* impossible. The constitution was a fact, not an idea; a substance, not a circumstance. It had grown into its existing shape in the course of centuries; it partook of the past; and if the past could be recalled or undone, then could it be changed. It did not admit of alteration for the better or the worse, of reform or improvement, any more than you could change some tortuously branched, gnarled, mistletoed, and ivy-crowned oak. You might destroy it; you might destroy its identity; but you must either take it

or leave it, as it was. It was not certainly the pattern-result of the laws of ideal perfection; its methods and provisions were roundabout, cumbrous, provokingly tiresome, dilatory; but still it effected its ends in its own way, and did its work well, however paradoxically. You wonder how a French diligence gets over the ground in spite of the private judgment of its horses, its rope-harness, its lumbering, creaking, swaying, agonising vehicle; but it arrives in very fair time at its journey's end. And in like manner all ranks and interests in the country were represented in the House of Commons; and herein was good government, which is the *end* of political institutions, though great towns had not members, and borough elections might be mere nominations. The existing state of things *ought* not perhaps to work well, but it *did*. This was the substance of some of Canning's arguments in the year 1819. Then came the Iron Duke, with an argument, not philosophical, but practical; conceived in no sentences of glowing oratory, but sternly apposite and pithy,—“How is the king's government to be carried on after such a reform?”

However, the battle was fought, and reform won it. The principle of change was consecrated; the door was opened to innovation. The prescription had been hitherto against reform, now it was with it. The ocean was coming in, and Mrs. Partington would be kept in occupation with her mop mopping it out to the end of the story.

All this has its bearing on ourselves who are writing. In questions of political principle, as partaking of a philosophical character, we may be imagined to take an interest: but who will suppose that sages such as we are can descend to the region of pure politics, or have any more taste for a controversy about qualifications and registrations than about the Minié rifle or M. Soyer's soup-kettle? We are far from making light of matters military or culinary; we owe a real debt to the professors of both arts, and could not get on without them; but still, being what we are, we cannot take any lively interest in politics, and we care not a pin's head for questions in which principle and

patriotism have been superseded as motives in the decision by mere party and personal expedience. If, indeed, we are able to get some great advantage by taking this or that side, we shall be persuaded to take it. We are willing to support Lord Derby, if he bids high enough; and, at any rate, we will not in any case support the author of the Durham Letter, or the judicious bottle-holder of revolutionists and infidels: but it must be some bait more than ordinary, some promise or performance greatly favourable to Catholics, which will persuade us into excitement or enthusiasm for any man or any measure.

At least Mr. Bright's promise does not carry us away; and for this reason, because we do not credit it. He sees better than any one, that if he is to prevail in a question of reform with a practical people, he must assign some definite benefit to be gained by it. Principle, duty, philosophical fitness, historical reminiscences, will not avail. He thinks he has found some such telling practical inducement; but, we confess, he does not persuade us to follow him. He maintains that the aristocracy has ever been lavish of expense, and especially has involved the nation in long wars. Well, we cannot recollect the history of 150 years, but we can recollect the doings of the last five; and certainly it was not the aristocracy (Lord Aberdeen and Lord John Russell, to wit), who were foremost in beginning and continuing the Russian war. On the contrary, we have a vivid remembrance how bellicose, what a fire-eater, every apprentice, and shopman, and small paterfamilias, and city councillor was at that time.

What is more certainly true, then, than Mr. Bright's comment upon the past is, the Duke of Wellington's prophecy about the future. Lord Derby was one of the reforming government; but let us weigh the grave sentences of his speech delivered in the House of Lords after the adverse vote of the House of Commons upon his bill: "I have heard it said," he said, "that the days of government by party have come to an end. Now if by that be meant that the days are gone by when the House of Commons should be divided by a sharp and unmistakable line into two separate and dis-

tingent parties, and when the leaders of those parties should exercise an undisputed and uncontrolled authority over their respective followers, commanding them at their will, and exercising over them a species of parliamentary discipline, I agree that those days are gone, and that we must not expect their return. And although there was undoubtedly great convenience to the public in such a sharp separation of parties, and such an amount of discipline, I do not think on the whole that the change is to be regretted. But, my lords, if it be meant that henceforth we are not to consider that any government can hope to obtain—I do not mean upon individual questions, in which exceptions may occur—but if it be meant that no government can hope to obtain, by means of a consistent and permanent adherence to any given principles, a fair majority in the House of Commons sufficient to secure it from being overborne by other conflicting parties, not themselves bound together by any ties—if it be meant that *henceforth the members of the House of Commons are to look to no leaders, are to follow each of them his own crotchets, and that that House is to be divided into petty parties, each commanding a small number of adherents, and none of them capable of exercising any important and permanent influence on the affairs of the country, but able by their combination to thwart the measures and impede the proceedings of any government that can be formed*—if it be meant that in that sense government by party is at an end,—*then I solemnly warn your lordships that government by parliament is about to encounter the heaviest shock, and to be subject to the severest trial, to which it has ever yet been exposed* (hear, hear). And yet, if you look back to the history of the last few years—if you look back to the period which has elapsed since the lamented death of the late Sir Robert Peel—you will find that such has been almost the normal condition of the House of Commons."

We shall be told, indeed, that the changes of 1832 were inevitable, unless there was to be a revolution; and that concession on the part of the privileged classes was better than insurrection, civil commotion, and bloodshed. We do not make light of this

argument; we neither deny the fact nor its cogency. Perhaps the case was so, that the British constitution and polity would have come to a violent end, unless such violent measures had been taken by its political physicians. It often happens that the only way of preserving bodily life is the application of dangerous and shattering remedies; it is a choice of evils. Bodies-politic, as well as animal frames, must sooner or later come to an end; and the question is, how to give them the longest lease, and the most vigorous use, of their time. Remedies, too, which exhaust the constitution may for the time impart unusual energy and nervous force. It might be an act necessary as fate; it might be a wise act, independent of its necessity, to pass the sweeping Reform Bill of 1832: granting it, still the real state of the case may be this, that the nation outgrew its frame-work from no one's fault, and the frame-work had not been elastic enough to expand gradually and insensibly with its growth, and therefore had to be experimented on, or tinkered, that it might do its work any how. And now it will have to be tinkered again; and further tinkering is below the horizon. And still the Duke's question recurs, "How is her majesty's government to be carried on?"

It is but fair to give Mr. Bright's answer, in his speech at Manchester of April 12th, to the Wellington objection and Lord Derby's comment. "There is little more power in parliament than there was many years ago. The parties are just as evenly balanced. We all know perfectly well that the Liberals count at least four to one of the population of the United Kingdom. The House of Commons, as it now divides, is no fair representation or adequate representation of the division which exists in the country between the minority of the Tories and the vast majority of the Liberals. This is the reason that you can have no satisfactory, stable, executive government. Parties there are so balanced that any little accident throws the majority to one side or to the other—any little mistake that the government makes jeopardises it. You have a change of government, a dissolution of parliament, a new parliament, a new government, and pre-

cisely the same state of things as near as possible. Then people tell us, our parliamentary system, after all, is not so good as we thought it,—that it is on its trial,—that it looks very much like coming to a failure. Give us a fair representation. Put the House of Commons in accord with the country. Give to all your vast populations, your vast wealth, your vast industry, your growing intelligence, your gathering power in all your great seats of industry—give these the power in the House of Commons that fairly belongs to them, and I will then engage for it you will have a government that can keep its place—that can do some good thing for the country."

But let us leave speculations for the events themselves, which will have led us to make them.

The following outline of the leading provisions of the Bill is taken from one of the government journals.

The 40s. freehold was to remain on its old basis. The franchise derived from the ownership of copyholds, lifeholds, and long leaseholds, was reduced from 10*l.* *per annum* to 5*l.* The occupation franchise was fixed at one uniform rate for counties and boroughs of 10*l.* yearly value.

New franchises were erected in favour of—1. Lodgers and occupiers of part of a house at the rate of 8*s.* a-week or 20*l.* a-year. 2. Persons in receipt of an income from personal property of 10*l.* *per annum*, or of a pension in army, navy, or civil service, of 20*l.* *per annum*. 3. Depositors in savings-banks to the extent of 60*l.* 4. Graduates of the universities, ministers of religion, barristers, pleaders and conveyancers, solicitors and proctors, medical men and certificated schoolmasters.

The future rights of voting were to be exercised in all cases, for the county or borough, as the case might be, where in the case of a qualification arising out of lands or tenements, the property was situate, or where, in all other cases, the voter should reside. Persons in the actual service of government, in dockyards, &c., were disqualified.

Facilities were provided for polling by an increase of polling-places, and by voting-papers. The increased fa-

cilities for voting rendering travelling expenses unnecessary, the payment of them was declared illegal.

Provisions were introduced for the enlargement of the boundaries of boroughs which had outgrown their limits. The population substantially forming part of the town were to vote for the town; whereas at present, in many instances, a large proportion of the inhabitants of the populous boroughs, residing beyond the parliamentary limits, have no votes except for the county, and have no voice in the election of the borough.

Special commissioners accordingly were to be provided to visit every borough, inspect the existing boundaries, and report, in order to their enlargement, if necessary, for the purpose of including within the area of such boroughs the population really belonging to them.

Fifteen new members were to be added. A member was to be given to Hartlepool, Birkenhead, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Burnley, Staleybridge, Croydon, and Gravesend; two to Middlesex, and the rest to the West Riding and North Lancashire.

To meet this increase, fifteen members were to be annihilated. This was a matter of principle. "Adopting the policy," said Mr. Disraeli, "which for two centuries has been adopted by the sovereigns and parliaments of England, I assume that it is the opinion of this House that its members ought not to be increased." The disfranchised boroughs were Honiton, Thetford, Totnes, Harwich, Evesham, Wells, Richmond, Marlborough, Leominster, Lymington, Ludlow, Andover, Knaresborough, Tewkesbury, and Maldon.

A great meeting was held at the Town Hall, Birmingham, on March 9th, in order to give Mr. Bright an opportunity, in the classical town of reform, to comment upon the Conservative Bill. The following points in his argument are taken from a local newspaper. "*Why* is it that last week any bill on this subject was introduced into the House of Commons? Did the members of the House of Lords urge the government to proceed with the question of Reform? Is a majority of the House of Commons intensely anxious for a great improvement of the representation?—Did the

clergy and gentry of the country ask in violent or expressive language for a Reform Bill? But surely *somebody* asked for it; and *who and where* are they? How comes it that government after government has put into the mouth of the Queen a recommendation to the House of Commons to consider the amendment of the representation of the people? Because your government, with your present representation, is changing from year to year, is almost continually at a dead-lock; and because there is growing up in the minds of a great and intelligent people the clear conviction that your constitution, so far as it mostly affects you in the composition of the House of Commons, does not give you your just rights. You said when I was here last that only one man in five of all the men in Great Britain, or in Great Britain and Ireland, has a vote for members of Parliament. You said, moreover, that those few who had votes are so placed that vast numbers return few members, while very small numbers return many members; so that not only are the four out of five utterly disfranchised, but the fifth is rendered almost as powerless as if he had no vote, by the manner in which members are distributed. What was it that we asked for? That there should be a great many more electors, and that whatever exclusions should exist hereafter should be exclusions not directed against any class; but that the exclusions, whatsoever they were, necessary or unnecessary, should at least not be directed against one, and that the most numerous class, but that they should be exclusions which, so far as they should act at all, should act with fairness and justice through all classes of the population. You asked also that when Parliament confers the franchise, it should confer also that which alone will enable you to exercise your franchise in accordance with your intelligent convictions and the guidance of your own conscience. You asked not for some miserable, delusive, impudent sham in the way of voting-papers, but that you should vote clearly and fairly, by arrangements made by honest friends of the voter, under the shelter of the ballot. You asked that small, dependent, helpless constituencies of two, three,

or four hundred electors, who are not their own masters in elections, should to a considerable extent cease to return members to parliament in their own little circles; and that their members should henceforth be distributed amongst the great populations of the country. Every body who asked for reform, asked for what I have described. Government had brought in a bill which gave several things that not only no body wanted, but a bill which men stood aghast at, because it rejected their demands with the most insolent contempt." Passing on to describe the main points of the bill, Mr. Bright said, the only provision that sounded like a popular concession was that for reducing the qualification for the county franchise from 50*l.* to 10*l.* An eminent actuary had said that this would increase the county constituencies by 100,000; but the bill would in fact effect no real extension.

"There is a giving with one hand, and a snatching away with the other; and I can show that the county electoral body would be worse under this bill than under the system which at present exists. Are there any persons in this meeting living in the town of Birmingham who have qualifications for the county of Warwick? You know that within the limits of boroughs there is a considerable division of freehold property, many plots of freehold land, and many freehold houses. Throughout the whole of England and Wales there are not more than about 100,000 of these county voters whose qualifications are to be found within the limits of boroughs. By this bill, if it should pass, all these voters will be disqualified for the counties, and will be required in future to vote only in the boroughs in which their qualifications lie. Now at first sight you might suppose that it does not make much difference whether a man votes for the county or for the borough; but in this case it makes a great difference, inasmuch as, probably, 60,000 men out of the 100,000 have at present votes for the boroughs, and would not get any additional votes for the boroughs, but would simply have their

present county franchise utterly destroyed and abolished, being left merely with their borough franchise as they enjoy it at present. The bill, therefore, proposes to do the most audacious thing which has been attempted in our time, namely, to disfranchise about 60,000 men, the most independent portion of all the constituent body in the United Kingdom."

We have referred to Mr. Bright's speech for the very reason which he assigns in his first remark. The bill was brought in because a certain portion of the population clamoured for it; it is natural, then, to inquire what they thought of it, and Mr. Bright is their spokesman.

Upon the bill coming for a second reading on March 20, Lord John Russell moved the following amendment: "That it is neither just nor politic to interfere in the manner proposed in this bill with the freehold franchise as hitherto exercised in the counties of England and Wales; and that no readjustment of the franchise will satisfy this House or the country which does not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage in cities and boroughs than is contemplated in the present measure."

After a debate which extended to the morning of the 1st of April, the House divided, and the ministry were defeated by a majority of thirty-nine; the numbers for them being 291, and against them 330.

The confusion of opinions and parties had been extreme. As the *Times* remarked, Lord John Russell, the mover of the resolution, voted *for* it in order to *defeat* the Ministerial Bill; Lord Palmerston voted *for* it in order to *carry* the bill; the Government voted *against* it in order to *carry* the bill; and Mr. Gladstone voted *against* it in order to *defeat* the bill.

Ministers, as we have said, after passing through the business necessary for the public service, were to dissolve.

The prorogation of Parliament took place on April 19th; and the dissolution was announced as to follow on the 23d.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Under this head we shall confine ourselves to the subject which engrosses the attention of Europe,—the quarrel between France and Austria. In so large a field, we shall aim at nothing more than at setting down the public acts which mark its progress.

1. *The first Word in the Dispute.*

On January 1st, at the customary levee held on the first day of the new year, Louis Napoleon said to the Austrian minister, who came with the other diplomatists to pay his respects to his majesty, "I regret that our relations with your Government are not so good as they were; but I request you to tell the Emperor, that my personal feelings for him have not changed." He is said to have spoken with a much more emphatic tone of voice and animated gesture than he generally employs, and betrayed a vivacity which could not pass unnoticed by the diplomatic corps.

2. *The Pope's Speech.*

On the same day, at Rome, the following address and reply passed between the French general and the Pope. The general said, "When I contemplate the majesty of your throne, I see in you a king, and what is more, a Sovereign Pontiff: the first exercising, like other monarchs, his temporal power within the limits of his states,—an authority for whose support is devoted our entire force; the second, still greater, exercising its spiritual authority throughout the universe, without any boundaries but those of the globe itself. We salute, therefore, in your sacred person the monarch, and the noble and worthy successor of St. Peter."

The Pope replied in French. He thanked the general for the sentiments of devotion he had expressed for his person, in the name of his officers and soldiers. He added, that "on that brilliant day, less from the sun which was shining on the Vatican than from the recollection of the Sun of sanctity

and justice, the Saviour of the world, he invoked with all his heart the benediction of heaven for the Emperor and Empress of the French, the Imperial Prince, the brave army, and the entire nation; and he prayed to God to support his feeble arm for the good of all, in order that peace should reign throughout the world."

3. *The Speech of the King of Sardinia.*

Jan. 10. The Sardinian Chambers were opened by the king, who ended his speech with these words: "The horizon out of which the new year rises is not entirely serene; notwithstanding this, you will apply yourselves with your usual alacrity to your parliamentary labours. Encouraged by the experience of the past, we are prepared resolutely to encounter the eventualities of the future. That future will be a happy one, our policy reposing on justice, on love of liberty, and of our country. Our country, small in territory, has acquired credit in the councils of Europe, because it is great through the idea it represents, and the sympathies it inspires. This position is not exempt from perils; since, while we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of suffering which reaches us from so many parts of Italy. Strong by our concord, confiding in our good right, we await, prudent and decided, the decrees of Divine Providence."

4. *The Sardo-French Marriage.*

Jan. 30. The marriage took place, at Turin, between Prince Napoleon and the Princess Clotilda. The Imperial couple departed at once for Paris.

5. *The Emperor Napoleon's Pamphlet.*

At the same time that the imperial marriage took place, appeared a French official pamphlet, under the title of *Napoleon III. and Italy*. It was his Imperial Majesty who inspired it, who furnished the materials, supplied argu-

ments, composed several of the passages, and corrected the whole down to the very last moment of publication. It may, then, in every respect be considered as much an Imperial declaration as if it appeared in the *Moniteur*.

The writer gives, first, a kind of historical record of the cause of Italian independence, from 1847 to the present time. He quotes Lord Palmerston in 1848 : On the 29th of October 1848, Lord Palmerston addressed to Lord Ponsonby, Ambassador of the Queen of Great Britain at Vienna, a despatch, in which he declared that "there is no chance that Austria can keep, in a useful and permanent manner, Upper Italy, the whole of whose inhabitants are profoundly imbued with an invincible hatred to the Austrian army." The rank which Sardinia, vanquished at Novara in 1849, was able to conquer in 1856, in the midst of the great Powers, she owed no doubt to herself ; but she owed it likewise to the moral and direct support of the Anglo-French alliance. The English policy had not varied since 1847 with respect to Italy. It even anticipated France ; while the diplomacy of Louis Philippe supported the Austrian policy, the diplomacy of Queen Victoria encouraged the Italian policy. The influence of England did not cease to be felt for a single day during those eleven years in the affairs of the Peninsula. It was to be found in the first burst of nationality which hailed the accession of Pius IX., as well as in the efforts at independence which at a later period concentrated themselves under the Sardinian flag. Her hand was seen in the pretensions inspired by victory, as well as in the negotiations which followed defeats. When, at the Congress of Paris in 1856, Count Walewski referred to the internal state of Italy, Lord Clarendon energetically supported him.

Again, Germany, so jealous of its own "nationality," ought to feel a sympathy with Italy. Next, what did France wish ? The Emperor Napoleon I. had a sincere respect for German and Italian nationality. "The campaigns of the revolution, the conquests of the Empire, were, then, a violent means, an extreme resource of struggle and of propagandism, but they were not a system. Napoleon I. only made Germany and Italy French, to prepare

them some day to be German and Italian. Misfortunes surprised him before this object of European equilibrium could be accomplished."

The writer then discusses the position of the Pope. He compliments Pius IX. for his generous intentions in 1848, and speaks of his present difficulties. "The first of these difficulties is found in the administrative government of the Roman States, which is but the Catholic authority applied to the interests of a temporal order. The laws of the Church are not proper for discussion, and merit respect ; they must be considered as an emanation of the Divine wisdom ; but civil society claims its legislation, as religious society exacts and preserves its own. The canon law, inflexible as dogma, immovable amid the movement of ages, is essentially distinct from civil law, variable as are the requirements and interests of society. It could adapt itself to the early periods of Christian civilisation, when Charlemagne introduced in his Capitularies the rules and precepts of theocracy ; but the canon law cannot suffice for the protection and development of modern society. It is necessary to reconcile the *régime* of the Church and the *régime* of the Roman nation, which are exercised by the same hand ; to reconcile without confounding. There is the problem ; a difficult one, we admit, but on the solution of which depends, perhaps, the salvation of the temporal power of the Papacy. Real abuses, independent of men, inherent in the nature of things, springing from this confusion, excite among the Roman population a spirit which is only kept in check by the presence of our soldiers. We become responsible for what we protect. There are three things to be done in the Roman States : 1. To reconcile the *régime* of the Church with a legal, political, and regular *régime* in the Roman States ; 2. To render the Pope independent of questions of nationality, of war, of armaments, of internal and external defence ; 3. To constitute a native army, and to substitute for our occupation the protection of an efficacious and real Italian force. This is a threefold necessity, which, under pain of certain and perhaps approaching disturbance, must be satisfied, in the interest of Italy, of religion, and of all the Catholic states."

The position of Piedmont, naturally at the head of Italian nationality, is in danger from the hopes she has excited, and from the influence of a clergy hostile to her on account of her disputes with the Church. As to the rest of Italy, we find at Milan insurrection put down, but not discouraged; Naples bound to Austria; Tuscany garrisoned by Austrian troops; Parma, though not garrisoned, yet bound to Austria by treaties and policy; and the Duke of Modena the admitted lieutenant of Austria. In 1857, France asked Austria to join in urging reforms on the Pope. The Emperor's government wished clearly to define its principles in this plan, which may be thus intimated: Secularisation of the administrative power by the formation of a council of state, consisting of laymen, and charged to examine and discuss the laws; representation of all the interests of the country in a consultum elected directly by the provincial councils, or at least selected by the Pope from a list of candidates presented by those councils, and called upon to deliberate on all the laws, and to vote the budget; an efficacious control over local expenses by provincial councils, receiving their mission from the municipal councils, which themselves are nominated by electors, conformably to the edict of the 24th of November 1850; judicial reform, by the promulgation of a code of laws on the plan of the Code Napoléon, or the Code Lombardo-Venetian, or that of Naples; a regular levying of taxes, according to the system adopted in France; finally, reconciliation of all classes and all opinions by the enlightened and paternal exercise of clemency towards all those willing to make respectful submission to the Sovereign Pontiff. Such were the bases of the project sent from Paris to Vienna in the month of June 1857. The Austrian government made immense modifications, and submitted in return a counter-project, where all the guarantees of control proposed by France had nearly disappeared. Under the circumstances, France thought, with reason, that it was better not to do any thing than to join Austria. That power, not being able to make reforms in her Italian provinces, cannot allow them to be made in other parts of Italy. To ask Austria to exercise a milder and

more liberal rule in Lombardy, would be simply to ask her to commit suicide. It is evident she cannot maintain her rule in Upper Italy, except by the strong hand. The Austrian position is, in a military point of view, very strong, and no insurrection of Italians could obtain a permanent triumph; from these facts a military man will at once admit that Italian nationality will never be the result of a revolution, and can never succeed without foreign help. The unity of Italy is impossible; a federal union of the Italian states is the best solution. But there exists an obstacle beyond Italian and beyond European interests; it is Austria's position in Lombardy. Opposition is the basis of Austrian policy; as Austria opposes reforms, so will she oppose every thing else.

What, therefore, is to be done? to appeal to force? May Providence keep such an extremity from us! We must appeal to public opinion. When the true situation of Italy shall be known to Europe, public opinion may judge. We have no hostility to Austria. The question of Italy is the only difficulty which can exist between her and France. France respects her situation in Germany, which has nothing to fear from France on the Rhine. The solution of the Italian question would have for result to efface between France and Austria all subjects of dissension. These two powers can approach each other by many common interests; and the union of all the great governments of Europe is not too much to prevent future complications. It is in order to combine their views and efforts in a general interest that we would remove difficulties, and resolve one of the most serious questions of the moment. We desire "*que la diplomatie fasse, la veille d'une lutte, ce qu'elle ferait le lendemain d'une victoire.*"

#### 6. *The Emperor Napoleon's Speech.*

Feb. 7. The French Chambers were opened by the Emperor with the customary speech. He spoke in it of the increased wealth, influence, and consolidation of France; yet there was at intervals a vague anxiety without well-defined cause, which shook public confidence. After so many revolutions, this was natural; but still it was deplorable. A doubt had arisen in some quarters of the Emperor's moderation

and of the power of France, though not in the mass of the population. His constant policy had been to reassure Europe, to restore France to her proper rank, to cement the alliance with England, and to ally himself with the other states of Europe in proportion to their congeniality and bearing towards France; therefore it was that he had said, *l'Empire c'est la paix*. He had employed all his perseverance in consolidating the alliance with England, so important to the peace of the world; he had been seconded by the Queen and statesmen of all opinions, and had on every occasion trampled under foot irritating reminiscences, the attacks of calumny, and even French prejudice. The consequences were seen in Turkey and China. Since the peace, his relations with the Czar had assumed a character of perfect accord and frank cordiality; with Prussia, they were animated by mutual goodwill; with Austria he had been at variance in matters of principle. He had shown great conciliation in the case of the Danubian Principalities; in which, distant as that country was, France was interested, as in every just and civilising cause every where. The marriage of Prince Napoleon with the Piedmont princess was the result of no hidden reason, but of community of interests and the friendship of the sovereigns. The abnormal state of Italy has disquieted diplomacy. This was not a sufficient reason for expecting war. Some desired it at any cost; others feared a European coalition against France. He would observe right and justice and the national honour; never provoking, never pusillanimous. Peace, he hoped, would not be disturbed.

#### 7. *Official Explanation of the Emperor's Speech.*

Feb. 12. A few days after the opening of the Senate, the Emperor thus interpreted his speech for the benefit of his people, in a circular from his minister of the interior to the country *préfets*:

"The speech delivered by the Emperor on opening the Legislative Chambers has become the subject of very contradictory comments, the result of which is to agitate and unsettle the public mind. This is an evil that must be remedied. The policy of the Em-

peror is as definite as it is elevated. Immovably established, as he has said, in the path of right, justice, and national power, it is never provocative; but will never be pusillanimous. It is ready to manifest itself wherever the cause of justice and civilisation is to be assisted.

"It is important that the journals published in your department should also be inspired with this noble sentiment, and that they should say to the population (for this is the thought of the Emperor), that war without a legitimate motive is impossible; but that if the preservation of his honour demands it, if one of those causes should arise to which France is at all times passionately attached, the government will not retreat from the idea of war, for war would then be a necessity. Let the papers say, and say again, that towards whatever result the will of the Emperor may lead it, it is the duty of the nation, which has so often received the benefit of his wisdom, and which he has made so great, to follow without hesitation.

"A danger greater than any that can be incurred by war is, that the spirit of the nation may become careless of all but material interests, and forget the traditions of honour and patriotism.

"In this spirit the editors of journals should write. If it is not in the power of the press to raise its language to the tone adopted by the Emperor, which has made itself heard throughout Europe, it can at least abstain from weakening the effect of this interpretation by accusing him of egotism or pusillanimity."

#### 8. *The Pope's Relinquishment of the Austrian and French Troops.*

Towards the end of February, the Pontifical government resolved upon an important political step. It had never ceased for the last two years to demand the departure of the French and Austrian armies of occupation; it gave as its reason, the perfect tranquillity which prevailed at Rome, and throughout the States of the Church. Moreover, it desired to accomplish a saving in its war-budget, which was enormous for so small a state, amounting to 11,000,000*fr.* for 16,000 men, while in Tuscany 17,000 men cost but 8,000,000*fr.* This difference was caused

by the army of occupation, particularly the Austrian army.

Accordingly the Pope delivered a short address to the Sacred College, to announce to it the demand which the Papal government was about to address to the ambassadors of France and Austria relative to the evacuation of the States of the Church. In this address the Pope particularly dwelt on the fact that, as minister of God and vicar of Jesus Christ, who preached peace and good-will among people, he ought to prevent, by every means in his power, the prolongation of foreign occupation becoming the pretext for a disastrous war between the two great Catholic powers. A few days after, the formal demand for evacuation was made to the French and Austrian ambassadors.

The *Moniteur* of Feb. 27th had the following announcement: "His Eminence Cardinal Antonelli announced on the 22d, by order of his Holiness, to their excellencies the ambassadors of France and Austria at the Holy See, that the Holy Father, full of gratitude for the succour given him up to the present by their Majesties the Emperor of the French and the Emperor of Austria, thought it his duty to inform them that henceforth his government was strong enough to suffice for its own security, and to maintain peace in its states; and that, consequently, the Pope declared himself ready to enter into arrangements with the two powers with a view to combine within the shortest possible delay the simultaneous evacuation of his territory by the French and Austrian armies."

In the *Wiener Zeitung* is the following ministerial article: "The Imperial Royal Government has learned from Rome, by electric telegraph, that his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State (Antonelli) has communicated to the Austrian and French ambassadors the wish of his Holiness that the occupation of the domains of the Church by the troops of their respective sovereigns should cease in the course of this year. The Imperial Royal Government looks forward to the receipt of a formal (written) communication on the subject. It is understood that, as his Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty sent his troops in accordance with the wish and at the

request of his Holiness into the Papal States, in order that they might restore order, they will, the expressed wish of his Holiness being perfectly decisive in this matter, be withdrawn as soon as the Roman government ceases to consider their presence necessary to the maintenance of order."

While making this announcement, the Holy Father made it understood that he did not claim the fulfilment of the demand for the evacuation of his States. His only intention was to prevent a collision of the two Catholic empires. The Pope also said that he had intrusted his destiny to Providence, and that orders have been given for public prayers for the maintenance of peace.

#### 9. Lord Cowley's Mission to Vienna.

At the same date (the end of February), Lord Cowley, the British Minister at the Tuileries, proceeded on a secret mission, in behalf of his government, to the Court of Vienna.

#### 10. Appeal of Austria to England against Sardinia.

Feb. 28. An Austrian despatch was addressed to the Court of St. James's bitterly retorting certain complaints of Sardinia. Austria willingly joined the British Government in its endeavours to spare the world the horrors of a general conflagration. Austria was not, as Sardinia maintained, because she exercised an influence in Italy beyond the great treaties, a permanent menace to Sardinia. Great political bodies would always exercise a certain influence on neighbouring states, but never ought to use it to the prejudice of the independence of any of them. Austria had used it in extending aid to those who, in danger from revolution, had asked it; she had in this way helped Sardinia before now. It was in accordance with the public law and the practice of Europe that states should engage in private treaties with each other, provided they did not compromise any third power. Sardinia denied the right of Austria to make treaties in the cause of order; but she had herself lately made a treaty with France when she (Sardinia) was meditating aggression. She had been beaten by Austria in two campaigns ten years ago; she wanted a third, in order to redeem the dis-

honour which those defeats brought upon her. When the Austrian Emperor, some years back, visited Lombardy, the press of Piedmont put forth a defence of regicide; and its government would give Austria no redress. If Austria had lately sent reinforcements into Lombardy, it was because of the royal speech at the opening of the Piedmontese Parliament. The garrisons of Bologna and Ancona had not, as Count Cavour asserted, been reinforced. Would not Great Britain, would not other peaceable powers, interfere to restrain Piedmont, which had abused so long the good-nature of Europe? The governments of Central and Southern Italy were not perfect; they had unhappily been made the subjects of unsuccessful political experiments. Austria had always encouraged efforts at real improvement, and had given advice to them to that effect when asked. Piedmont had embarrassed their attempts. The armed support accorded to the Sovereign Pontiff was, at his desire, now about to cease; it had succeeded in rendering a great service to the interests of social order. His temporal sovereignty was one of the guarantees of his apostolic and spiritual independence. His main difficulties arose from foreign revolutionary elements. Till Piedmont kept quiet, he could not coöperate with the other Italian governments in international reforms. The responsibility of war was so enormous, that Austria wished to make Great Britain fully aware of her pacific intentions. She intended no hostile project against Piedmont. She would abstain from aggressive action while Piedmont respected her and her allies' territories. She would not unsheath the sword except in defence of her rights and of treaties.

#### 11. *Reply of Sardinia to the Allegations of Austria against her.*

This paper, drawn up at the invitation of the British Government, simultaneously with this Austrian note, appeared in the public journals not earlier than April 7th, and then, for the most part, only in an abstract or in fragments. Its object was to show that Austria had abused her power within the territories which she is acknowledged to hold legally by treaty. Austria, it says, had doubtless a title to Venetian

Lombardy; but the treaties which are the foundation of that title were bad, since they contained no provision for a good government of Austria. They hand over a great part of Northern Italy to a great German power, without security or stipulation. This unconditional possession of absolute power had resulted in an exaggerated form of bad government, and had led to a state of things which has no analogy in modern history.

That state would be more tolerable, if Austria would show herself faithful to the promises which she made to the Italians when, in 1814, she excited them to rise against French domination; and if, in conformity with the proclamation of the commander-in-chief of her armies, General Bellegarde, she were to establish beyond the Alps, if not a government, at least an administration, entirely national, with a native army quartered in Italy, and commanded by Italian officers and institutions on the representative principle.

The memorandum passed on to a second head of accusation against Austria; viz. she exercised an encroaching, undue, and dangerous domination in other states, within which she had no legal right. Sardinia, it says, claimed the right to point out Austria's illegal acts, to demand of Europe the fulfilment of her broken pledges and the remedy of their violation. Considering herself at liberty to do as she pleased in the States of Parma, in contempt of the treaties, which only gave her the right to keep a garrison in the citadel of Placentia, she had had constructed, and was arming at that moment, detached forts outside the enclosure of the city, destined to transform Placentia into a vast entrenched camp, capable of giving shelter to a formidable army. The bond which attached Tuscany to Austria, although less apparent, was neither less real nor less strong. It was not known whether a secret treaty existed between the two states; but it was certain that the Tuscan Government relied on the armed support of Austria to keep down her people; and Austria was able to occupy Tuscany if a strategical interest counselled it. As to the Roman States, since 1831 she had crossed the Po three times, and placed garrisons in the towns of the Romagna. The last

occupation extended as far as Ancona, and had lasted for ten years. The withdrawal of the foreign troops would not change the abnormal condition of the states of the Holy See; it would leave the field open for revolution and foreign occupation. Thus these provinces, which should have belonged to an independent sovereign, were really under the Austrian domination. These evils, war or revolution, would be warded off, temporarily, by the following changes: "By obtaining from Austria—not in virtue of treaties, but in the name of the principles of humanity and of eternal justice—a national and separate government for Lombardy and Venetia. By requiring, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the treaty of Vienna, that the domination of Austria over the states of Central Italy should cease, and consequently that the detached forts constructed outside the walls of Placentia should be destroyed; that the convention of the 24th of December 1847 should be annulled; that the occupation of the Romagna should cease; and that the principle of non-intervention should be proclaimed and respected. By inviting the Dukes of Modena and Parma to give to their people institutions similar to those existing in Piedmont, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany to reëstablish the constitution to which he had freely consented in 1848. By obtaining from the Sovereign Pontiff the administrative separation of the provinces beyond the Apennines, in conformity with the propositions communicated in 1856 to the cabinets of London and Paris."

#### 12. *French Declaration.*

*March 5.* An article in the *Moniteur*. The state of things in Italy, it said, though already of an old date, had at length assumed a gravity which had forced itself on the Emperor's mind. So high a sovereign could not isolate himself from questions of European order: but he was prudent, loyal, equitable, considerate; he disguised nothing, disavowed nothing. He had his objects, his alliances; the interest of France was his aim and his anxiety. He had promised to defend the King of Sardinia against Austrian aggression; he would do nothing less,

he had not engaged to do more. He was not making warlike preparations; he had not exceeded the peace footing of the army; nor had he done more than fit out four frigates for Algeria, and four screw transports for Civita Vecchia and Cochin China. If the arsenals were active, it was because the novel inventions made it necessary to change the artillery and transform the fleet. Public opinion had been shamefully misled by vague, malevolent, and absurd rumours of war. The Emperor did but watch the complications of Europe as they mounted above the horizon. Foresight was not provocation; a diplomatic examination of the questions in dispute had commenced, and ought to be favourable to peace.

#### 13. *The French Emperor's Remonstrance with England through Sir F. Head.*

*March 7.* A letter appeared in the French papers from the Emperor Napoleon to Sir Francis Head, to thank him for his defence of him in the *Times* newspaper. He says: "I have seen in your articles, and I am much touched by it, a new proof that my old friends in England had not forgotten me, and that they know how much I always preserve for the English people the esteem and the sympathy which I felt during my exile in the midst of them. In changing one's destiny, one only changes one's joys and sorrows. Formerly the afflictions of exile alone appeared to me; to-day I see plainly the cares of power; and one of the greatest of them around me is, no doubt, to find myself misunderstood and misjudged by those whom I value the most, and with whom I desire to have a good understanding. That the English, of whom I have ever been the most devoted and faithful ally, should attack me incessantly in the journals, in the most unworthy and most unjust manner, is what I cannot comprehend. If in my own country I chose to act in this manner, it would be impossible for me afterwards to restrain the passions which I should have let loose. I have always entertained a great admiration for the liberties of the English people; but I regret deeply that liberty, like all good things, should also have its excess."

14. *Austrian Circular, addressed to the German Governments.*

Meanwhile communications had been passing, in the course of February, between Austria and the governments of Germany; and these seem to have been published in France in the beginning of March. The Austrian despatch observes: "The anxiety inspired by the political state of Europe had been felt in every part of Germany. As it could not be explained by the fact of any serious difficulties between the great powers, nor traced to legitimate causes, it was felt the more strongly. But it had elicited, on the other hand, in Germany a unanimity and decision of public opinion in favour of an energetic coöperation, if war came. Both its statesmen and its press had widely spread the impression that Germany would consider itself threatened, as a united power, if Austria were attacked by France in Italy. All Germany protested against a new confederation of the Rhine. Various German cabinets had wished to resolve on a joint line of action, which might make itself felt the moment Austria was attacked. War might take place at any moment while Sardinia showed a desire to attack the rights of Austria in Italy as guaranteed by treaties. The moment had not come for the members of the Confederation to proceed to open deliberation at Frankfort; but mutual communications, with a view to the future, between the German governments, as members of one great body, were highly desirable."

15. *Reply of the German Governments.*

The states "of the common German country," as they called themselves, answered by acknowledging the patriotism and the respect for treaties which Austria ascribed to them. The Italian question could not but be ultimately a European question. They would support Austria, their confederate, in the day of foreign aggression; but the danger was not yet imminent enough for those mutual communications to which she invited them.

In corroboration of these sentiments, there were demonstrations at the theatres; and patriotic songs and

hymns began to spread through the various states of the German fatherland.

16. *Prussian Reply to the Austrian Circular.*

At the same time the Prussian Government also addressed a circular note to its own representatives at the German courts, declaratory of the view which it took of the crisis. "The peace of Europe," it said, "was threatened from many points. Diplomacy might settle matters in the East, in Servia, in the Danubian Principalities, and even in Italy. The real difficulty lay in the counter views of Austria and France. Prussia did not hesitate one moment in determining to maintain the force of treaties, and to recommend moderation. To succeed in this line of action, it was necessary to take the part of neither power; but to act with England, and with Russia. At the same time, of course it must do its duty; but it would not go beyond its necessary duty as a member of the German Confederation."

17. *Remarks of the French Government upon the Communications between Austria and Germany.*

March 15. The *Moniteur* spoke as follows: "A portion of Germany presented at the present moment a spectacle which saddened and astonished.

"The French Government only occupied itself with the alarming situation of Italy, with a view to its solution in concert with its allies, and in the interest of the peace of Europe, and with sincere desire to unravel difficulties pacifically, and to anticipate complications.

"Yet a portion of Germany responded to this most calm attitude by the most inconsiderate symptoms of alarm. On a simple presumption, prejudices were aroused, mistrust propagated, passions let loose, a sort of crusade against France preached in the Chambers and in the press of some of the states of the Confederation. France was accused of entertaining ambitious views, of which not even an idea ever existed.

"The men who misled German patriotism in this manner were out

of date. They went to sleep in 1813, and now have waked up.

"If the French Government was not convinced that its acts, its principles, and the sentiments of the majority of the German people, gave a denial to the suspicions which have been attempted to be thrown upon it, it might reasonably feel offended; it might see therein not only an act of injustice, but an attempt against the independence of its policy. The whole movement which was attempted on the Rhine, on a question which does not threaten Germany, would tend to nothing less than to contest the right of France to exert her influence in Europe, and to defend her own interests, even with the most extreme moderation. The life of a great nation like France was not confined to its own frontiers; it manifested itself throughout the whole world by the salutary action which it exercised, to the advantage of its national power as well as at the same time to the advantage of civilisation. When a nation gave up this part, it abdicated its rank.

"The Emperor, who had known how to overcome all prejudices, might have expected that they would not have been invoked against him. Instead of making himself the intimate ally of England, as the interests of civilisation led him to do, suppose he had become her rival, as the ancient rivalries of the two nations seemed to command him? Suppose he had rejected with distrust the servants of former dynasties? Suppose he had redeemed, at the price of the safety and independence of Europe, the *souvenirs* of 1814 and 1815? A man could not reign with glory if he obeyed the impulses of resentment and hatred.

"France did not make the whole of Germany responsible for the error or ill-will of a few manifestations, which must be described rather as petty resentment than serious alarm. Germany had nothing to fear from France as regards its independence. It was by showing its impartiality that it would display its foresight, and best serve the cause of peace.

"Prussia had understood this, and she had joined England in giving good advice at Vienna at the very moment that some agitators were endeavouring to arouse the temper of the German Confederation, and make it form

a coalition against France. The French people were susceptible of their honour; at the same time there was moderation in their strength, and if menaces excited them, conciliation calmed them."

A subsequent article added:

"France would not assail in Germany that which she would desire to protect in Italy. Her policy disavows all ambition of conquest, and aims only to secure those guarantees which the right of nations and the public interest of Europe in Germany and Italy demand. She desires that the nationalities which have been recognised by treaties may be able to maintain their own integrity, because she regards them as the essential bases of European order. It is against reason to represent France as hostile to the nationality of Germany. For ten years France has employed all her influence to unravel difficulties and to solve them on just and equitable principles." The article calls to mind the line of policy pursued by France in the affair of Neuchatel, in Rome, Naples, Holstein, and the Danubian Principalities, in all which cases "her endeavour was to make the lawful wishes of the people triumphant, and to establish order based upon secured national interests. What France wishes is, that Italy may understand how to command respect in Germany. It is not we who should be menaced by the erection of one German nationality, uniting its federal organisation with its military tendencies on the principle of the *Zollverein*."

### 18. *The Congress.*

March 22. The *Moniteur* announced suddenly, while Lord Cowley was still at Vienna:—"Russia has proposed the meeting of a Congress, with a view to prevent the complications which the state of Italy might give rise to, and which would be of a nature to disturb the peace of Europe. This Congress, consisting of the Plenipotentiaries of France, Austria, England, Prussia, and Russia, is to meet in some neutral city. The Government of the Emperor has given its adhesion to the proposition of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. The Cabinets of London, Vienna, and Berlin have not yet replied officially."

19. *Claim of Sardinia to sit at the Congress.*

*March 21.* On the formal proposition of Russia to submit the Italian question to a Congress of the Great Powers, the Sardinian Minister claimed admittance to it in a letter to the Court of London.

"Piedmont ought to be represented at this Congress; its intervention would be useful, not to say indispensable, if the powers which sympathised with Italy, and those which desired to obviate the danger of its abnormal state, could obtain concessions and guarantees of a nature to calm the public mind.

"Sardinia enjoyed the confidence of Italy, whose fate was about to be decided; she had already raised her voice in its favour at the Congress of Paris, and that voice was not only listened to by the most enlightened governments, but it had succeeded in calming angers ready to burst forth; substituting for revolution the regular and legal action of diplomacy.

"Sardinia, in taking the lead of the national movement, had always exercised the influence it had acquired to combat revolutionary passions. If Italy had not been the theatre of new troubles lately, of insane popular movements, and of sanguinary reaction, it was owing to the salutary action of Piedmont.

"As regards the questions for the Congress, the government of the king had, in the memorandum of the 1st March to the Cabinet of London, frankly explained its views, the grievances of the Peninsula, and the reparations they require. It met with a favourable reception. Thus, whether by its general conduct since the affairs of Italy had taken the first place in the cares of Europe—whether by its declarations as regarded the points which now required an immediate solution—the British Government ought to be convinced that Sardinia would lend a sincere support to all measures in Congress proposed in the interest of Italy."

20. *Austrian Note addressed to Russia upon the Congress.*

*March 23.* Appreciating at their just value the sentiments of the Emperor Alexander, and desiring to lend

his concurrence to a work which must sanction anew the engagements consigned in treaties, and the totality of rights deriving therefrom, the Emperor Francis Joseph accepts on his part the proposition in question.

"The whole difficulty resides in the political system which Sardinia follows in her foreign relations. To put an end to this state of things, which alarms Europe, and to prevent its return,—such appears to be the task reserved to the Powers called upon in the first rank to uphold social order.

"If, however, beside this question, which is the only one essentially important for the moral pacification of Italy, it should enter into the intentions of the Powers to bring forward others for discussion, it would be necessary that they should be exactly stated beforehand, and, insomuch as they would touch upon the internal régime of other sovereign states, the undersigned could not dispense with insisting above all things that the mode of proceeding in this case should be conformable to the rules formulated by the protocol of Aix-la-Chapelle, under date of the 15th of November 1818.

"In conclusion, the Imperial Cabinet must lay stress on a last consideration. To wish to open peaceful deliberations in presence of the preparations for war, would be not only materially dangerous, but morally impossible. It is therefore indispensable, as will doubtless appear to all the Powers, that previously to all conference Sardinia must disarm."

21. *Austrian Note addressed to the British Government upon the Congress.*

*March 31.* "Austria accepts, in the measure stated in the sheet hereto annexed, the bases of discussion proposed by the British Government.

"A fifth point of deliberation which Austria has thought fit to add, that of an agreement on a simultaneous disarming of the Great Powers, will be accepted by all the Powers as a new proof of her pacific intentions.

"It appears clear, that if she accepts, on the conditions mentioned above, the proposal of a Congress, the British Government will invite that of France in a pressing manner to insist, in

common with it, that Sardinia shall disarm at once, and to give it a collective guarantee for the fulfilment of the engagement taken towards it.

"Austria could not present herself at the Congress until Sardinia shall have completed her disarmament, and shall have proceeded to the disbandment of the *corps francs*. Austria will not attack Sardinia pending the duration of the Congress, as long as the latter shall respect the imperial territory and that of its allies.

"1. *English Proposition*. Means of assuring the maintenance of peace between Austria and Sardinia.

1. *Austrian*. The Congress shall examine the means of bringing back Sardinia to the fulfilment of her international duties, and shall consider the measures to be taken to avoid the return of the present complication.

2. *English*. Evacuation of the Roman States by the foreign corps of occupation, and a taking into consideration of the reforms in the Italian States.

2. *Austrian*. The question of the evacuation of the Pontifical States may be discussed. The Congress will leave the details of its execution to the three Powers directly interested. The question of the administrative reforms may be debated. An understanding may be come to on the advice to be given, but its definitive adoption remains subordinate to the decisions of the states directly interested.

3. *English*. A combination to be substituted for the special treaties between Austria and the Italian States.

3. *Austrian*. The validity of our treaties cannot be questioned; but if all the Powers represented at the Congress agree among them to produce their political treaties with the Italian States, Austria, on her part, will do the same. She will come to an understanding with the governments co-interested, to be able to present their common treaties to the Congress, and to examine in what measure their revision might be recognised as useful.

4. *English*. Territorial arrangements and the treaties of 1815 shall not be touched.

4. *Austrian*. Perfectly agreed that neither existing territorial engage-

ments nor the treaties of 1815, nor those concluded in execution of those acts, shall be touched.

5. *Austrian*. An understanding for a simultaneous disarming of the Great Powers."

## 22. *Answer of Sardinia to the Anglo-Austrian Proposal of a Disarmament.*

April 18. The British Cabinet having proposed the Austrian terms to Sardinia, she replied at this date, that if she had been admitted to the Congress on the same footing as the Great Powers, then she would have accepted the principle of a disarmament. As things were, she declined doing so. However, to show her wish to conciliate England, she would undertake, if Austria ceased to send troops into Lombardy—1. Not to place her reserves under arms; 2. Not to mobilise such portion of her army as was not on a war-footing; 3. Not to move her troops from the defensive position which they have occupied for the last three months.

## 23. *Explanation of the British Ministers in Parliament.*

April 18. The speakers were Lord Derby, Lord Malmesbury, and Mr. Disraeli. They said that when Lord Cowley's mission of mediation to Vienna had already been eminently and entirely successful, then Russia, animated by the best feelings, and emulous of, though not in competition with, that interposition, stepped in, and proposed a Congress, to the disarrangement of all that had been effected. This proposition of a Congress had introduced two difficulties—first, as to the States who are to assemble; secondly, as to the general disarmament. Austria first proposed that Sardinia should disarm. This England and France resisted, other powers not disarming; however, England proposed to France, that Sardinia should disarm under a double pledge: 1. from England and France, that they would protect Sardinia from any attack from Austria; 2. from Austria, that she would not attack Sardinia. France declined to be partner to this arrangement. On this Austria waved her invidious condition of the disarmament of Sardinia, and proposed a general disarmament. France agreed,

with the *proviso* that the disarmament should be the first matter submitted to the Congress, whereas Austria wished it to precede its meeting. Ministers certainly thought a Congress not the place for military discussions; but Sardinia declined to accept it on her part altogether, alleging that, not having a seat at the Congress (which the Russian proposition did not contemplate), she could not be asked to disarm; and in the face of this serious divergence of the power immediately interested in a matter of principle, a question of detail was of insignificant importance.

After thus stating the position of the negotiations at the moment, ministers added, that the conduct of Austria had throughout been marked by a tone of dignified conciliation; and, on the contrary, that a feeling existed that the conduct of Sardinia had been perplexing, embarrassing, and ambiguous. The treaties of 1815 were to be maintained. Lastly, an Italian war could not be carried on in a corner; from the Adriatic it would reach the Rhine, and then it would not be confined to the Continent. It would be a sanguinary war of passion, and would be certain very soon to involve the whole of Europe in deadly conflict. Meanwhile, it was not consistent either with the honour or interest of England that the question of Congress or no Congress should be further protracted. England must soon say, "The time is gone by for trifling and negotiation; we must reluctantly withdraw our interference from affairs which we cannot longer take part in with dignity or promise of advantage." In that case we must exercise an armed neutrality.

#### 24. *Sardinia's conditional Consent to disarm.*

April 19. The *Moniteur* announced as follows: "The English Government having insisted on it, France, willing to prove her conciliatory disposition, has promised to request Piedmont to disarm on condition that she and the other Italian States shall be invited to take part in the Congress."

#### 25. *New Proposal of England to the Four Powers of the Congress.*

April 21. The *Moniteur* contains the following: "England has made to the four other great powers the

following propositions:—1. To effectuate previous to the Congress a general and simultaneous disarmament. 2. The disarmament to be regulated by a military or civil commission, independently of the Congress; this commission to be composed of six commissioners, one of whom to be a Sardinian. 3. As soon as the commission shall have commenced operations, the Congress should assemble, and proceed to the discussion of political questions. 4. That the representatives of the Italian states should be invited by the Congress, immediately after its assembling, to take their seats with the representatives of the great powers absolutely, as at the congress of 1821. France, Russia, and Prussia, have given in their adhesion to the proposals of England."

#### 26. *Ultimatum of Austria.*

April 22. News arrived that Austria declined to accept this proposal, though accepted by the other powers, and had summoned Sardinia to disarm, and send away the volunteers who had joined her from various parts of Italy, under pain of a declaration of war in three days, to expire on Easter Tuesday, the 26th; and that she had seconded the summons by ordering 80,000 men to the Ticino. The official statement ran thus:

"Piedmont, which has for some years past endangered Austria's rights, has been summoned most urgently by Austria to disarm. Besides this demand, expressly addressed to Piedmont, Austria adheres firmly to the proposal of a general disarmament, although she cannot make that proposal subordinate to the summons she has addressed to Sardinia."

#### 27. *Movement of the French Troops upon Sardinia in consequence.*

The *Moniteur* has the following: "Austria has not given in her adhesion to the propositions made by England, and accepted by France, Russia, and Prussia; besides which, it appears the cabinet of Vienna have resolved upon addressing a direct communication to the cabinet of Turin, in order to obtain the disarmament of Piedmont. In consequence of these facts, the Emperor has ordered the concentration of several divisions of the army on the frontiers of Piedmont."

# THE RAMBLER.

---

VOL. I. *New Series.*

JULY 1859.

PART II.

---

## THE TEXT OF THE RHEIMS AND DOUAY VERSION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

IN attempting to trace the history, and to ascertain the present state, of the text of the Rheims and Douay version of Holy Scripture, we cannot avoid availing ourselves of the elaborate work recently published by a dignitary of the Irish Establishment on the subject. We allude to Archdeacon Cotton's *Attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the Diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English*, published at the Oxford University Press in 1855.

Not that it needs any apology for using the investigations of a learned Protestant, or for feeling grateful to him, so far as he has anticipated the necessity of researches of our own, by such minute, exact, and persevering diligence as he has taken in a subject-matter which could not be of any the slightest personal interest to himself. But, painful as it is to say it, in spite of his stating in his preface, that "the design of his book is not controversial but literary," he has made it the vehicle of so much incidental insinuation, sometimes unfair, sometimes ignorant, always ill-natured, to the disadvantage of Catholic ecclesiastics, that we are unable to regard him with that unmixed respect, and to use him with that ready and unfaltering confidence, which would be natural in those who, like ourselves, have long known his claims, both as a gentleman and a scholar, on public estimation. Perhaps, however, it is well that he should have allowed his *animus* against the Catholic Church to appear so distinctly; otherwise, from admiration of the long and patient pains with which he has prosecuted an irksome labour, we might have been led to such full reliance in his statements as it is never

right to place in any writer whatever, much less in one who, whatever his personal worth, is naturally open to the prejudices of his creed and party. As things stand, while we shall use him in the following pages, we are warned at the same time to verify his various statements, as far as may be, and where this cannot be done, not to adopt them without distinct reference to him as our authority. At the same time, in so difficult and intricate an inquiry, we have no right to anticipate that, whatever be our care, we shall succeed, whether we use him or not, in guarding against inaccuracies and errors of our own in matters of detail.

### § 1. RHEIMS AND DOUAY BIBLE.

The circumstances under which the existing Catholic translation of Holy Scripture was made are rendered familiar to us by Mr. Tierney's edition of Dod's *History*, not to refer to other authorities. The College or Seminary of Douay had been founded in 1568 by the exertions of Cardinal Allen, some time fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. A few years afterwards, its members were obliged, by the political troubles of Flanders, to migrate for a time to France, and to establish themselves at Rheims. One of their first works in the service of their countrymen was an English version of Holy Scripture. The Divines chiefly concerned in the translation of the New Testament were the aforesaid Dr. William Allen, afterwards Cardinal; Dr. Gregory Martin, of St. John's College, Oxford; Dr. Richard Bristow, of Christ Church and Exeter; and John Reynolds, of New College. Martin translated the text, and the rest revised; the Annotations were written by Bristow and Allen. Martin was also the translator of the Old Testament, the notes to which were written by Dr. Worthington, who, as Dr. Cotton says, eventually joined the Oratory. This, however, was not the case; for we find his name in Alegambe's *Script. Soc. Jes.* p. 438. He joined the Society "ætate jam grandævus," dying in 1626. Martin died of an illness, the consequence of his labours, in the very year in which his New Testament made its appearance.

The reasons which actuated them in their work are detailed in the Prefaces with which both Old and New Testaments are introduced to the reader. "Now since Luther's revolt also," says the preface to the New Testament, "diverse learned Catholics, for the more speedy abolishing of a number of false and impious translations put forth by sundry sects, and for the better preservation or reclaim of many

good souls endangered thereby, have published the Bible in the several languages of almost all the principal provinces of the Latin Church, no other books in the world being so pernicious as heretical translations of the Scriptures, poisoning the people under colour of divine authority, and not many other remedies being more sovereign against the same (if it be used in order, discretion, and humility) than the true, faithful, and sincere interpretation opposed thereunto. . . . We, therefore, having compassion to see our beloved countrymen, with extreme danger of their souls, to use only such profane translations and erroneous men's mere fantasies, for the pure and blessed word of truth, much also moved thereunto by the desires of many devout persons, have set forth for you, benign readers, the New Testament to begin withal, trusting that it may give occasion to you, after diligent perusal thereof, to lay away at least such their impure versions as hitherto you have been forced to occupy."

The preface to the whole Bible speaks to the same effect: "Now since Luther and his followers have pretended that the Catholic Roman faith and doctrine should be contrary to God's written word, and that the Scriptures were not suffered in vulgar languages, lest the people should see the truth, and withal these new masters corruptly turning the Scriptures into diverse tongues, as might best serve their own opinions, against this false suggestion and practice, Catholic pastors have, for one especial remedy, set forth true and sincere translations in most languages of the Latin Church."

The translation was made, as we have noticed, soon after the establishment of the college; but, owing to a "lack of means," as the preface says, in their "poor estate in banishment," "to publish the whole in such sort as a work of so great charge and importance" required, it "lay by them," the New Testament till 1582, the Old till 1609-10. At these dates the versions of the New and Old Testaments were respectively published in quarto; that of the New at Rheims, that of the Old at Douay, whither they returned in the course of the year. The Old Testament came to a second edition (quarto) in 1635, without alterations or corrections. The New Testament came to a second edition (quarto) in 1600, with some few alterations and corrections; to a third (16mo) in 1621; and to a fourth (quarto) in 1633. After these there was no new edition of either Old or New Testament for above a hundred years, when at length, in 1738, the fifth was published (folio) of the New Testament. In this reprint the spelling is modernised, and the text and an-

notations have a few verbal alterations, but in substance it is the edition of 1600 and 1633. A sixth edition of the New Testament (folio) was published fifty years afterwards (1788) at Liverpool, with the original preface and annotations, after the edition of 1738.

In 1816-1818 an edition, or editions, of the whole Bible were published in Ireland, in which, as regards the New Testament, the Rhemish text and annotations were mainly adopted. This edition was printed in different places, with duplicate sheets, and various cancels; and the Old Testament follows mainly, both in text and notes, Dr. Challoner's revision, which will be described lower down. This may be considered the seventh edition of the original Rhemish version.

An eighth edition, both text and notes, was published in New York, in octavo, in 1834, by a Protestant party, which hoped to make use of it as a weapon in controversy against Catholics. It professes to be "exactly printed from the original volume."

Such is the history of the Rheims and Douay Bible, of which there have been two editions of the Old Testament, 1609-10 and 1635, and eight (including the New York Protestant reprint) of the New, 1582, 1600, 1621, 1633, 1738, 1788, 1816-18, and 1834. This version comes to us on the authority of certain divines of the Cathedral and College of Rheims and of the University of Douay, confirmed by the subsequent indirect recognition of English, Scotch, and Irish bishops, and by its general reception by the faithful. It never has had any episcopal *imprimatur*, much less has it received any formal Approbation from the Holy See.

## § 2. DR. CHALLONER'S BIBLE.

We now come to review the labours of Dr. Challoner, Vicar-Apostolic of the London district, in the middle of last century. Before that time the need of a revision of the Rheims and Douay version had been felt and acknowledged. During the greater part of the seventeenth century, indeed, from 1635 till the first years of the eighteenth, the difficulty had not been a practical one, for no reprint was, during that long time, called for; but when, at length, the old edition was exhausted and a new one required, then the latent dissatisfaction of Catholics with the existing version showed itself, for two translations successively appeared in rivalry of the Rheims, and as substitutes for it. The former of these new translations was that of Dr. Cornelius Nary, in the year 1718; the latter, that of Dr. Witham of Douay. Of these

two translators, Dr. Nary was parish-priest of St. Michan's, Dublin; and the version which he published had the approbation of four Irish divines, of Paris and of Dublin. The translator observes of the Rheims and Douay version, that its "language is so old, the words so obsolete, the orthography so bad, and the translation so literal, that in a number of places it is unintelligible, and all over so grating to the ears of such as are accustomed to speak, in a manner, another language, that most people will not be at the pains of reading them."

An additional reason which Dr. Nary assigns for a new translation is the inconvenience of the folio or quarto size, in which the hitherto editions (excepting the third of the New Testament) had been published. "They are so bulky," he says, "that they cannot conveniently be carried about for public devotion; and so scarce and dear, that the generality of people neither have, nor can procure them for their private use."

Dr. Witham, the latter of these two translators, was president of Douay College in 1730. He too complains of the obscurity arising out of the literal renderings of the Douay translators. "They followed," he says, "with a nice exactness the Latin text, which they undertook to translate, at the same time always consulting and comparing it with the Greek, as every accurate translator must do, not to mistake the true sense of the Latin text. They perhaps followed too scrupulously the Latin, even as to the placing of the words; but what makes that edition seem so obscure at present, and scarce intelligible, is the difference of the English tongue, as it was spoken at that time, and as it is now changed and refined; so that many words and expressions, both in the translation and annotations, by length of time are become obsolete, and no longer in use."

These two translations appeared in 1718 and 1730; and in 1738, as I have said above, in spite of them, a new edition of the Rheims was published. However, though they were superseded, the force of the considerations which led to their publication seems to have been felt, and resulted in the revision of the Rheims and Douay text by Dr. Challoner in 1749 and following years. That this pious prelate, to whom the English Church is so much indebted, concurred in the dissatisfaction they felt with the text itself, is proved from the very fact of his altering it. That he recognised the justice of the complaint which they urged against the size of the Rheims and Douay, may be argued from the circumstance, that he prints his own edition, not in folio or quarto, but in 12mo.

He also agrees in what they say on the subject of the Annotations; but both his and their remarks on this point shall be introduced in an after portion of our inquiry.

The first edition of Dr. Challoner's revision was published in 1749. It consisted of the New Testament only, and professed in the title-page to be "newly revised and corrected according to the Clementine edition of the Scriptures" (the standard Vulgate). The approbation of two English divines is prefixed to the volume, but of no Bishop, which perhaps was unnecessary, considering he was a co-adjutor Bishop himself. In the next year, 1750, he published an edition of the whole Bible, including, therefore, a second edition of the New Testament. In 1752 he published a third edition of the New Testament; in 1763-4, a second edition of both Testaments, which included a fourth edition of the New. In 1772 he published a fifth edition of it; which was followed in 1777 by a sixth, according to Mr. C. Butler, and the last in the editor's lifetime; for he died of the shock caused him by Lord George Gordon's riots, and the trouble in which he was involved in consequence. This was in the beginning of 1781, when he was in his ninetieth year.

As to the alterations of text which he introduced, he has given us no preface or other notice which would serve as our informant of the principle, the source, or the extent of them. On an inspection of the text itself, we find them to be very considerable. We say so on a comparison, as regards the Old Testament, of the edition of 1750 with the Douay of 1635, in seven passages taken at random, viz. Gen. i. 1-10; Exod. xv. 1-10; Judges xiii. 1-10; 3 Kings xviii. 18-27; Job xxxviii. 30-39; Psalms cvi. 21-30; and Ezek. xxxiii. 1-10. In these passages, reckoning roughly, there are altogether 170 variations in 70 verses: 11 in the first passage, 20 in the second, 32 in the third, 35 in the fourth, 21 in the fifth, 25 in the sixth, and 26 in the seventh. The variation in the number of alterations in the several passages, compared one with another, may partly be accounted for by the varying length of the verses of which they are composed, and partly from the greater or less difficulty of translating. The principle of the alterations seems to be, that of making the text more intelligible to the reader; and, with this object, old words and old collocations are superseded by modern, and less usual ones are exchanged for those which are more in use and even familiar.

Thus, for "God also said," Challoner corrects "And God said;" for "Be a firmament," "Let there be." "It was

so," for "it was so done;" "Then Moses sung," for "Then sang Moses." For "song," "canticle;" for "to whom," "to her;" for "sicer," "strong drink." "I have not troubled," for "not I have troubled;" "call ye," for "invoke ye;" "fasten," for "compact;" "wilt," for "shalt," in the sense of simple futurity; "food," for "meat;" "give glory to," for "confess to;" "affliction," for "tribulation;" "indeed," for "certes;" "I will require his blood," for "his blood I will require;" "The word of the Lord came," for "was made;" "be converted," for "convert." There seems no desire to substitute Saxon words for Latin, for "set forth" is altered into "declare;" nor, perhaps, to approach the Protestant version, though, in fact, there often is an approach, from the editor's desire to improve the English of his own text. Thus, for "between waters and waters," he writes "the waters from the waters;" for "named Manue," he has adopted "whose name was," &c.; for "having a wife barren," "and his wife was barren;" for "the waters were quiet," "the waves were still;" for "were moved," "reeled;" for "if thou speak not that the impious may keep himself from sin," "if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way." On the other hand, there are instances in which he leaves both the Douay and Protestant versions, which agree together, for a rendering of his own. Thus for "terrible" he puts "awful;" for "fill the appetite," "satisfy the appetite;" for the inverted sentence "his blood will I require," "I will require his blood."

At the same time, it can scarcely be denied, there do seem to be instances in which he adopts the Protestant version by preference. Thus for "the gathering of waters together," he writes "the gathering together of the waters;" for "hastened," "made haste;" for "the house of thy father," "thy father's house;" for "if Baal, follow him," "if Baal, *then* follow him;" for "till midday," "even till [until, Pr.] noon;" for "the depths have overwhelmed," "the depths have covered." And undoubtedly he has sacrificed force and richness in some of his changes; as, for instance, in his dispensing with all inversions of words, as, "his blood will I require," as already quoted; in altering "the haven of their will" of the Douay, into "the haven which they wished for;" "fill," into "satisfy;" "marvellous," into "wonderful;" "making traffic," into "doing business;" "the blast of the storm stood," in a poetical passage, into "there arose a storm of wind." It is observable that for "*our* Lord" (as in "the commandments of *our* Lord," "if *our* Lord be God," "the word of *our* Lord came," &c.) he uses "*the* Lord" *passim*.

Dr. Challoner's corrections of the Old Testament almost

amount to a new translation. They can as little be said to be made on the basis of the Douay as on the basis of the Protestant version. Of course there must be a certain resemblance between any two Catholic versions whatever, because they are both translations of the same Vulgate; but this connection between the Douay and Challoner being allowed for, Challoner's version is even nearer to the Protestant than it is to the Douay; nearer, that is, not in grammatical structure, but in phraseology and diction. We will take Psalm lii. as an example, selected at hazard; and we will go through it in the three versions, member by member, denoting the three by the initials of Douay, Protestant, and Challoner respectively.

1. The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. D. P. The fool said in his heart, There is no God. C.

2. They are corrupt. D. Corrupt are they. P. They are corrupted. C.

and become abominable in iniquities. D. C. and have done abominable iniquity. P.

There is not that doth good. D. There is none that doeth [doth C.] good. P. C.

3. God hath looked forth from heaven. D. God looked down from heaven. P. C.

upon the children of men. D. P. on the children of men. C.

to see if there be that understandeth. D. to see if there were any that did understand. P. C.

or. D. C. that. P.

seeketh after God. D. did seek God. P. C.

4. All have. D. C. Every one is. P.

of them, *omitted by* D. of them. P. C.

have declined. D. is gone back. P. have gone aside. C.

they are become unprofitable together. D. C. they are altogether become filthy. P.

there is not that doth good, no there is not one. D. there is none that doeth [doth C.] good, no, not one. P. C.

5. Shall they not all . . . know. D. C. Have . . . no knowledge. P.

that work iniquity. D. the workers of iniquity. P. C.

that devour my people as food of bread. D. who eat up my people as they eat bread. P. C.

6. God they have not invocated. D. they have not called upon God. P. C.

there have they trembled for fear. D. C. there were they in great fear. P.

where no fear was. D. P. where there was no fear. C.

because God hath dissipated the bones. D. for God hath scattered the bones. P. C.

of them that please men. D. C. of him that encampeth against thee. P.

they are [have been C.] confounded. D. C. thou hast put them to shame. P.

because God hath despised them. D. P. C.

7. Who will give out of Sion the salvation of Israel. D. C. O that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion. P.

when God shall convert the captivity of his people. D. when God bringeth [shall bring C.] back the captivity of his people. P. C.

Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad. D. P. C.

Now on this collation we observe : 1. That there is (with one exception) no instance of difference between the Douay and Protestant in which Challoner leaves the Douay but he leaves it for the Protestant. The exception is in v. 4, where, for the Douay "declined," he does not substitute the Protestant "gone back," but "gone aside."

2. Next we observe that, of the instances in which Challoner sides with the Douay against the Protestant, eight are cases of construction of the Latin, not of diction, viz. "become abominable in," v. 2, "or," v. 3, "all," v. 4, "unprofitable," *ibid.*, "shall not . . . know," v. 5, "trembled," v. 6, "please men," *ibid.*, and "who will give," v. 7.

3. Subtracting these from the nine cases in which Challoner sides with the Douay against the Protestant, we have only one remaining in which he does so freely and by his own choice, viz. "confounded" for "put to shame," v. 6.

4. It is true there are other cases in which Challoner abstains from the Protestant, but in these the Protestant agrees with the Douay. There are three of these, that is to say, three instances of the Douay siding with the Protestant against Challoner; and thus there are more instances of the Douay siding with the Protestant than of Challoner siding with the Douay.

5. On the other hand, there are ten instances in which Challoner leaves the Douay for the Protestant.

We really cannot say whether this Psalm supplies a fair instance of the general character of Challoner's Old Testament, though we have taken it at random; but, after all allowances for the accident of the selection, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Douay Old Testament no longer exists as a received version of the authorised Vulgate.

So much as to the Old Testament: as to the New, we are not in possession of Dr. Challoner's first edition (1749), but we have compared with the Rheims of 1738 (which is the edition of the New Testament immediately before his own) his third edition of 1752, correcting it back into the text of his first, by means of the collations between the editions of 1749 and 1752, which Dr. Cotton has made. We have made

the comparison in three places, taken at random : Luke viii. 1-10 ; John xiii. 6-15 ; and Heb. iv. 1-10.

In the first of these three passages there are about 21 corrections of the Rheims ; of these, 17 are adoptions of the Protestant version ; one is an alteration from the Protestant as well as the Rheims ; three agree with neither Rheims nor Protestant.

In the second passage, John xiii. 6-15, there are but seven corrections of text ; of these, at least six are made in accordance with the Protestant version, and one of these is even an insertion of a word, not in the Vulgate, which the Protestant inserts. As these changes are remarkable, we cite them. They are, "what I do," for "that which I do ;" "but thou shalt know hereafter," for "hereafter thou shalt know ;" "Thou shalt never wash my feet," for "Thou shalt not wash my feet for ever ;" "for so I am," instead of "for I am so ;" "your Lord and Master," for "Lord and Master ;" "you also ought," for "you ought."

As regards the third passage, instead of a collation throughout, we will set down a few verses as a specimen :

Verse 1.

*Rheims*, 1738. Let us fear therefore, lest perhaps *forsaking the promise* of entering into his rest, *some* of you be thought to be wanting.

*Protestant*. Let us therefore fear, lest, a *promise being left* us of entering into his rest, *any* of you should seem to come short of it.

*Challoner*, 1749. Let us fear therefore, lest, *the promise being left* of entering into his rest, *any* of you should be thought to be wanting.

Verse 3.

*Rheims*. For we, that have believed, shall enter into the rest, as he said, As I *sware* in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest ; and truly the works from the foundation of the world *being perfected*.

*Protestant*. For we which have believed do enter *into rest*, as he said, As I *have sworn* in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest : although the works *were finished* from the foundation of the world.

*Challoner*. For we who have believed shall enter *into rest* ; as he said, As I *have sworn* in my wrath, If they shall enter into my rest ; and this, when the works from the foundation of the world *were finished*.

Verse 6.

*Rheims*. Because then it remaineth that *certain* enter into it, and they, to whom *first it was* preached, did not enter because of *incredulity*.

*Protestant.* Seeing therefore it remaineth that *some* must enter therein, and they to whom it *was first* preached entered not in because of *unbelief*.

*Challoner.* Seeing then it remaineth that *some* are to enter into it, and they, to whom it *was first* preached, did not enter in because of *unbelief*.

A comparison of these verses again suggests to us some of the rules which Dr. Challoner kept in view in approximating, or not approximating, to the Protestant version. As we have said, he could not be unfaithful to the Vulgate: he never would leave its literal sense for the Protestant text, which, on the other hand, is translated from the Greek. Hence, in the contrast of the Greek *δοκῇ τις* and the Latin *existimetur aliquis*, he keeps to the Rheims; and in like manner, in *ὑστερηκένοι* as contrasted with *deesse*, and in *καίτοι γενηθέντων* with *et quibus operibus perfectis*. It is remarkable, however, that in one case, where the Rheims is with the Greek, he leaves it for the Protestant, which is not faithful to the Greek, viz. *εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν*, in *requiem*. In one case he corrects the interpretation which the Rheims gives of the Vulgate by the Protestant, *relictâ pollicitatione*. Again, one object with him was to popularise the style; hence he puts *unbelief* for *incredulity*. Hence he alters the *we that have* of the Rheims, not to the *we which have* of the Protestant, but into *we who have*. Hence, too, he retains the *enter into it* of the Rheims, where the Protestant has *enter therein*; and the *did not enter* of the Rheims, where the Protestant translates *entered not*. Yet he is not always consistent: *herein* or *therein* occurs elsewhere in his revision; and *unto* for *to* very frequently. Vide also Cotton, note. In John vi. 53 he has altered the "Unless ye eat" of the Rheims into the less accurate or obsolete Protestant rendering, "Except ye eat." Vide also John iii. 3.

We have already implied that Dr. Challoner made corrections of his own editions of the New Testament as they successively issued from the press. The second edition (1750) differs from the first, according to the collations which Dr. Cotton has printed, in about 124 passages; the third (1752) in more than 2000. These alterations, Dr. Cotton tells us, are all in the direction of the Protestant version; how far this is the case, and in what sense, the above examination of particular texts may serve to explain.

Challoner's text was the first which was published with an episcopal sanction; for it must be borne in mind that he was a Bishop, and the coadjutor of the Vicar-Apostolic of London, at the time of his first edition.

## § 3. DR. TROY'S BIBLE.

Dr. Challoner died in 1781; while he lived, no editions were published but such as followed his Revision. A few years, however, after his death, as we have noticed above, there was a return to the original Rheims of the New Testament, which was published in a sixth edition at Liverpool in 1788. But this had been preceded by an edition at Dublin; which, as being the first of a series of editions of the New Testament upon a new revision of the Rheims version, requires some distinct notice. It was made on the basis of Dr. Challoner's, but still with considerable changes of text. The revisor was the Rev. Bernard Macmahon, a Dublin priest, who published his first edition in 1783, in 12mo, with the formal approbation of his Archbishop, Dr. Carpenter. There is reason for supposing that it professed to be a continuation of Dr. Challoner's labours; for, as that venerable prelate published successively three corrected editions of the New Testament, in 1749, 1750, and 1752 (for the subsequent editions are not new corrections, but almost *fac-similes* of the preceding: vide Cotton, p. 20, &c.), so this new Dublin edition is called, in the Archbishop's approbation prefixed to it, "the *fourth* edition, revised and corrected anew." This is Dr. Cotton's conjecture also, though he accompanies it, as is not unusual with him, with a gratuitous piece of ill-nature. If "the fourth" does not mean this, it is difficult to say to what previous edition it refers; for, at the time that it was published, there had been already five editions of the Rheims. Leaving this point, we are told by Dr. Cotton that the variations from Challoner's text, in the Gospels, are about 50; in the Acts and subsequent books, above 500. Eight years afterwards, in 1791, the same clergyman was selected by Dr. Troy, his then Archbishop, to superintend an edition of the whole Bible in quarto; and on this occasion, according to the same authority, he introduced into the New Testament above 200 changes more, calling it the "fifth edition." In 1794 it was reprinted in folio, forming "the sixth;" a "seventh edition" of the New Testament was published in 12mo in 1803, with above 100 variations from the text of 1791, in favour of that of 1783; and an "eighth" in 1810, in 12mo also, after the text of the seventh.

Thus we have five editions of the revision of Mr. Macmahon, with the titles of fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth. Of these the first, fourth, and fifth are of the New Testament only; the second and third of the whole Bible. The text has also been adopted in the Philadelphian edition

of the Bible in 1805, which styles itself "the first American from the fifth Dublin edition."

If we are to follow Dr. Cotton, we ought to notice it as a peculiarity of this revision, that, whereas Dr. Challoner's alterations were in the direction of the Protestant version, those of Mr. Macmahon (or of his successors in the editorship) were in the opposite direction. We should not have been surprised at this being the case, without imputing to the English Bishop any wish to favour the translation in question, or in the Irish priest to protest against it. From the respective circumstances of the two countries, it has come about, as we are informed by those who ought to know, that the English language in Ireland has, in its diction and construction, more of a French character than in England. If this be so, the idioms and words, which each revisor would consider to be an improvement on the Rheims, would in one case approximate to the Protestant text, in the other recede from it. However, we are not sure of the accuracy of Dr. Cotton's alleged fact, nor of the actual operation, in this instance, of the principle to which we have referred it. We doubt whether Macmahon's alterations *have* a foreign cast, and we doubt whether he *is* further from the Protestant version than Dr. Challoner.

As to the character of his alterations, they are sometimes more colloquial than Challoner's, and sometimes not so English, without being foreign. Thus, the Rheims and Challoner speak of "the multitude," and the Protestant of "the people," being "put forth," when Mr. Macmahon speaks of "the crowd" being "turned out" (Matt. ix. 25). Where the Rheims translates "it shall break him to powder," the Protestant and Challoner, "it will grind him to powder," Mr. Macmahon writes, "it will dash him to pieces" (Luke xx. 18). Where the Rheims has "they were in doubt of them, what would befall," Challoner, "they were in doubt concerning them, what would come to pass," and the Protestant, "they doubted of them, whereunto this would grow," Mr. Macmahon has adopted, "they were in doubt what was become of them" (Acts v. 24). The "Barnabas would have taken with them John" of the Rheims, "Barnabas would have taken with him John" of Challoner, "Barnabas determined to take with them John" of the Protestant, is rendered by Mr. Macmahon, "Barnabas had a mind to take along with him John" (Acts xv. 37). And for "that which is the foolish of God" according to the Rheims, and "the foolishness of God" of the Protestant and Challoner, Mr. Macmahon substitutes "that which appeareth foolish of God."

We could not, then, account for the fact, supposing it to hold, that Mr. Macmahon receded from the Protestant approximations of Challoner's text, by his supposed preference of an English style less vernacular than what is in use among ourselves. However, we are not sure that the fact is as Dr. Cotton represents it. He says, "Of the passages rendered differently from Challoner, many recede much further from the authorised version than he (Dr. Challoner) did" (p. 55). We do not set our own diligence or accuracy in competition with Dr. Cotton's, still we do but state a fact when we say that our own experiments at collating the two revisions do not bear out the impression which his words convey. The edition, indeed, of the New Testament of 1783 hardly exists, and is unknown to us; but Dr. Troy's edition of 1794, which we have used, "follows the quarto Bible of 1791 exactly," says Dr. Cotton (p. 77), and the text of the Holy Bible of 1791 "is the text of Mr. Macmahon's Testament of 1783, with upwards of two hundred additional departures from Challoner" (p. 58). With this New Testament, then, of 1794 we have compared Dr. Challoner's of 1752 and the Rheims of 1621, with the following result.

In twenty instances, taken at random, we found that, while in ten of them Dr. Challoner had left the Rheims for the Protestant, and in six Mr. Macmahon (or his editorial successor) had returned from Dr. Challoner's to the Rheims; yet, on the other hand, in four, in which Dr. C. had retained the Rheims, Mr. Macmahon had adopted the Protestant; that is, on the whole, that out of *twenty* instances of variation, Dr. Challoner and Mr. Macmahon had left the Rheims for the Protestant in the same *four*; that Dr. Challoner had adopted altogether *ten* Protestant renderings, and Mr. Macmahon *eight*; that Dr. C. had kept the Rheims where Mr. M. had adopted the Protestant in *four*, and that Mr. M. had kept the Rheims where Dr. C. had adopted the Protestant in *six*.

Again, on collating the translated texts which we have mentioned with the Protestant of Hebrews xiii., we find Challoner and Macmahon have *eleven* differences from each other; in *two* Challoner leaves the Rheims for the Protestant, where Macmahon retains it, viz. in the position, &c. of words in vv. 7 and 11; in *four* Macmahon leaves the Rheims for the Protestant, where Challoner retains it, viz. "carried," 9; "now the God," &c. 20, 21; "working," 21; and "few," 22. In *three* C. retains and M. leaves both Rheims and Protestant, where the latter two agree together; and in *two* M. retains the Rheims, and C. leaves it, though not for the Protestant.

Again, in James i. there are *nine* differences between

Challoner and Macmahon; in which C. retains *three* of the Rheims, which M. changes, and C. changes into the Protestant *five* of the Rheims, which M. retains. In the *ninth* all four renderings are different from each other.

Again, in St. Jude's epistle, 1-10, out of Macmahon's *twenty-six* alterations of the Rheims, *twenty-four* are from Challoner; but in the other *two* Challoner retains the Rheims, which Macmahon leaves for the Protestant.

And in 2 Ep. St. John, out of Macmahon's *eighteen* alterations from the Rheims, *fifteen* are from Challoner, and *three* are made where C. follows the Rheims.

On the whole, then, we are not able to corroborate Dr. Cotton's remark as to Mr. Macmahon's dissatisfaction, greater or less, with the Protestant leaning of Dr. Challoner's revision of the Rheims, though it is a real perplexity to us that we should differ from him. So much as regards the New Testament. As regards the Douay translation of the Old, there seems to be very little difference between the texts of Dr. Challoner and Mr. Macmahon. We have collated seven chapters taken at random: Numb. xxiv., Deuter. i., Esther v., Psalm lxxviii., Eccus. v., Isai. xv., and Abdias. In four of these there is not a single difference between Dr. C. and Mr. M. In Deut. i. the only difference is C.'s "unto" for M.'s "to," in verse 3. In Psalm lxxviii. the last words "unto all generations," which C. adopts after the Protestant, instead of the "unto generation and generation" of the Douay, which M. retains. In Abdias the only difference is C.'s "speak proudly" after the Protestant, where M. retains the "magnify thy mouth" of the Douay. That is, in one hundred and forty-six verses there are only three, or rather two, differences; in these Macmahon returns to the Douay, which Challoner had left for the Protestant. These collations bear out, as far as they go, Dr. Cotton's remark that "the text of this edition (the Dublin) so far as concerns the Old Testament, does not differ materially from that of Dr. Challoner's" (p. 58).

This series of editions, commenced by Mr. Macmahon's New Testament, and extending from 1783 to 1810, may be fitly called Dr. Troy's Bible, from the Approbation which he gave to it in 1791. As that Approbation sums up the history of the version hitherto, and connects his own revision with that of Dr. Challoner, a portion of it shall be given here. "By our authority," the Archbishop says in Latin, "we approve this new English edition of the Holy Bible, . . . which has by our order been carefully collated by the Rev. Bernard Macmahon with the Clementine Vulgate, also with the Douay Old Testament of 1609, and the Rheims New Testament of

1582, and with the London Old and New Testament of 1752, approved English versions."

#### § 4. EDITIONS SINCE DR. TROY'S BIBLE.

Challoner's revision is the first and the last to which the Douay version of the Old Testament has been subjected; the text remains almost *verbatim* as he left it. What qualifications must be made of this statement, on the score of certain passages in Dr. Troy's Bible, shall be considered when we speak of the now current editions. The same, however, cannot be said of Challoner's New Testament, and for this reason, if for no other, that the texts of his editions vary from each other; and, moreover, as he was not the author of all the changes introduced into the later editions (for Mr. C. Butler tells us, "alterations were made in every" edition, "*to his dissatisfaction*," Cotton, p. 50), it is not wonderful that the tendency to fresh changes, which was powerful enough even in his lifetime to introduce itself, in spite of his wishes, into his own work, should have had actual results after his death. Dr. Troy's (*i. e.* Mr. Macmahon's) emendations have already been spoken of. Subsequent editors have had to choose between this or that of Challoner's three texts of the New Testament, and Dr. Troy's text; and, as might have been expected, they have chosen variously. The principal of them shall now be enumerated.

##### 1. *Dr. Hay's Bible.*

1. In 1761 an edition of the whole Bible was printed in Edinburgh, 5 volumes, 12mo, under the inspection of Dr. Hay, one of the Vicars-Apostolic in Scotland, so well known by his publications. We introduce Dr. Hay's name on Dr. Cotton's authority, as we do not find it in our own copy, which is of the second edition.

2. In 1804-5 "the same printer (Mr. John Moir) issued a re-impression." About 3000 and 2000 copies were struck off of these two editions.

3. In 1811 a great number of unsold copies were published in Dublin with new title-pages, some engravings, and a long list of subscribers, with the imprint, "Dublin, 1811." This may be called the third edition.

4. In the same year an actual reprint of the New Testament was published by the same Dublin publisher. It also has a list of subscribers; among whom are Dr. Troy, Dr. Murray, &c.

5. In 1814 this New Testament came to a fifth edition at Dublin, in 12mo.

6. And in 1817 it probably supplied the text to the 12mo edition printed at Belfast.

Of the text of Dr. Hay's New Testament (for, as we have said, the text of the Old Testament has not substantially varied since Challoner's time), Dr. Cotton says: "It in general follows Challoner's edition of 1763-4; but occasionally it deserts that edition for the first, of 1749, as in Matt. i. 25, iii. 13, iv. 9, v. 37, vi. 16, viii. 17, x. 22, xxi. 40; Acts v. 38; Eph. i. 21, and some other places. In a few passages it agrees with Dr. Troy's Bible of 1791, as at Matt. ii. 23, iv. 9; Gal. vi. 9, &c." (p. 77).

### 2. *Dr. Gibson's Bible.*

1. In 1816-17 an edition of the Bible was published at Liverpool, in folio. It bore "on the title-page that it was published with his (Dr. Gibson's) sanction" (p. 110).

2. In 1822-23 a reprint of this Bible in folio was published in London.

3. In 1829 a third was published in London also, and in folio, and "very handsomely executed." It was put forth under the sanction of Dr. Bramston, then Vicar-Apostolic, and calls itself "the third edition" (*ibid.*).

It is not certain that these three editions belong to each other, though the printers and publishers of all three, and the approving Bishop of the first two, are the same, and though the last two distinctly call themselves "the second and third" respectively, if we understand Dr. Cotton (pp. 110, 127). Our reason for this remark is, that the second edition is said to be "*revised and corrected*" by two Liverpool clergymen, and that the third edition has not the same episcopal sanction as the first two.

As to the text of the New Testament, Dr. Cotton tells us that, in the edition of 1816-17, it is "taken almost without exception from Challoner's later editions;" in the third it "appears to agree with that of Dr. Challoner in 1763-4." These statements coincide.

### 3. *Dr. Poynter's New Testament.*

1. 1815. A New Testament was published in two sizes, "12mo and a handsome 8vo" (p. 99). It professes in the title-page to be "stereotyped from the edition published by authority in 1749," that is, from Challoner's first. It has a preliminary "Address," anonymous, but according to Mr. C. Butler, written by Dr. Poynter. "The superintendence of this edition," says Dr. Cotton, "was confided to the care of the Rev. Dr. Rigby, afterwards Vicar-Apostolic of the Lon-

don District. . . . The text," he continues, "as was above stated, agrees with that of the edition of 1749. I have only detected a single slight variation, viz. at Philipp. ii. 7." The reading of Dr. Poynter's edition, in this place, is "debased himself," taken from Challoner's text of 1752; for the reading in those of 1749 and 1750 is "emptied himself."

2. In 1818 a new edition of this New Testament was prepared by the Rev. Mr. Horrabin, under the sanction of Dr. Poynter. It was in 12mo, and was sold at a low price for the use of the poorer class.

3. In 1823 the stereotype plates of the edition of 1815 were used for an edition published by Mr. Bagster, which is still in circulation.

4. 1825. A fresh edition of Dr. Poynter's New Testament, in 8vo. Dr. Cotton tells us that it follows the edition of 1815 "both in text and notes, *with exception* of reading 'debased' *instead* of 'emptied' at Phil. ii. 7." This perplexes us; for Dr. Poynter's edition of 1815, and Bagster's from the same plates, in 1823, both of which lie before us, both read "debased" already. We have not the means of comparing the edition of 1825 with them.

5. 1826. A new stereotyped edition of Dr. Poynter's New Testament, in 12mo. It was published at Dublin, at the expense of the Commissioners of Irish Education, with the *imprimatur* of the four Archbishops of Ireland.

6. 1834, 35, 37, 40. The edition of 1826 with new title-pages (Cotton, p. 242).

7. 1842. The edition of 1825 was "reissued with a new title-page and a new printer's name" (p. 123).

#### 4. *Dr. Troy's Bible without notes.*

1. 1820. This edition is quite distinct from the series of editions on which we have enlarged as Mr. Macmahon's revision. It is quite distinct, too, from Dr. Troy's Bible of 1816-18, which, as regards its New Testament, we have mentioned above (p. 148) as being a reprint, Text and Notes, of the Rhemish. It is remarkable for having no notes at all appended to the verses or chapters. The whole sacred text stands absolutely by itself, a supplement being added with the usual notes, which might or might not, according to the purchaser's pleasure, be bound up with it. Of this edition 20,000 copies were struck off. Dr. Troy, in his Approbation, speaks of it as "conformable particularly to the text of the Douay English version sanctioned by him, and published in 1791:" however, Dr. Cotton tells us that "the text is taken literally from that of Dr. Challoner's second edition, 1750.

and is," as he believes; "the first, if not the only, modern representation of that particular text" (p. 120).

2. 1825. Copies of the above were reissued in London with a new title-page.

*5. Dr. Murray's Bible.*

1. 1825. This edition is in 8vo, stereotyped, and its plates are still in use. There have been fresh impressions of it from time to time, in 1829, 33, 40, 44, 47, &c.

As to the text of the New Testament, "it rather follows Dr. Challoner's early editions of 1749 and 1750" (Cotton, p. 124). He adds, "The Bible appears to have given great satisfaction to the Roman Catholic public, and to have been made a sort of standard or exemplar for some editions since issued both in great Britain and Ireland."

2. 1833-36. The Glasgow Bible, 8vo, published with the Approbation of the Vicar-Apostolic of England and Scotland.

3. 1838. Dr. Blake's New Testament, 8vo, Newry, appears to adopt "the text of Dr. Murray, agreeing with the early editions of Challoner" (p. 140). It was reprinted at Belfast, 1846-47.

4. 1838. Dr. Denvir's series of reprints at Belfast of the New Testament begin apparently in 1836; Dr. Cotton sets down one under the date of 1837. Subsequent reprints, or fresh issues, are dated 1839, 41, 43, 45, and nearly every successive year; and the whole Bible in 1839, 47, &c. In another issue of Bibles his name appears in conjunction with Dr. Crolly's, in 1846, and 52.

The text of the New Testament in these editions, at least in that of 1839, "appears to agree with Dr. Murray's edition of 1825" (p. 146). We have collated Dr. Murray's text of 1825 with Dr. Denvir's of 1853, in Rom. xiii. There is a variation in verse 11, viz. "time" in edition 1853 for "season" in edition 1825. "Time" stands in Troy's edition, 1794; but the text is certainly not Troy's, from whose text in the same chapter it has the following variations: "princes" for "rulers," v. 3; "God's minister" for "minister of God," twice in v. 4; "to love" for "that you love," v. 8; and "our neighbour" for "the neighbour," v. 10.

5. 1840. At Philadelphia, U.S., a New Testament, apparently a reprint of Dr. Murray's text of 1825, with the approbation of Archbishops Kenrick and Hughes.

6. 1846. Dr. Machale's New Testament. "Both the text and notes seem to agree with Dr. Murray's Bible published in 1825" (Cotton, p. 148).

6. *Cardinal Wiseman's Bible.*

1847. This edition is printed in 8vo by Messrs. Richardson, London and Derby. It has the approbation of Dr. Walsh, Vicar-Apostolic, and Dr. Wiseman, his coadjutor. The text seems to follow Dr. Troy's of 1791, or of 1803, which inclines to Mr. Macmahon's original edition of 1783. This seems to be Dr. Cotton's account, vide pp. 78, 149. Out of twenty-seven instances of variation of text taken at random, we find none to side with Challoner against Troy, twenty-six side with Troy against Challoner, and in one the reading is without precedent, viz. in 1 John iv. 2: "Every spirit, that confesseth Jesus Christ *to come* in the flesh, is of God."

We must not conclude this enumeration of revisions and reprints of the Rheims and Douay, without giving some account of two rival folio editions, which were published (or rather sold to subscribers in parts) without direct episcopal sanction, though one of them has since risen into great reputation, and has received, first the approbation of the Vicars-Apostolic of Scotland, and of various Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, and lately that of the Archbishop of New York, where it has been republished, together with the recommendation of a great number of North-American Bishops, in letters prefixed to the edition, as well as that of our own Cardinal Archbishop and of the late Archbishop of Milan. This is Haydock's Bible, originally published at Manchester and Dublin in 1811-12 and 1814; its rival being that of Oswald Syers, published at Manchester in 1811-13. Mr. Haydock and Mr. Syers, the respective publishers, were printers; but the editor and annotator employed by the former was his own brother, who was a priest, the Rev. George Haydock, to whom the edition owes its celebrity.

7. *Syers' Bible.*

1811-13. This Bible "bears no approbation of any living ecclesiastical authority; nor any preface or other introductory matter to explain the principle adopted in this edition, or the sources from which the annotations are derived" (Cotton, p. 91). With the annotations we are not here concerned; "the text," he continues, "appears rather to agree with that of Dr. Challoner, and in the New Testament it rather follows his early editions, 1749 and 1750, than his later ones, 1752, &c." We do not think it very necessary to go to any great pains in verifying what Dr. Cotton has so diligently examined. In Phil. ii. 7 this edition follows Challoner's later

edition of 1752; otherwise our collations, as far as we have made any, lead us to agree with Dr. Cotton.

8. *Haydock's Bible.*

1. 1811-12 and 1814. The characteristic of this edition is its new and copious Annotations. As to the text, the editor professes in his advertisement his intention to "adhere to the text of the Venerable and Right Rev. Dr. Richard Challoner;" on which Dr. Cotton remarks, "it is not exactly true that Dr. Challoner's text is followed universally" (p. 87). As regards the New Testament, the justice of Dr. Cotton's remark will be plain on a very superficial examination, however the fact is to be accounted for. Out of twenty instances taken at hazard, we found Haydock's text to agree with Dr. Troy's of 1794, as against any of Challoner's texts, in eighteen; to agree with Challoner against Troy in one; and in one to differ from both.

2. 1822-24. In 1822 "an 8vo edition of Haydock's Bible with short notes was issued in Dublin; and, two years later, a new title-page was prefixed to it with the date 1824, calling itself 'the second edition.' The book is very carelessly printed, and full of errors. The text of the New Testament seems to have been taken from Dr. Troy's Bible of 1791 and 1794" (Cotton, p. 123).

3. 1845-48. "A republication of Haydock's Bible at Edinburgh and London, with all its notes, in a handsome quarto form" (*ibid.* p. 149), with the approbation of the Vicars-Apostolic of Scotland, with their coadjutors, of the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and of the Bishops of Belfast, Waterford, and Limerick. This edition was printed from Haydock's earliest impressions of his Bible in 1811, as Dr. Cotton tells us, *verbum verbo*, in consequence of the wish expressed by Dr. Scott, one of the Scotch Vicars-Apostolic.

4. 1852-56. This splendid edition, which is published by Messrs. Dunigan of New York in quarto, is introduced to the public by those many high approbations and recommendations to which we have already referred. Dr. Cotton says that "it appears to have been copied from Haydock's first impression of 1811." Our own copy of Haydock's New Testament is dated Manchester, 1814, nor do we believe that there is any earlier impression of the New Testament. Now, Dr. Cotton says, "the press-work occupied three years and two months, the last sheet being worked off 11th September 1814, although the title-pages bear earlier date" (p. 86). This being the case, we do not know how to follow him in his belief that the edition of 1852-56 is reprinted from Hay-

dock's first impression. We have not been able to find any information on the subject in the edition itself. Our reason for questioning Dr. Cotton's belief is, that, on taking twenty instances of text at hazard in the editions of 1811-14 and of 1852-56, we found the latter to differ from the former in seven, of which four are altered back to Challoner's editions, one agrees with Cardinal Wiseman's, and two with no edition with which we are acquainted.

5. 1853. This edition in 4to, with Haydock's notes abridged, is due to the Very Rev. Dr. Husenbeth, who undertook it, as he informs us, "with the approbation and sanction of his ecclesiastical superior, the Right Rev. Dr. Wareing, and with the concurrent approbation and sanction of all the Right Rev. Vicars-Apostolic of Great Britain." Approbations from the Vicars-Apostolic of England and Scotland follow.

#### § 5. CURRENT EDITIONS.

We may fitly sum up this account of public and authorised editions of the English Bible, with a notice of its existing texts and their relation to the text of the original Rheims and Douay. We conceive these texts may be represented by the editions of Cardinal Wiseman in England, and of Dr. Murray and Dr. Denvir in Ireland, to which may be added Mr. Haydock's in the United States, till the learned Archbishop of Baltimore completes the laborious work to which he has so long devoted himself.

##### 1. *The Old Testament.*

As to the Old Testament, as we have already said, there has been no material alterations in its text since the revision or retranslation executed by Dr. Challoner. (1) Dr. Hay's text exactly follows Dr. Challoner's edition of 1763-4. So says Dr. Cotton, p. 77; and we can corroborate him as far as this, that, on comparing Challoner's 1750 with Hay's, we find that, all through the four volumes of the Old Testament, page answers faithfully to page: *e.g.* there are 507 pages in each first volume, ending with Ruth; 487 in the second, ending with Esther; and so on. So again, p. 300, vol. iii., ends with Eccles. iv. 9, in both; p. 400 in vol. iv. ends with Mal. iii. 9, in both, &c. (2) Again, Dr. Gibson's text "is taken from Bishop Challoner" (*ibid.* p. 110). (3) Of Syers's, the same authority says that "the text appears to agree with that of Dr. Challoner." We have collated it with Dr. Challoner's of 1750, in Eccles. x. and Isai. l., and find, as he would lead us to expect, not a single difference of reading between them.

(4) Lastly, as to Dr. Troy's Bibles of 1791 and 1816. Speaking of the former of these, Dr. Cotton says: "I have observed a few variations [from Dr. Challoner] in several of the books, as in Dan. ii." &c. In these instances the text of 1791 is followed by that of 1816, which "generally follows Dr. Challoner, but occasionally differs, as in Neh. [2 Esdr.] ix. 17, John xxvi. 13, Isai. viii. 19, Ezech. xix. 5." Since, then, Dr. Troy is followed by the editions of Haydock, Dr. Murray, Dr. Denvir, and Cardinal Wiseman, pp. 124, 146, 149, which we have taken to represent the current text or texts of the day, we are safe in saying, first, that Challoner's revision has been hitherto a final one; next that there is at present, as regards the Old Testament, one, and only one, received text, or very nearly so.

In verification of Dr. Cotton's statements, we have compared together the text of five passages in the Old Testament, taken at random in five editions: viz in Dr. Challoner's of 1750, and in the current editions of 1847, Richardsons, London (Cardinal Wiseman's); of 1853, Dolman, London (Dr. Denvir's); of 1854, Duffy, Dublin (Dr. Murray's); and of 1856, Dunigan, New York (Haydock's), with the following results:

1. 4 Kings xx. 1-11. They all agree *verbatim*, except that in v. 8, Haydock, instead of "What shall be the sign that I *shall* go up to the temple," reads, "What is the sign that I *will* go up." This is correctly printed after Haydock's text of 1811. Again, in v. 11, where the other four read "*in* the dial," Haydock, 1856 (after the edition of 1811), reads "*on* the dial."

2. Job xiii. 1-10. Where Challoner has changed the Douay "or shall *it* please him," v. 9, into "shall *this*," the four current editions have gone back to "*it*."

3. Psalm x. For "*the* Psalm of David" of the Douay 1635, Challoner reads "*a* Psalm *for* David." He is followed by Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Murray, and Dr. Denvir; but Haydock (after ed. 1811) substitutes "*a* Psalm *to* David."

4. Psalm lxvii. 12-21. For Challoner's "amongst," v. 14, the four current editions read "among." For the "Sina," v. 18, of Douay, Challoner, Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Murray, and Dr. Denvir, Haydock (after ed. 1811) reads "Sinai."

5. Isai. xxviii. 20-29. For "the mountain of divisions," v. 21 of Challoner, Murray, Dr. Denvir, and Haydock, Cardinal Wiseman reads "division." In v. 21 Murray, apparently by an error of press, leaves out "that he may do his work, his strange work." The same edition and Dr. Denvir's read "thrash," where the others read "thresh."

These are all the variations which we have discovered between Dr. Challoner and the four modern editions, in the passages in question. On the other hand, if we would see the concordant divergence of all five from the old Douay of 1635, we may take the following instances out of the same passages :

1. Where the four editions all read, "In the Lord I put my trust, how then do you say to my soul, Get thee away from hence to the mountain like a sparrow?" in the Douay we find, "I trust in the Lord, How say ye to my soul, Pass over unto the mountain as a sparrow."

2. Where the four editions read, "For they have destroyed the things which thou hast made; but what has the just man done?" the Douay has, "For they have destroyed the things which thou didst perfect; but the just, what hath he done?"

3. Where the four editions read, "The Lord shall give the word to them that preach good tidings with great power; the king of powers is of the beloved, of the beloved, and the beauty of the house shall divide spoils;" the Douay runs, "Our Lord shall give the word to them that evangelise with great power; the king of hosts, the beloved of the beloved, and to the beauty of the house to divide the spoils."

4. And, where the four editions read, "And now do not mock, lest your bonds be tied strait, for I have heard of the Lord, the God of hosts, a consumption and a cutting short upon all the earth. Give ear and hear my voice, hearken and hear my speech;" the Douay reads, "And now mock not, lest perhaps your bonds be tied strait; for I have heard of our Lord, the God of hosts, consummation and abridgment upon all the earth. Hearken with your ears, and hear my voice; attend, and hear my speech."

## 2. *The New Testament.*

Now, lastly, we come to the current editions of the New Testament. Of the four current editions which we have been using, Dr. Cotton has given us, as we have said above, the following account: that Dr. Murray's text rather follows Dr. Challoner's early editions of 1749-50; that Dr. Denvir's agrees with Dr. Murray's; that Cardinal Wiseman's seems to follow Dr. Troy's of 1791 or 1803 and Haydock's; and that Haydock, professing to follow Challoner, does not always do so.

We have thought it sufficient, in corroboration, to take at hazard two passages, 1 Thess. iii. 1-5 and Apoc. xvi. 1-6. On collating together the text of these in the four current

editions of 1847, 1853, 1854, and 1856, we find altogether twelve variations between them; one in the passage of the Thessalonians, eleven in that of the Apocalypse. And we are able to trace them all to one or other of Challoner's editions of 1749, 1750, 1752, and of Troy's of 1791, 1794, except three of 1856 (Haydock's, New York). We shall show this best by throwing the variations into a tabular form.

Var.	Murray, 1854, follows	Denvir, 1853, follows	Wiseman, 1847, follows	Haydock, 1856, follows
1	Challoner.	Troy, 1794.	T. 1794.	T. 1794.
2	C. 1749.	C. 1749.	C. 1752.	C. 1752.
3	C. 1749.	C. 1749.	C. 1752.	C. 1752.
4	C.	C.	T.	T.
5	C.	C.	T.	T.
6	C.	C.	T.	T.
7	C.	C.	T. 1794.	T. 1794.
8	C.	C.	T. 1794.	?
9	C.	C.	T. 1791.	?
10	C. 1749.	C. 1749.	C. 1752.	C. 1752.
11	C.	C.	T.	T.
12	C.	C.	T. 1794.	?

It appears from this analysis, as far as it is a fair specimen of the respective texts, that Dr. Murray and Dr. Denvir follow Challoner's early editions, and that Cardinal Wiseman and Mr. Haydock follow his later editions and Dr. Troy's; and this is pretty much what Dr. Cotton has said. As to the three readings, which are referrible to no former edition, of which we are possessed, these all occur in no other of the four current editions besides the New-York Haydock, and, what is remarkable, they do not occur in the Haydock of 1811-14, which follows in all three passages Dr. Troy's edition of 1794. The probability is, that the New-York editor has fairly used the same liberty of alteration which has been exercised by other editors before him.

We here close our sketch of the history of the received version, from the date of the Rheims and Douay translators to the present day. The versions of the New Testament, or portions of Scripture, which have at various times been given to the world by divines and scholars,—such as Mr. Nary, Dr. Witham, and of late years by Dr. Lingard and the Archbishop of Baltimore,—demand a separate consideration.

## THE MISSION OF THE ISLES OF THE NORTH.

[Continued from p. 22.]

It would be an interesting work, to trace out the causes and the course of civilisation in the case of particular nations compared one with another. Some nations have been civilised by conquering, others by being conquered. The moral and social advancement of Spain, Gaul, and South Britain under the Roman yoke is an instance of the latter process; but more commonly the victorious people has been the pupil, not the teacher, and has voluntarily placed itself at the feet of those whom it began by treading under its own. This appears from the nature of the case: the more favoured countries of the earth are the natural seats of civilisation; and these are the very objects of the cupidity of northern or eastern races, who are at once more warlike and less refined. Accordingly, the rude warrior quits his ice-bound crags, his desolate steppes, or his burning sands, for the sunny hills or the well-watered meadows of the temperate zone; and when he has made good his footing in his new abode, what was the incentive of his conquest becomes the instrument of his education. Thus it was that Goths and Lombards put off their national fierceness; thus it was that the fanatic Arab was transmuted into the polished knight of Seville or Granada; and thus the Northman also softened both his name and his nature, and over his characteristic qualities,—the cruelty, the cunning, and romantic ambition of his barbarism,—threw the fantastic garb of Christian chivalry.

The ordinary course of barbarian invasion is such as this: Certain tribes are in the advance of the rest, being the vanguard of a large host or the fugitives of unsuccessful war; they come down upon the country which is to be their prey in successive expeditions; like billows tumbling one over the other, they sweep through it; then, like waves, they retire, and then again, after an interval, they return. Next, they exact contributions, and are again and again bought off. Next, either by violence or by treaty, they gain possession and occupation of some territory, and take their place as landed proprietors amid the old tenants and institutions of the soil. This turns out to be a more politic bribe than gold; it is a gift once for all; it puts them under teaching, and imposes on them responsibilities. In a while we find them happily influenced by the civilisation, be it greater or less, into which they have thrust themselves. They imitate the customs and

manners of their new country; they acquire a moral perception and a standard of judgment to which before they were utter strangers; they give up their old idolatry. They trade and make money; they grow conservative; they learn to be ashamed of the savage habits of their forefathers; they make common cause with the old inhabitants in repelling the fresh invasions of their own kindred. Perhaps they even act a charitable part towards the latter, sending them missionaries, or returning the captives or hostages whom they have taken, to teach them a purer faith and the arts of life.

These successive steps in course of civilisation took a character of their own in the remarkable race whose history has so intimate a bearing on the two islands of the North; and as we have enlarged above upon the terrible and revolting features of the Scandinavian character, so it is to our purpose now to speak of the singular alleviations with which its enormities were, as time went on, accompanied, till it changed into the chivalrous Norman. Though of the same stock as the Saxons, the Northmen were gifted with a more heroic cast of soul. Perhaps it was the peculiar scenery and climate of their native homes which suggested to them such lofty aspirations, and such enthusiastic love of danger and hardship. The stillness of the desert may fill the fierce Arab with a rapturous enjoyment,\* and the interminable forests of Britain or Germany might breathe profound mystery; but the icy mountains and the hoarse resounding waves of the North nurtured warriors of a princely stature, both in mind and body, befitting the future occupants of European thrones. Cradled in the surge and storm, they were spared the temptation of indolence and luxury: they neither worshipped the vivifying powers of nature with the Greek, nor with the Sabeans did they kiss the hand to the bright stars of heaven; but, while they gave a personal presence and volition to the fearful or the beautiful spirits which haunted the mountains or lay in ambush in the mist, they understood by daily experience that good could not be had by the mere wishing, and they made it a first article in their creed that their reward was future, and that their present must be toil.

The light and gloom, the nobleness, sternness, and the fancifulness, of the Northman character are admirably portrayed in the romantic tales of Fouqué. At one time he brings before us the honour-loving Froda, the friend of the Skalds, who had been taught in the book of a learned Ice-

\* "A young French renegade confessed to Chateaubriand that he never found himself alone galloping in the desert without a sensation approaching to rapture, which was indescribable." Notes to the *Bride of Abydos*.

lander how the Lady Aslauga, a hundred years and more before, had in her golden veil of flowing hair won the love of King Ragnar Lodbrog, and who, smit with devotion to her, saw from time to time the sudden apparition of his bright queen in the cloudy autumn sky, animating him to great and warlike deeds. At another time, it is the Lady Minnetrost, the good Druda, far up upon the shores of the Baltic, on her high moonlit tower, with her long white finger lifted up and pointing to the starry sky. Then, again, we have the tall slim form of the beautiful Sigrid, with her large blue eyes, singing her charm, gathering witch-herbs, and brewing her witch-draught, which makes heroes invincible in fight, and works in the banquet a black mysterious woe. Then we have the gigantic form of men on the islands of the lake, with massive breastplates, and huge brazen bucklers, and halberts so high that they seemed like the masts of vessels. And then the vessel comes in sight, ready for the use of the sea-knights in their pirate expeditions; and off they go over the bounding waves, on their terrible errands of blood and fire, to gain immortal glory by inflicting untold pain. And suddenly appears one of them at a marriage-feast in Normandy, the sea-king Arinbiorn; one of those warriors in the high-coast country who own little or nothing on the mainland, but who sail round the earth in their light barks in the company of brave and devoted followers, passing from one side of the North Cape, nay, even from distant Iceland, down to bright Constantinople, or along the coasts of blooming Asia or of burning Africa, where almost all other seamen are at fault. And at another time we are shown the spectres of remorse and death and judgment, and the living forms of pride, passion, and temptation, in the history of the troubled child of the fierce warrior of Drontheim; and, on the other hand, the pattern knight and his lady bright coming back to their old country from the plains of Frank-land, and presenting to the savage northern race the very ideal which they vaguely sought after, but could not adumbrate; and the pale dark-haired Sintram, calmed and vanquished by the voice and lute of the fair Gabrielle.

This of course is romance; but if it may be taken as an anticipation of what the Northmen became in the Normans, their descendants, it suggests to us that there certainly existed between the latter people and the Church of the middle age a ground of sympathy and mutual respect which was not common, at least to the same extent, to her great Pontiffs and to either Anglo-Saxons or Scots. The ministers of peace and the messengers of war, as contrary as life and death, nevertheless

had a bond of attachment and union in the thorough-going simplicity of purpose with which they fearlessly worked out their respective objects. The Norman knight recognised no earthly standard, no earthly recompense; his end might be fanciful and eccentric, but it was ideal; it might be honour, glory, the noble, the sublime, but at least it was unselfish; and so far it resembled Christianity. The first transaction between this strange people and the Pope was a significant introduction to the relations in which they stood towards each other in the times which followed. St. Leo IX. had led out an army against them; they fought him, gained the battle, took him prisoner, and then, prostrating themselves at his feet, asked his forgiveness and his blessing.\* He consented, and made them his allies. Not many years after, they were the protection of the great Hildebrand against the Emperor. That magnanimous Pope, and his contemporary, William the Conqueror, may be taken as types respectively of their opposite missions; and they were apparently shy of each other. It is the greatest compliment that the secular historian can pay to William, if Hildebrand kept at a distance from him; it is the greatest compliment that the historian can pay to Hildebrand, to say that William wished to gain his approbation.

So different, however, at first sight, is this Norman of the eleventh century from the savage pirate who ravaged England and Ireland in the ninth and tenth, that it is of importance in the history of civilisation to be able to trace some points of connection between their respective national characteristics. This we can succeed in doing to a certain extent; and we think there is no extravagance in professing actually to detect the germs of the knight of chivalry, and to note down the dates of their taking form and gradually developing, in the chronicles of the wild Scandinavian. For instance, as we have already suggested, the distinctive trait of the barbarian of the North, as contrasted with other barbarians, was his perception and pursuit of the *pulchrum*, his belief in some excellence more than ordinary, his worship of some recondite incommunicable perfection, which excited in him an enthusiastic passion, and required for its attainment a superhuman effort. This great quality of mind showed itself in the rude Northman as well as in the Norman, and, as regards lesser matters, became that affectation of the rare and uncommon which we afterwards find in history as a familiar attribute of the latter people. As an instance, we may specify the value he set on proficiency in bodily exercises. Feats of strength, indeed,

\* Bowden's Hildebrand, vol. i. p. 165.

are held in esteem by all nations, barbarous or not; but the Scandinavian aimed not at mere muscular energy, but at a proficiency which has something of an intellectual character,—at strength united to dexterity, versatile in its exhibition and ready for the emergence. Olaf, son of Triggva, was a genuine sea-king in the lawlessness of his deeds and the romance of his fortunes. Born fatherless, on a small island, whither his mother had fled for her life, captured and sold into Russia, escaping and turning pirate, sweeping round the coasts of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, Flanders, and Friesland, converted to Christianity in the Scilly islands, marrying, or rather married by a princess of Dublin, and at length made king of Norway,—he seems to have his character sufficiently described in this mere outline of his history, and to promise nothing more at best than the resolve, daring, and fortitude of a piratical adventurer. But he had accomplishments too.\* That he should have been able to climb precipices and run down them again heavily laden with spoil,—this, indeed, was a talent suitable and needful to the plunderer; but we should hardly have expected in so rude a personage that he was practised in certain gymnastic arts, that he could run along upon the oars while the rowers were pulling, that he could throw at once two darts to their respective marks, and that he could play at flinging up swords and catching them alternately, after the manner of an Indian juggler. Perfect command of the limbs, skill, neatness and grace in their exercise, were as much in honour with the Northman as with the knights of a tournament. He could govern his vessel as readily as a horse; he could wrestle, swim, skate, row, and, though a sea-king, he could ride.

Character, we have said, is shown in little things: it is for this reason that in this connection we remark, by the way, that the precision and exquisiteness of the Scandinavian appeared also in his choice of food and apparel. The Anglo-Saxons wore beards; the Normans shaved; now in doing so they followed the custom of the old country which they had left. Thus Harold, who waged war against the pirates, let his hair grow, as a sort of penance, till he had been successful in it; when he became king of Norway, he submitted to his father's cutting it. The ancestors of the fastidious Normans trimmed and combed their hair even up in Scandinavia; they bathed frequently, dressed handsomely, and ornamented their war-vessels. They were nice in their eating; and, as we observed in a former page, disdaining wine as a mere incentive to conviviality, were temperate in the use of it.

\* Turner, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 65; Thierry, *Normans*, book ii.

These, however, are lesser matters ; the most obvious and prominent point of character, common to the Northman and Norman, is the peculiarity of their warlike heroism. War was their life ; it was almost their *summum bonum* ; good in itself, though nothing came of it. The impetuosity of the Norman relieved itself in extravagances, and raises a smile from its very intensity ; at one time becoming a religious fanaticism, at another a fantastic knight-errantry. His very worship was to do battle ; his rite of sacrifice was a passage of arms. He couched his lance to prove the matter of fact that his lady was the beautifullest of all conceivable women ; he drew his sword on the blasphemer to convince him of the sanctity of the Gospel ; and he passed abruptly from demolishing churches and burning towns to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the unclean infidel. In the Northmen, too, this pride of demolition had been their life-revel. They destroyed for destroying-sake, because it was good to destroy ; it was a display of power, and power made them gods. They seemed as though they were possessed by some inward torment, which needed outlet, and which degraded them to the madness of their own Berserkirs for the want of some nobler satisfaction. Their fearful activity was their mode of searching out something great, they knew not what, the idea of which haunted them. It impelled them to those sudden descents and rapid careerings about a country, of which we have already spoken ; and which, even in modern times, has broken out in the characteristic energy of Gustavus and Charles XII. of Sweden. Hence, too, when they had advanced some steps in the path of civilisation, from this nature or habit of restlessness they could not bear neutrality ; they interfered actively in the cause of right, in proportion as they gave up the practice of wrong. When they began to find out that piracy was criminal, instead of having recourse to peaceful occupations, they found an occupation cognate to piracy itself in putting piracy down. Kings, indeed, would naturally undertake such a mission ; for piracy interfered with their sovereign power, and would not die of itself ; it was not wonderful that Harold, Haco the Good, and St. Olaf should hang the pirates and destroy their vessels ; but the point of our remark is this, that they pursued the transgressors with the same furious zeal with which they had heretofore committed the same transgression themselves. It is sometimes said that a reformed profligate is the sternest of moralists ; and these northern rovers, on their conversion, did penance for their own piracy by a relentless persecution of pirates. They became knight-errants on water, devoted to hardship and peril in the protection of the peaceful

merchant. Under Canute of Denmark a confraternity was formed with this object.\* Its members characteristically began by seizing on vessels not their own for its prosecution, and imposing compulsory loans on the wealthy trader for their outfit, though they professed to indemnify their owners out of the booty ultimately secured. Before they went on board, they communicated; they lived soberly and severely, restricting themselves to as few followers as was possible. When they found Christians in the captured ships, they set them at liberty, clothed them, and sent them home. In this way as many as eight hundred pirate vessels were destroyed.

Sometimes, in spite of their reformation, they still pursued a pirate's trade; but it was a modified piracy. They put themselves under laws in the exercise of it, and waged war against those who did not observe them. These objects of their hostility were what Turner calls "indiscriminate" pirates. "Their peculiar and self-chosen task," he says, "was to protect the defenceless navigator, and to seek and assail the *indiscriminate* plunderer. The pirate gradually became hunted down as the general enemy of the human race." He goes on to mention some of the laws imposed by Hialmar upon himself and other "discriminating" pirates, to the effect that they would protect trade and agriculture, that they would not force women into their ships against their will, and that they would not eat raw flesh.

Now, in what we have been drawing out, there is enough to show both the elementary resemblance of character, and yet the vast actual dissimilitude, between the Scandinavian and the Norman. There is likeness enough to show that the dissimilitude is a *change*: when there is no resemblance at all between a former state and a latter, we do not consider it a change, but that one thing has been substituted for another. Here, however, is a change, and a vast change; and then the question follows, how was it brought about? There is enough in the picture to show that the knight of chivalry may have been made out of the barbarian sea-king; but not enough to suggest, on the other hand, how the barbarian sea-king came ever to be made into the knight of chivalry. It was of course, to answer in general terms, the triumph of Christianity. Hrolfr, or Rollo, left the North a lawless marauder, being driven out by the reforming energy of King Harold of the fair hair; and when he came to France, it was in order to inflict upon it the wars which his kinsmen had inflicted upon England and Ireland. Nor was he remiss in his dreadful mission: but, after ravaging England in company with his

\* Lappenberg's England.

countrymen, he landed on the French province which has since been called Normandy, plundered Cambray, menaced Rouen, besieged Paris, took Bayeux, ravaged the neighbourhood of Sens, and levelled St. Lo to the ground. These are specimens of the successful outrages which Rollo committed on an unoffending country ; but somehow they ended in his being baptised, receiving a large grant of territory, and at length taking his place among the landholders and nobility of France. He was not the first of his savage countrymen who in that same France had submitted to the Church, and been naturalised, on condition of defending the soil against fresh invasions from the north. And the policy and the compact were perfectly successful. In the course of one hundred and fifty years the race made such advances in the arts of life, as to stand foremost in the civilisation of the day, to be specimens of a particular kind of refinement, and to be in a condition to present religion and to teach manners even to Christian populations of historical name and ancient faith.

And now we come to the question, for the sake of which we have introduced this lengthened notice of the Northmen and their French colony. Why was it that a like process, with a like issue, did not take place in England and Ireland, when barbarians settled among them? Why did not the Danes in both islands succumb to influences which were so potent and so successful on the opposite continent? One and the same fierce foe comes from the North, and extends his devastations on both sides of the British and St. George's Channels ; he is so identically one as to have the same leaders, who sometimes carry on their raids in one country, sometimes in another. Ragnar not only ravaged England and Ireland, but he penetrated with his bands to the walls of Paris. Hasting, the formidable opponent of Alfred, plundered on the Seine. Rollo, as we have said, made a descent on England before he came to France. It needs explanation, then, how it came to pass that the same race, being settled, during a contemporaneous period, in two countries, made such very unequal advances in civilisation in the one and in the other.

We conceive the facts to be as we have stated them ; the period of settlement is certainly contemporaneous, and the advance in civilisation is as certainly unequal. The country above the Humber was in the possession of Danish princes from A.D. 870 down to the Norman Conquest ; East Anglia was colonised by Danes from A.D. 878. The Danes founded or rebuilt Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, about the year 850 ; and held them still in 1171, at the date

of what we should call the "Norman Conquest" of Ireland.\* Rollo, on the other hand, gained Normandy about 912. If, then, long and intimate intercourse is a necessary condition of influencing, improving, and changing a barbarous race, both Anglo-Saxons and Irish had the opportunity of such intercourse with the Danes more fully than the Franks with the Normans. And yet the Danes did not gain any such benefits from their settlement in England and Ireland, as the Normans reaped from their French inheritance. This is the second point to which we ask the reader's attention.

It may be replied, that English and Irish converted them to Christianity, and that to a higher blessing and greater change they could not have been instrumental. It is true: this conversion was the work of holy men and zealous priests; and that there were such is certain, and that their efforts were prospered is certain, and might have been expected from their zeal and their holiness. But we speak here not of mere submission to the Church and faith in its word, which is commonly all that a preacher would effect in ignorant barbarians; but of that change and elevation of character, that hold and application of religious principles, that self-command, that social progress, which accrue to an uneducated tribe from its intercourse with a more civilised people. Defective as was the civilisation of the Normans, it was substantial. They could live in peace with their neighbours; when they warred, it was according to rule: they revered law; they could govern and be governed: they could adopt a course of policy; and they had refined manners. "A steady justice in his own conduct," says Turner, speaking of Rollo, "an inflexible rigour towards all offenders, and the beneficial results which every one experienced from these provisions, gradually produced a love of equity and subordination to law among his own people. Under his administration Normandy is declared to have had neither thieves, plunderers, nor private seditions." And after quoting a passage from Glaber Rodolphus, which bears witness to the Norman people living "like one great family of relations," to their care of the poor and distressed and strangers, and their religious liberality, he goes on to speak of their love of glory, their incipient love of literature, their general decorum, and lasting steadiness of moral character. That this was the effect of contact with French civilisation, and not from any accidental and unknown force in the Norman colony itself, seems undeniable, not only from that identity, on which we have already dwelt, of the Normans of Frank-land with the Danes of England, and from

\* Lyttleton, Henry II. vol. v. p. 35; Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 326, &c.

the fact that fresh and fresh Northmen were continually joining and disturbing, if that had been possible, the Norman body politic, but, on the other hand, from what history tells us of the rapid and complete assimilation of the Norman people with the French, even to the adoption of the French language, and of their utter alienation from their mother country. "The Northmen who settled in Neustria," says Lappenberg, "gradually became lost among the French. French and foreigners have visited Normandy in search of some traces of the old Scandinavian colonies; but vainly have they sought for the original Northmen in the original inhabitants; with the exception of some faint resemblances, they have met with nothing Norsk." "All remembrance of their national poetry," he says presently, "was as completely obliterated from the posterity of the Northmen as if, in traversing the ocean, they had drunk of the water of Lethe."\* By the end of the tenth century, "the difference of language," says Thierry, "which had at first marked the line of separation betwixt the nobles and the people of Normandy had almost ceased to exist; and it was by his genealogy that the Norman of Scandinavian descent was distinguished from the Gallo-Franks."† And, "when the use of the *lingua romana* became general throughout Normandy, the Scandinavians ceased to look upon the Normans as their natural allies by kindred; they even ceased to call them by the name of Normans, but called them French, Romans, and Velskes or Welches, their names for the entire population of Gaul." Lappenberg says the same: "If the inhabitants of Normandy cared little about their northern native country, the inhabitants of the north, on their part, almost forgot their fugitive kinsmen, who had gained for themselves another home."

Such is the surprising and speedy change which took place in the Northmen when domiciled in France; not that the Norman character became French, but it ceased to be barbarian, and became Christian; it was a great change. Now let us contrast with it the state of the Danes, or Northmen, or Ostmen, as they are variously called, in England and Ireland. The author last quoted is a most unexceptional witness, because his leaning is against the Normans and the Holy See; as if the Anglo-Saxons would have recovered their former state, and have managed their own matters better, if they had been left alone. Now he says, speaking of the "colonies of the Vikings," "on the coast of Ireland they possessed Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork. At Dublin resided the principal king of the Northmen; Waterford had also its kings.

\* England, pp. 66, 84, transl.

† Norman Conquest, p. 39, transl.

These colonies, which sometimes made war on each other, and at others combined together against the Irish or the English, preserved their warlike spirit, by which, although possessing only a few ports and a small portion of the interior, they were able to maintain themselves for some centuries. Christianity encompassed them on every side; and in the eleventh century they adopted it themselves.”\* Here, then, is a Scandinavian colony far smaller, or at least more dispersed, than that in Normandy, actually surrounded by Christian populations, and populations of a far earlier Christianity than the Franks, and acted on by them so far as to embrace their religion, yet so little subdued by Christian influences, that there is nothing more to be recorded of them than that they warred on each other and on their Irish neighbours. And it is observable, that, considering there was one king over all their Irish settlements, at least till the beginning of the eleventh century, these wars of the Danes among themselves must have been of the nature of civil wars. Lanigan speaks to the same effect. After saying that the Danes of Dublin were the first of their nation in Ireland who became Christians, he adds, “which, however, did not prevent them from afterwards practising ravages in the same manner that their predecessors had done.”† Let it be observed, he does not speak merely of their going to war, which, alas, the most civilised and Christian nations can do, but of continuing the savage raids of their forefathers.

It must be added, that whereas the Normans were converted as early as the date of their coming, the Danes, even of Dublin, were not converted till at the end of a hundred years from their settling there, and those of other Irish cities much later. In the beginning of the eleventh century, near two centuries after their arrival, though “a certain progress,” the same writer says, “was made by the Danes in piety and religious practices, yet we find them now and then, even during this period, committing depredations in religious places.”‡ How great a contrast to the notorious devotion of the Normans! In spite of all the shortcomings of the latter people, their cruelty and their dissoluteness, they were exemplary in their maintainance of religious worship. “They caused,” says Lappenberg,§ “an incredible number of churches and chapels to be built.” They became so greatly changed in this particular, that is, from their pagan practices, which led them to destroy churches, and in which the Christian Danes of Ireland still indulged, “that there were none in France who so zealously built churches and cloisters as they. They even established conveyance-fraternities for the erection of

\* p. 64.

† Vol. iii. p. 376.

‡ Ibid. p. 433.

§ p. 69.

churches. People took the Sacrament, reconciled themselves with their enemies, and united for this object, choosing a chief or king, under whose direction they drew carts loaded with all kinds of building materials. Probably there were also fraternities of masons." In Ireland, on the contrary, so far from the old Christian inhabitants leading their Danish neophytes to build churches, the Danes taught the Irish to plunder and destroy them, as appears from a passage of Lani-gan, which we quoted in our former part of this discussion. Nay, it is remarkable that the Scandinavian countries themselves received Christianity at as early a date as the bulk of their emigrants, who for two centuries had been in a Christian country; and, again, the Norwegian and Danish Christians on their own soil were much more changed by their conversion than their kinsmen on Irish. "These people," says a contemporary, speaking of the Norwegians, "have learnt to love peace and gentler manners." And another says of the Danes, "They have made progress in the liberal arts; the nobles send their sons to Paris for education, not only for ecclesiastical offices, but also for secular employments."\* It is abundantly confirmed by results such as these, which history accidentally records, that Paris had a gift of civilisation at that time which the Irish schools had not.

Let it be observed, too, that the Irish Church had accidentally a collateral assistance in her work, which seemed to make the civilisation of these settlers comparatively an easy task. In consequence of their position, by race Northmen, by birth Irish, by dwelling maritime, they were the natural medium of intercourse between their own and their adopted country, and, in consequence, they took to mercantile occupations. Now, the pursuit of wealth is at least antagonist to barbaric turbulence, even if not directly congenial to Christianity; but in this instance it did not even thus negatively assist the communication of Christian manners from the old Christians to the new. Lyttleton has this apposite remark: "About this time (1095) a civil war divided the Ostmen (Danes of Ireland). From henceforward this people, addicting themselves wholly to commerce, lost much of their valour and military spirit, without making any great improvements in politeness or the civil arts of life."†

It does not seem, indeed, as if there were any tendency in the Danes of Ireland, we will not say to amalgamation, but to intimacy with the people among whom they were settled. On the contrary, they drew off from them, and when the Nor-

\* Adam of Bremen and Arnold of Lubeck, in Lappenberg, pp. 61, 62. Vide also Neander, Hist. vol. v. p. 403, Bohn.

† Vol. v. p. 42.

mans had got possession of England, they fell back upon the Normans. Here they are in remarkable contrast to the Normans themselves, who loved their new country so well as to forget "their people and their father's house." So far from such a feeling, the Ostmen would not even allow the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of those who converted them. Sitric, Danish king of Dublin, endowed a see there for his countrymen, A.D. 1040, the first bishop being an Irishman,\* because, says Lanigan, "the Danes had as yet scarcely any clergymen of their nation in Ireland." No sooner, however, had the Normans come to England, than they put themselves under the metropolitan see of Canterbury; the reason being, as the same author states, not only the great reputation of Lanfranc the Archbishop (though it is not easy to see what the Danes would care about a great logician and controversialist), but "because William and his Normans, being masters of England from the year 1066, were considered by the Irish Danes as their countrymen." Nor was this the act of the Danes of Dublin only; the Danish Bishops of Waterford and Limerick were consecrated from Canterbury also.†

Once more: till the Normans came to Ireland, the Danes (or Ostmen, as they were called) were distinct communities from the Irish: when the Normans had come, the Normans too remained distinct from the Irish; but the Danes simply disappear from the page of history. "English," says Lappenberg, explaining that by English he means Anglo-Normans, "English, Irish, and Northmen formed three distinct races," in the beginning of the thirteenth century, that is, upon the Norman conquest of Ireland; "but at a later period mention occurs of two nations only, Irish and English; the Ostmen, or Northmen, having disappeared."‡ What is clearer than that the Northmen, who had resisted all assimilation with the Irish for above three centuries, had at once felt the attraction of their kindred, and had been absorbed by the conquerors,—absorbed as promptly and spontaneously, as the Normans, on their part, had been united, not to any of their own compatriots, but to the Franks around them?

If, then, the Ostmen, or Danes, of Ireland needed civilising, and the Irish could not civilise them, and the Normans could, then, for the sake both of the Danes who needed a great benefit, and of the Irish who could not supply it, it was surely not unreasonable in the Pope, nor unsuitable to his high mission, to sanction the expedition of the Normans to Ireland with the object of converting the one and reforming the other. We do not deny that there was something of a

\* Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 433, &c.

† Ibid. p. 464.

‡ p. 64.

grave rebuke in sending to that old Catholic population specimens of barbarians whom others had civilised, in order to the civilisation of kinsmen of those barbarians, whom, though living among them, they have been unable to civilise themselves. At the same time, this measure was no disparagement of the Irish schools, or of the learning and sanctity of their members; for, as we have already had occasion to observe, it is not of the nature of colleges or cloisters to radiate knowledge and manners through the many.

Now to pass on to the case of England. What the schools were to Ireland, such was the monarchy to our own country; each institution was the seat of national life and the hope of national reformation. There were certainly weak and unworthy Anglo-Saxon monarchs; and there was both rash speculation and ecclesiastical disorder in the Irish schools, as is clear from the instance of Erigena and others on the one hand, and from the strange and lasting scandals of Armagh on the other.\* Still the schools were the salt of Ireland, and acted on the population, Christian and pagan, indirectly by means of the holy preachers who went out from them; and in like manner there were among the English kings so many able, successful, and, we will add, religious rulers, that they may fairly be taken to represent the monarchy. Such are Egbert, Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, Edgar, and Edmund. They were the instruments of the conversion of vast numbers of the Northmen to the Christian faith. It was Alfred who adopted the policy, which had succeeded so well across the Channel, of settling the Danes in the east of England, on condition of their baptism. Athelstan, in like manner, when he subjected the Northumbrian Danes to his sway, made them Christians. The same prince was intrusted with the education of Haco the Good of Norway, who, though he did not succeed in bringing his subjects to the faith he had himself embraced, contributed much towards their national civilisation. St. Olaf, king of the same country, who sent for Bishops and priests from England, did but avail himself of what Haco had begun. Yet, though a royal court could exert more influence both at home and abroad than a number of scattered convents and colleges, it could neither do a people's work, nor educate a people into doing it. What was wanted in England was a mass of Christianity, so living as to leaven and transform the pagan neophytes. The monarchy might effect the conversion of the Danish settlers, but it could not effect their civilisation. If the Anglo-Saxon population was in a state of disorder,

\* *E. g.* Dubdabeth III. had even been a professor in the Armagh school. Lanigan, vol. iii. pp. 428, 449.

despondency, and misery, it would only be further degraded by the contact of barbarians, instead of having any power to raise them even to its own unsatisfactory level. And this, we know, was the case. The savage invaders had demoralised the English: can there be a more pregnant fact than that of which we have already spoken, that from the reign of Ethelred (A.D. 1013) to that of Henry II. (A.D. 1171), for at least one hundred and fifty years, the Anglo-Saxons sold their relatives, and even their children, into foreign slavery, as if they had been a tribe of unreclaimed Africans?\*

Moreover, though England had an advantage over Ireland in the unity of its governing power, on the other hand it had this counterbalancing disadvantage, that the foreign settlers were far more numerous, and the territory they covered far more extensive. If Ireland was broken up into small principalities, its Danish inmates, too, were divided from each other, and surrounded by the Christian population. But as to England, at one memorable date the whole of it was in the power of the Danes except Somersetshire and the far west. At Alfred's death all the country was theirs to the north of the Humber and the east of the Thames and Ouse. Later, a line drawn from Chester to the mouth of the Thames through Bedfordshire, serves to describe their frontier. Even when they were subjects of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, they had their own laws. At length a Dane became monarch of the whole country; and did more for its welfare than the Anglo-Saxon kings who preceded him. The choice seemed to lie between Dane or Norman, if the nation was to be raised from its abject condition; and the Norman, not more cruel than the Dane, was far more advanced in civilisation.

It must be recollected too, that, whatever might be the advantage of a monarchy, one bad king could undo the work of three or four vigorous ones: and bad or worthless there were. One act reversed all the efforts of the great princes whom we mentioned above. The Anglo-Saxons could not hope to convert the Danes after the crime of St. Brice's day 1002, which is the St. Bartholomew's eve of our history. On the eve of that festival, "every city," says Turner, "received secret letters from the king, commanding the people, at an appointed hour, to destroy the Danes there suddenly by the sword, or to surround and consume them with fire."† Though at that time they were living in peace with the English, the royal mandate was obeyed. All through England, Christians as they were for the most part, the Danes, their wives, their

\* Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 322; Lingard, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 244; Lyttleton, vol. v. p. 91.

† Vol. ii. p. 312.

families, their infants, were mercilessly butchered. "The horror of the murder," says Lingard, "was in many places aggravated by every insult and barbarity which national hatred could suggest. At London they fled for security to the churches, and were massacred in crowds round the altars."\* The number of victims and extent of the massacre are unknown. It could hardly, indeed, include the old settlers, now half English, in the north and east. Some authors have maintained that the savage command was only directed against the Danish soldiers in English pay; Thierry, apparently disbelieving that it was the act of the Anglo-Saxon king, would make us believe that the only victims were the Danes, who had just before made a truce with Ethelred, and who, after receiving, according to the bargain, their price for leaving the kingdom, had broken their engagement by a renewal of their excesses. But in that case women and children would not have suffered. Gunhilda, the sister of the Danish Sweyn, the father of Canute, had embraced Christianity, and had married Palig, a naturalised Dane. Her children and husband were slaughtered before her eyes; then she was put to death herself. She predicted the vengeance that would follow.

Her prediction was in no long time fulfilled. The shrieks of the victims of that day were the knell of the Anglo-Saxon power. The savage Sweyn wreaked his vengeance in fresh devastations and slaughters, which terminated in the subjugation of England and the successful usurpation of Canute. St. Edward who followed was the morning star of a heavy day, saintly and beautiful himself, but the forerunner of the foreigners in his acts, and the harbinger of woe in his last words.

Our immediate question, however, here, as in the case of Ireland, is, how were the Danes to be converted? Anticipating the future by the best lights of prudence and experience, we should have said at that time, that with these Danes lay the prospects of good or evil for that England of which they had so long been the scourge and the ruin. They were a young, energetic, enterprising, ambitious people. They could fight, they could trade; but they had to learn the lessons of the gospel and the arts of life. Could England be their teacher, after the massacre of St. Brice? If a Christian nation slaughtered its unsuspecting converts, who would be converted by it henceforth? The poor Anglo-Saxons had only strength for a treacherous and impotent revenge.

\* History, vol. i. p. 240.

## Communicated Articles.

### THOUGHTS ON THE CAUSES OF THE PRESENT WAR.

It is M. Guizot, I think, who has somewhere remarked, that the peculiar function of France in European politics seems to be that of investing with a tangible and recognised existence the new ideas which, one after another, are destined to exert a paramount influence over the development of society. Other countries, he would grant, may claim the parentage of the thinker; but the thought must pass through the crucible of French assimilation before it can go out into the world to conquer and rule mankind. France holds the apostolate of successful innovation. The rivalry of her statesmen, the contest of her parties, the changes of her public opinion, are a microcosm in which fiercer struggles and more widespread revolutions are foreshadowed for our guidance or warning. So that, virtually, the drama of the future is for ever being acted out before our eyes; and if we desire to anticipate the history of Europe, we have little else to do than to investigate the condition of France.

The theory, no doubt, has an air of suspicious completeness; and it may easily be exaggerated into palpable falsehood. But if it does not precisely express a truth, it may at least serve to indicate one; and considering how pre-eminently the phases of society and government in France have, in point of fact, engaged the anxiety of thoughtful politicians for the last twelve, and even for the last seventy years, we shall scarcely be far wrong if we turn to that country for a solution of the difficulties that first meet us when we attempt to trace the leading causes of the war in which she is now engaged.

Ostensibly, of course, the great French Revolution was made in the joint name of liberty and equality; but, among those who made it, the appreciation of liberty existed only in the minds of the few, while the love of equality filled the hearts of the many. It was long before, under Louis XIV., that the two principles had really tested their respective strength. Liberty had stood forward as the antagonist of absolute power, and had fallen in the struggle; but equality had found itself adopted by that power, as the instrument and guarantee of its own victory. From that time forward, under the levelling process of administrative centralisation, the spirit of freedom gradually became extinct; and the old social hierarchy, which it had animated and sustained, passed down through all the stages of decrepitude into the con-

dition of an impotent and irritating pageant. Thus, when the formal crisis came, the real work was done. Towards one supreme principle all desires gathered, all tendencies converged; and before a blow had well been struck, equality stood master of the field, not only without an enemy to impede its advance, but without even an ally to control its action. The natural consequence followed. What till then had been a taste, an instinct, or a habit, grew into a passion—a passion burning, insatiable, unconquerable, undying—a passion which from that hour has swayed the whole people of France with a strength so vigorous and unrelaxing as to have made it the first law of her political existence, and the key to all her subsequent history. She has become a prey since then to distress, humiliation, slavery, barbarism itself; but never for one instant, even in thought, has she submitted to the domination of an aristocracy. And though, at present, if she had her choice, she might prefer a free to a despotic government, she would yet fling freedom to the winds without a moment's hesitation, rather than sacrifice one jot of that social equality on which her heart is fixed at once with all the pride of conquest and with all the love of inheritance.

A passion for social equality resolves itself, in its ultimate analysis, into a passion for individual distinction. What people who are under its influence desire, is simply that all men should start in life under the same set of external conditions; so that every break in the dead level of society should mark what some successful aspirant has achieved for himself by his own unassisted power. Their ideal of the world is a fair field where there should be no favour, where every man should stand on the ground of his own proper merit, and the race should be to the swift alone, and the battle only to the strong. And the reason why this ideal captivates them is not its mere intellectual symmetry, or the perfection with which it seems to them to exemplify the principle of pure justice. The real fascination lies in its appeal to their personal ambition. When society is formed on an aristocratic model, no man can live simply to himself. His aims are widened, if not exalted, by the complexity of his relations with his fellows. His actions are the property of the class to which he belongs; and if they are glorious, their glory radiates in a circle of which he is the centre only—not the circumference. But in a democracy every man's life is his own. He is but one among a crowd of isolated atoms, "*sine rectore, sine affectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente in unum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia.*"\* The motives of great deeds have passed away with the conditions that pro-

\* Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. 27.

duced them; and their place is filled by a multitude of those small ambitions which lie within the scope of each man's daily business, and depend for their attainment mainly on the possession of material wealth. That wealth, in consequence, becomes progressively the measure of individual position, and individual position becomes progressively the object of desire; till every alien thought and sentiment is gradually brought into subjection, and all the elements both of personal and national character are blended into harmony with the master passion of money-getting.

The god of war may now and then find devotees among the gamblers of the Stock Exchange, but his worship is essentially incompatible with an intelligent and settled love of riches. All other things that nations covet—power, glory, vengeance, freedom—may be won on the battlefield; but victory and defeat are alike in this, that they consume beyond redemption men and money,—the ultimate expression of material wealth, and the instrument of its continued reproduction. I do not say there may not be moments, in any state of society, when some burst of generous enthusiasm, or some outbreak of fanatical vanity, may turn away men's thoughts from the pursuit of their commercial interests. I do not say there may not be stages of national development when the passion for amassing wealth is spread more widely than the knowledge of those scientific laws which govern and determine its accumulation. I do not say that, even when that knowledge is complete, men will not sometimes take the narrowest view of their own interest, clutching at the immediate gain of some investment which can only be employed for their ultimate ruin. But these exceptional phenomena rather illustrate than contradict the broad general law. They take their place, indeed, when duly analysed, among the very proofs of its existence; and by defining the precise point to which its operation has attained, they supply us with a criterion for measuring the advance of any age or nation along the path of democratic progress.

That path is one which France has trodden for the last two centuries with a firm, undeviating, unrelenting step. Modest and humble at the outset, winning its way with the stealth of a Socratic argument, the spirit of equality never changed its course, never faltered in the terrible directness of its aim, never turned aside in fear or pity, till the crash of the old society which it had undermined rang out its triumph to the ears of Europe. The revel that ensued was but a necessary phase of its development, and came to a natural and appointed end; and from that time France began to enter on the final stage of democratic progress,—the stage in

which, if any where at all, some compensation will be gained for the noble aims and manly virtues that have perished with the influence of an aristocracy. There are men who look with something like contempt on the restless monotony of that commercial spirit which has been gaining ground in France since the epoch of the Restoration. I cannot agree with them. A nation which is thoroughly democratised must be a nation either of traders or of brigands; and when France, at the Restoration, chose between that alternative, she chose the better part. She was faithful to the idea of her own history, and her real mission in the world. Emerging from her saturnalia of blood and crime, she laid aside its polluted and degrading traditions; and, taking up the threads of her true national life at the point where she had dropped them some thirty years before, she set herself to regain the leadership of that modern civilisation which is founded on the maintenance of a pacific policy, and aims at the steady promotion of social amelioration and refinement.

But her new society contained within itself the elements of one inevitable antagonism. Face to face with a democratic people stood that great legacy of the Empire, a democratic army; and while the one was ever tending to a normal state of peace, the other was ever craving for a state of actual war. That insatiable thirst for fighting which distinguishes the French army, is not the mere reflection of its historical traditions; still less is it a consequence of the political accidents of the moment. Unhappily for Europe and for civilisation, the cause of it lies deep in the constitution of human nature. "Every French soldier," Napoleon used to say, "carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack;" and the words expressed a pregnant and a fearful truth. For systematic promotion from the ranks is precisely the application of democratic principles to the organisation of an army; and that same passion for distinction which leads the citizen to a career of peaceful industry or enterprise, impels the soldier, by a double force, in the precisely opposite direction. Where such an antagonism exists, there can be no mutual sympathy between the nation and the army; and in France it is notorious that there is none. Society has but cold welcome for the soldier; and the soldier accordingly has little love for society. The army is his world, the home of his interests, the area of his desires; and within its narrow limit he acts out an exaggerated counterpart of the struggles of ambition that are going on beyond. The subaltern looks down on his old companions in the ranks, doubly tenacious of an elevation which excites their envy without securing their respect. The captain puts a barrier between himself and his subaltern, never

associates with him in his hours of recreation, and seldom even shares his mess. The field-officer stands aloof from both—stiffly condescending to the one, anxiously unconscious of the other. To gain a step is simply to be transferred from a lower to a higher state of society; for there is no counter-vailing influence to break through the stiff lines of military rank; and from the first marshal to the last recruit, the uniform is the one test of social position and the one measure of individual worth. In an army so constituted, what can possibly be the prevailing sentiment but eagerness for promotion, and for war as the means of promotion? Every man's superior has become his natural enemy,—not merely an obstacle in the way of his obtaining this or that particular place or commission, but a bar drawn straight from side to side across the whole pathway of his life, stopping his advance at every point. That bar cannot be evaded or overcome; it must be altogether removed. Its removal is what constitutes a success in life. So that, given an equality of average intelligence, the most successful soldier is precisely the soldier whose officers are killed the quickest.

This antagonism between the army and the people has indicated, since the Restoration, the great problem of the government of France. In scope it has been an antagonism of interest as well as feeling, and it has existed under conditions which render an enduring compromise impossible. Either the army must triumph over the people, in the establishment of a military despotism; or the people must not merely assert its independence, but effectually vindicate its supremacy over the army.

Now the only way in which civil society can ever hold its own against the armed force that coexists with it, is by exercising a real and vigorous control over the expenditure without which that force can neither be raised nor maintained. And if this is true even in the case of aristocratic armies like our own, it is infinitely more obvious and pressing in the case of a democratic one like that of France. For consider what happens in such an army when this control is not exercised. You begin, suppose, with a regiment of a thousand men and forty officers. Every one of the thousand is aspiring to be one of the forty; and, in the nature of things, you find disappointed ambition gradually developing into discontent. To remedy it, you create a fresh battalion, and promote from the ranks of the old one a sufficient number of men to make up the complement of officers which the whole regiment requires.\* The discontent is appeased for the present; but what

\* It is scarcely necessary to caution the reader that I am illustrating the actual operation of a principle, not stating the process with technical exactness.

have you done to appease it? Simply this, you have doubled the strength of its inevitable cause. A year or two at most, and the whole process must be repeated—repeated on a larger scale, and under the pressure of a more urgent necessity. Instead of a thousand men aspiring to forty prizes, you will have two thousand aspiring to eighty; and if you could not stand against the first demand, what will you do against the second? Nor is this all; for what is true of the lowest rank is true in its degree of every other; so that the officer, instead of checking, will rather lead and stimulate the discontent, anxious himself to profit by a clamour for augmentation, which can only grow more confident in proportion to its success and more formidable in proportion to its extent. If that clamour is silenced at all, it must be silenced at the outset; and a democratic government which does not intend that the army should fix, year by year, the measure of its own expansion, must refuse, at once and absolutely, the financial means which that expansion presupposes. The task may be difficult and invidious for a while; but it cannot be persevered in without ultimate success. For only let the due relation be preserved between the army and the people, and those modes of thought which have become habitual in society at large will gradually win their way into the sphere of military life. The recruit will be penetrated more and more with the spirit that pervades the nation; and the soldier will become an orderly citizen exercising the profession of arms, rather than a daring adventurer made free of the brotherhood of brigands. Thus even a democratic army may ultimately exist without danger to the state, and become, like other armies, the safeguard of society, instead of its destruction or its terror.

This is the end to which all statesmen, worthy of the name, have always striven to conduct the antagonism between the military and civil life of France. I have no desire to write a panegyric on Louis Philippe; I am neither a partisan of his ministers, nor an admirer of his character; but I cannot look back on the history of his government without perceiving how steadily, courageously, and intelligently it pursued, on this fundamental question, the only course which is consistent with the true dignity of France and the foremost interests of European civilisation. The pacific policy that marked his reign was maintained against difficulties of no common strength, and at the cost of no small obloquy. It was from first to last a deliberate sacrifice of present glory to future prosperity; and it proceeded on a firm though quiet resistance to the unceasing demands of a dissatisfied army. That resistance was possible, because it was backed by the

whole strength of the tax-paying classes, making itself seen, heard, and felt through the medium of parliament and the press. The government was identified with the interests of property, and the interests of property were hostile as well to the immediate outlay as to the ultimate consequences entailed by large military establishments. Hence the army expenditure was kept within moderate limits, and the army itself maintained in its proper subordination to society; so that full scope was given to the internal development of a people whose energy can never fail to achieve great results, whether it is employed to advance the cause of civilisation or to trouble the peace of Europe.

But when the parliament and the free press had passed away, a new order of things arose in France. The central power of the state, no longer upheld by the visible concurrence of the moneyed classes, was driven of necessity to seek in some other quarter a support equivalent to that which it had lost. Such a support was only to be found in the army; and accordingly, each party in the great national antagonism found its position reversed. The influence and direction of the executive government was transferred from the civil to the military side. The army had conquered society; and its needs, its hopes, and its desires, became the inspirations of the national policy. The revolution was instantaneous, and yet the triumph was complete; for property, like freedom, holds her own by a tenure of unceasing vigilance and unrelaxing effort. Things drift by nature towards anarchy and despotism, and a single moment of neglect or weakness may undo the work which it has taken a generation to accomplish. And so it was in France. I assign no character of moral good or evil to the act of the 2nd of December; I am speaking of it only in its consequences, and, as far as my argument is concerned, it is a matter of indifference whether the act itself was a necessity or a crime. Whichever it may have been, it swept away the painful labour of six-and-thirty years, and threw back French society upon the principles from which it was emancipated at the fall of the first Napoleon. From that moment a war became a necessity, and all that remained to do was to inaugurate an enemy and an occasion.

I say to "inaugurate" simply, not to find, for both were found already. The men who planned the 2nd of December cannot be accused of either shortsightedness or precipitation; and they had not thrown themselves on the army without having first counted the cost and determined the method of payment. Already the question of the Holy Places had formed a subject of diplomatic communication between Turkey and

the Catholic powers; and the joint remonstrances of Austria, France, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, Sardinia, and Naples, were bearing with irresistible force on the ministers of the Porte. I hear men talk sometimes about "the zeal France showed for the Holy Places" at this eventful crisis. I question neither the sincerity nor the devotion of the French people; but if their government was actuated by a simple "zeal for the Holy Places," I wonder why it suddenly forsook the companionship of the other Catholic powers, and started for itself alone that claim of a protectorate over the Latin Christians which first stirred Russia to the energetic reassertion of her claim to a protectorate over the Greeks. There are two ways of maintaining a point,—one when we want to carry it in earnest, and the other when we want to connect ourselves with it in appearance; and I do not think any impartial man can read carefully through that long and dreary correspondence that preceded the Russian war, without concluding that the French government was far more anxious to appear the champion of Catholicism than to promote its interests, and deliberately aimed from the commencement at provoking Russia to some act which, in the eyes of Europe, might justify a declaration of war. Unfortunately, Russia fell into the snare, and committed herself to the active prosecution of a scheme which France had every right to baffle if she could, and which England was compelled, by the law of self-preservation, to resist with her utmost strength.

The two Western powers fought together as allies; but they had entered into the war from different motives, and they carried it on with different aims. The object of the English government was to restrain the power of Russia within certain limits; the object of the French government was to distribute promotion through an eager army, and to confer *prestige* on a new dynasty. I need not recount the history of our own success and failure. We conquered in the field, and then refused the offer of every thing we went to war to secure; then flung away more blood and treasure, and gained more victories; and at last made peace at Paris on terms less advantageous than those which we had previously rejected at Vienna. But the French gained every thing they sought; for fighting and victory were to them not means but ends. The other powers assembled at the congress to define and accept their respective gains or losses; but the gains of France, if I may say so, had already defined themselves, and she was *ipso facto* in possession of them. Thus, while her rivals were engaged in settling the bases of an immediate arrangement, she was free to look out into the

future, and by this means to secure at once the credit of apparent moderation in her victory, and the solid advantage of disposing circumstances towards the attainment of her next design.

What that design was, I cannot understand how any thoughtful and observant politician can have doubted from the time when the proceedings of the Congress were made public. There were indications of it, indeed,—clear enough, I should have thought, for most men's satisfaction, — even long before that time. The present representative of the house of Savoy is not distinguished for the strength or generosity of his devotional aspirations; and even a more ardent champion of Catholicism might have shrunk from plunging his actual kingdom of Sardinia into a war for the purpose of consolidating French influence in his titular kingdom of Jerusalem. Few things had less to do than chivalry or religion with the presence of the Piedmontese troops in the Crimea. The minister who sent them there is a man as subtle and long-sighted in his schemes as he is vigorous and reckless in their execution; and he had gauged with perfect accuracy the nature and necessities of the Napoleonic policy. However blinded other statesmen may have been, or thought it right to seem, Count Cavour at least never doubted, and never professed to doubt, that the French alliance, once effectually made, was sure of its consummation on the plains of Lombardy. The Sardinian contingent was the first instalment of its price; and I am certain that, in the winter of 1855, every one in Piedmontese society, in the slightest degree competent to form an opinion on the subject, was convinced that at all events it was meant to be so. There was no fighting "for fighting's sake." The ministerialists saw that the French empire could not possibly sustain a peace of long duration, and their aim was to determine the direction of a war which they were conscious could not be prevented.

The Congress soon revealed the Sardo-French conspiracy to all who had eyes to see. Outnumbered by enemies, feebly supported by lukewarm friends, the patient vigilance of Count Buol nevertheless secured substantial advantages for his country. But from the beginning it was clear that France and Sardinia were politically one, — united alike in hostility to Austria, and in overstrained anxiety to gain the friendship of the Russian court. I was at Turin when the peace was signed; and I remember well the feeling there, and through Piedmont, when Count Cavour came back from Paris. Never had he been so idolised by the small knot of men that form his party, never so distrusted by his casual supporters, never

more profoundly unpopular amongst the great body of his countrymen. It was the moment of all others when a prudent opposition, based on the old traditions of the monarchy, and led by men whose names still sound as household words among the people, might have gathered to itself the mass of disturbed opinion and offended patriotism that was floating through the nation, and might have won its way to the direction of affairs with the support of an overwhelming majority.

But, unhappily, the Conservative opposition in the Piedmontese Chambers had scarcely an organised existence. It would pain me deeply if I seemed to speak with less than justice of men for whom I entertain a feeling higher than respect; but the state of Piedmont for the last three years has been a proof, which no one can gainsay or overlook, of the error committed by Charles Albert's ministers when they refused to recognise and work the constitutional government of his successor. I can understand their reluctance to accept the change; I can sympathise with their disgust at the instruments and circumstances of its accomplishment. But it was not from them that the system which had passed away deserved so long a mourning;\* and their history since 1848 has only added one more to the already redundant list of proofs how rarely a secession from the political arena has any other effect than to weaken the principle which it withdraws from sight, and to throw back the day of reaction. That day would have sooner come to Piedmont if there had been a vigorous and united party struggling for it. For the Cavour policy was one essentially hostile to the genius of parliamentary institutions; and it must have crumbled away if those institutions had been invoked against it. It was simply a policy of territorial aggrandisement. To that one idea it was always ready to sacrifice social amelioration and commercial prosperity, as well as national independence and religious feeling. "To suckle armies and dry-nurse the land" was the necessary means to its success; and no policy that rests on such a foundation can ever permanently maintain itself in a country where the tax-paying classes determine the extent of their own taxation. Peace and retrenchment were cries to which men would have rallied, even before they were sick of their religious perversity, or apprehensive for their national independence. But there were no leaders to mould the discontent into a systematic opposition; and it wasted itself accordingly in mere indolent fretfulness.

This was the state of things at the conclusion of the Rus-

\* See *Memorandum Storico-Politico del Conte Clemente Solaro della Margarita*.

sian war. Then, indeed, their real position and responsibility appeared to break on the Conservatives; and at that eleventh hour, when they ought to have been entering on the fruits of their labour, they began the labour itself. It was a race against time; for the whole question was, whether Count Cavour could bring the French army across the Alps before the Conservative party could be sufficiently organised to drive him from power. The first success of the reaction was enough to show what might have been its issue if it had commenced before; but every year of delay had accumulated difficulties in the way of its advance. It depended on the tact of leaders who had forgotten the habits of public life, and on the steady adhesion of followers who had never been taught to combine: and it had to form itself in the face of enemies to whom long use had given the instinct of supremacy, and who found in the very baseness of their aim a guarantee for its eventual success.

For the hope of the Cavour administration was not in the principles it claimed to represent, or the domestic results it was enabled to accomplish; it rested simply on the adroitness with which it could contrive to pander to the necessities of a foreign power. Month by month, as the three years of peace wore on, these miserable necessities grew more degrading and more imperative. The Russian war, instead of permanently satisfying the French army, had done nothing more than increase its numbers, raise its hopes, inflame its passions, and augment its power. The appetite for war was strengthened by what it fed on; and the army, from being the support and favourite of the government, rose by sure steps to the position of its master. Nor was this all. To carry on the Russian war, France borrowed a hundred millions sterling, adding three millions sterling in perpetuity to the amount of her yearly liabilities. It was a burden greater than she could bear, and her finances have been staggering under it ever since. I do not profess to fathom all the depths of those mysterious balance-sheets by which it pleases M. Magne to test the periodical credulity of Europe; but when he takes the unexpended surplus of a loan contracted one year, and deliberately sets it down as an item in the revenue of the succeeding year, I think he over-estimates the capacity of his dupes, and the market-value of his own ἡθικὴ πίστις. One of our popular caricaturists has drawn the picture of a spendthrift, whose habit it was to reckon as a pure addition to his capital every shilling by which necessity or persuasion had succeeded in reducing the amount of his intended expenditure. The portrait has been condemned as

exaggerated and unreal; but it is more than justified by a finance-minister who gravely propounds the proverb, that "a penny saved is twice got," not by way of a moral reflection, but as the simple statement of an arithmetical fact. Budgets constructed on such a principle are amusing enough in themselves; but unhappily they pass into the region of sober earnest when we think of the embarrassments they so unwillingly reveal, and the recklessness they so conspicuously display. There is generally but a short step between falsifying your own accounts and coveting the property of other people; and it is a step from which, when it came in his way, M. Magne had not the weakness to recoil. I do full justice to his difficulties. He had to deal with an overgrown army, an extravagant court, an empty exchequer, and a mortgaged revenue. I wish also to do justice to his dexterity; and therefore I admit at once that it was not from enemies or foreigners that he first endeavoured to obtain the necessary supplies. Like other people in difficulties, he threw himself on the confidence of his friends. If there is any class of educated men whose calling and pursuits especially withdraw them from the influence of commercial interests, and render them more liable than other men to be imposed on by financial sophisms, it is, of course, the clergy; and to the clergy M. Magne appealed. Every body remembers the fallacies by which the French government endeavoured last summer to cajole the guardians of Church property. They were specious enough, but, happily for the intended victims, they were unsuccessful; and with their failure vanished the last hope of satisfying the immediate exigencies of the state by any scheme of mere domestic spoliation.

Thus has the present grown out of the past by a natural if not inevitable sequence. Beneath the pressure of an omnipotent army, demanding pay and eager for promotion, France has been driven to recommence her desolating career of aggression. By the state of Sardinian politics—the infinite baseness of one party, and the deplorable short-sightedness of the other—she has found her way prepared towards a contest which will flatter the traditional jealousy of her people, while it gratifies the dynastic malice of her ruler. The progress of her own financial embarrassment has defined the moment of the outbreak; and at last that crisis has arrived to which, for seven years, the enemies of Napoleonism have looked forward with a deep and changeless confidence. Their long-derided warnings are now justified before the world. Without a provocation, with scarcely a pretence, France has gathered up her strength to wrestle, life against life, with

the Conservative force of Europe. For this is no mere contest about the boundary of empires, or the faith of treaties, or the mutual antipathy of long-estranged and hostile races. It has a vaster significance, and tends to a more awful issue. Once more the first-born of democracy has gone forth on her impious apostolate; once more the plains of Lombardy are flushing with the crimson harvest of her guilt:

“Ecco la fiera con la coda aguzza,  
Che passa i monti, e rompe mura ed armi;  
Ecco colei che tutto 'l mondo appuzza.”\*

The dry bones of the first Empire are waking into renovated life; and the struggle is for principles that lie deep at the very foundations of human society. For Napoleonism is one and the same through all the phases of its history,—a despotism based on social equality, upheld by military power, aggressive as the first condition of its existence, and propagandist by the constitution of its nature. No healing ever follows on the track of its invading armies; no generous aspirations ever gather round its victorious banner. It makes war, not in obedience to the call of duty, but to slake the degrading thirst for fame. And when it conquers, it conquers only to reverse the triumphs of civilisation, to give back all that law and freedom have won from the dark empire of material force.

Σίγμα.

---

#### ON CONSULTING THE FAITHFUL IN MATTERS OF DOCTRINE.

A QUESTION has arisen among persons of theological knowledge and fair and candid minds, about the wording and the sense of a passage in the *Rambler* for May. It admits to my own mind of so clear and satisfactory an explanation, that I should think it unnecessary to intrude myself, an anonymous person, between the conductors and readers of this Magazine, except that, as in dogmatic works the replies made to objections often contain the richest matter, so here too, plain remarks on a plain subject may open to the minds of others profitable thoughts, which are more due to their own superior intelligence than to the very words of the writer.

The *Rambler*, then, has these words at p. 122: “In the preparation of a dogmatic definition, the faithful are consulted, as lately in the instance of the Immaculate Conception.” Now

\* Dante, *Inferno*, canto 17.

two questions bearing upon doctrine have been raised on this sentence, putting aside the question of fact as regards the particular instance cited, which must follow the decision on the doctrinal questions : viz. first, whether it can, with doctrinal correctness, be said that an *appeal* to the faithful is one of the preliminaries of a definition of doctrine ; and secondly, granting that the faithful are taken into account, still, whether they can correctly be said to be *consulted*. I shall remark on both these points, and I shall begin with the second.

§ 1.

Now doubtless, if a divine were expressing himself formally, and in Latin, he would not commonly speak of the laity being “consulted” among the preliminaries of a dogmatic definition, because the technical, or even scientific, meaning of the word “consult” is to “consult *with*,” or to “take *counsel*.” But the English word “consult,” in its popular and ordinary use, is not so precise and narrow in its meaning ; it is doubtless a word expressive of trust and deference, but not of submission. It includes the idea of inquiring into a matter of *fact*, as well as asking a judgment. Thus we talk of “consulting our barometer” about the weather :—the barometer only attests the *fact* of the state of the atmosphere. In like manner, we may consult a watch or a sun-dial about the time of day. A physician consults the pulse of his patient ; but not in the same sense in which his patient consults *him*. It is but an index of the state of his health. Ecclesiastes says, “*Qui observat ventum, non seminat* ;” we might translate it, “he who consults,” without meaning that we ask the wind’s opinion. This being considered, it was, I conceive, quite allowable for a writer, who was not teaching or treating theology, but, as it were, conversing, to say, as in the passage in question, “In the preparation of a dogmatic definition, the faithful are consulted.” Doubtless their advice, their opinion, their judgment on the question of definition is not asked ; but the matter of fact, viz. their belief, *is* sought for, as a testimony to that apostolical tradition, on which alone any doctrine whatsoever can be defined. In like manner, we may “consult” the liturgies or the rites of the Church ; not that they speak, not that they can take any part whatever in the definition, for they are documents or customs ; but they are witnesses to the antiquity or universality of the doctrines which they contain, and about which they are “consulted.” And, in like manner, I certainly understood the writer in the *Rambler* to mean (and I think any lay reader might so understand him) that the *fidelium sensus* and *consensus* is a branch of evidence

which it is natural or necessary for the Church to regard and consult, before she proceeds to any definition, from its intrinsic cogency; and by consequence, that it ever has been so regarded and consulted. And the writer's use of the word "opinion" in the foregoing sentence, and his omission of it in the sentence in question, seemed to show that, though the two cases put therein were analogous, they were not identical.

Having said as much as this, I go further, and maintain that the word "consulted," used as it was used, was in no respect unadvisable, except so far as it distressed any learned and good men, who identified it with the Latin. I might, indeed, even have defended the word as it was used, in the Latin sense of it. Regnier both uses it of the laity and explains it. "*Cùm receptam apud populos traditionem consulunt et sequuntur* Episcopi, non illos habent pro magistris et ducibus, &c." (*De Eccles. Christ.* p. i. § 1, c. i., ed. Migne, col. 234.) But in my bountifulness I will give up this use of the word as untheological; still I will maintain that the true theological sense is unknown to all *but* theologians. Accordingly, the use of it in the *Rambler* was in no sense dangerous to any lay reader, who, if he knows Latin, still is not called upon, in the structure of his religious ideas, to draw those careful lines and those fine distinctions, which in theology itself are the very means of anticipating and repelling heresy. The laity would not have a truer, or a clearer, or a different view of the doctrine itself, though the sentence had run, "in the preparation of a dogmatic decree, regard is had to the sense of the faithful;" or, "there is an appeal to the general voice of the faithful;" or, "*inquiry* is made into the belief of the Christian people;" or, "the definition is not made without a previous *reference* to what the faithful will think of it and say to it;" or though any other form of words had been used, stronger or weaker, expressive of the same general idea, viz. that *the sense of the faithful is not left out of the question* by the Holy See among the preliminary acts of defining a doctrine.

Now I shall go on presently to remark on the proposition itself which is conveyed in the words on which I have been commenting; here, however, I will first observe, that such misconceptions as I have been setting right will and must occur, from the nature of the case, whenever we speak on theological subjects in the vernacular; and if we do not use the vernacular, I do not see how the bulk of the Catholic people are to be catechised or taught at all. English has innovated on the Latin sense of its own Latin words; and if we are to speak according to the conditions of the language,

and are to make ourselves intelligible to the multitude, we shall necessarily run the risk of startling those who are resolved to act as mere critics and scholastics in the process of popular instruction.

This divergence from a classical or ecclesiastical standard is a great inconvenience, I grant; but we cannot remodel our mother-tongue. *Crimen* does not properly mean *crime*; *amiable* does not yet convey the idea of *amabilis*; *compassio* is not *compassion*; *princeps* is not a *prince*; *disputatio* is not a *dispute*; *prævenire* is not *to prevent*. *Cicero imperator* is not *the Emperor Cicero*; *scriptor egregius* is not an *egregious writer*; *virgo singularis* is not a *singular virgin*; *retractare dicta* is not *to retract what he has said*; and, as we know from the sacred passage, *traducere* is not necessarily *to traduce*.

Now this is not merely sharp writing, for mistakes do in matter of fact occur not unfrequently from this imperfect correspondence between theological Latin and English; showing that readers of English are bound ever to bear in mind that they are not reading Latin, and that learned divines must ever exercise charity in their interpretations of vernacular religious teaching.

For instance, I know of certain English sermons which were translated into French by some French priests. They, good and friendly men, were surprised to find in these compositions such language as “weak evidence and strong evidence,” and “insufficient, probable, demonstrative evidence;” they read that “some writers had depreciated the evidences of religion,” and that “the last century, when love was cold, was an age of evidences.” *Evidentia*, they said, meant that luminousness which attends on demonstration, conviction, certainty; how can it be more or less? how can it be unsatisfactory? how can a sane man disparage it? how can it be connected with religious coldness? The simple explanation of the difficulty was, that the writer was writing for his own people, and that in English “an evidence” is not *evidentia*.

Another instance. An excellent Italian religious, now gone to his reward, was reading a work of the same author; and he came upon a sentence to the effect, I think, that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was to be held with “implicit” faith. He was perplexed and concerned. He thought the writer held that the Church did not explicitly teach, had not explicitly defined, the dogma; that is, he confused the English meaning of the word, according to which it is a sort of correlative to *imperative*, meaning simple, unconditional, absolute, with its sense in theology.

It is not so exactly apposite to refer,—yet I will refer,—

to another instance, as supplying a general illustration of the point I am urging. It was in a third country that a lecturer spoke in terms of disparagement of "Natural Theology," on the ground of its deciding questions of revelation by reasonings from physical phenomena. It was objected to him, that *Naturalis Theologia* embraced *all* truths and arguments from natural reason bearing upon the Divine Being and Attributes. Certainly he would have been the last to depreciate what he had ever made the paramount preliminary science to Christian faith; but he spoke according to the sense of those to whom his words might come. He considered that in the Protestant school of Paley and other popular writers, the idea of Natural Theology had practically merged in a scientific view of the argument from Design.

Once more. Supposing a person were to ask me whether a friend, who has told me the fact in confidence, had written a certain book, and I were to answer, "Well, if he did, he certainly would tell *me*," and the inquirer went away satisfied that he did *not* write it,—I do not see that I have done any thing to incur the reproach of the English word "equivocation;" I have but adopted a mode of turning-off a difficult question, to which any one may be obliged any day to have recourse. I am not speaking of spontaneous and gratuitous assertions, statements on solemn occasions, or answers to formal authorities. I am speaking of impertinent or unjustifiable questions; and I should like to know the man who thinks himself bound to say every thing to every one. Physicians evade the questions of sick persons about themselves; friends break bad news gradually, and with temporary concealments, to those whom it may shock. Parents shuffle with their children. Statesmen, ministers in Parliament, baffle adversaries in every possible way short of a direct infringement of veracity. When St. Athanasius saw that he was pursued on the Nile by the imperial officers, he turned round his boat and met them; when they came up to his party and hailed them, and asked whether they had seen any thing of Athanasius, Athanasius cried out, "O yes, he is not far from you;" and off the vessels went in different directions as swiftly as they could go, each boat on its own errand, the pursuer and the pursued. I do not see that there is in any of these instances what is expressed by the English word "equivocation;" but it *is* the *æquivocatio* of a Latin treatise; and when Protestants hear that *æquivocamus sine scrupulo*, they are shocked at the notion of our "unscrupulous equivocation."

Now, in saying all this, I must not be supposed to be for-

getful of the sacred and imperative duty of preserving with religious exactness all those theological terms which are ecclesiastically recognised as portions of dogmatic statements, such as *Trinity, Person, Consubstantial, Nature, Transubstantiation, Sacrament, &c.* It would be unpardonable for a Catholic to teach "justification by faith only," and say that he meant by "faith" *fides formata*, or "justification without works," and say that he meant by "works" the works of the Jewish ritual; but granting all this fully, still if our whole religious phraseology is, as a matter of duty, to be modelled in strict conformity to theological Latin, neither the poor nor children will understand us. I have always fancied that to preachers great license was allowed, not only in the wording, but even in the matter of their discourses; they exaggerate and are rhetorical, and they are understood *piè* as speaking *more prædicatorio*. I have always fancied that, when Catholics were accused of hyperbolical language towards the Blessed Virgin, it was replied that devotion was not the measure of doctrine; nor surely is the vernacular of a magazine writer. I do not see that I am wrong in considering that a periodical, not treating theology *ex professo*, but accidentally alluding to an ecclesiastical act, commits no real offence if it uses an unscientific word, since it speaks, not *more digladiatorio*, but *colloquialiter*.

I shall conclude this head of my subject with allusion to a passage in the history of St. Dionysius the Great, Bishop of Alexandria, though it is beyond my purpose; but I like to quote a saint whom, *multis nominibus* (not "with many names," or "by many nouns"), I have always loved most of all the Ante-Nicene Fathers. It relates to an attack which was made on his orthodoxy; a very serious matter. Now I know every one will be particular on his own special science or pursuits. I am the last man to find fault with such particularity. Drill-sergeants think much of deportment; hard logicians come down with a sledge-hammer even on a Plato who does not happen to enumerate in his beautiful sentences all the argumentative considerations which go to make up his conclusion; scholars are horrified, as if with sensible pain, at the perpetration of a false quantity. I am far from ridiculing, despising, or even undervaluing such precision; it is for the good of every art and science that it should have vigilant guardians. Nor am I comparing such precision (far from it) with that true religious zeal which leads theologians to keep the sacred Ark of the Covenant in every letter of its dogma, as a tremendous deposit for which they are responsible. In this curious sceptical world, such sensitive-

ness is the only human means by which the treasure of faith can be kept inviolate. There is a woe in Scripture against the unfaithful shepherd. We do not blame the watch-dog because he sometimes flies at the wrong person. I conceive the force, the peremptoriness, the sternness, with which the Holy See comes down upon the vagrant or the robber, trespassing upon the enclosure of revealed truth, is the only sufficient antagonist to the power and subtlety of the world, to imperial comprehensiveness, monarchical selfishness, nationalism, the liberalism of philosophy, the encroachments and usurpations of science. I grant, I maintain all this; and after this avowal, lest I be misunderstood, I venture to introduce my notice of St. Dionysius. He was accused on a far worse charge, and before a far more formidable tribunal, than commonly befalls a Catholic writer; for he was brought up before the Holy See on a denial of our Lord's divinity. He had been controverting with the Sabellians; and he was in consequence accused of the doctrine to which Arius afterwards gave his name, that is, of considering our Lord a creature. He says, writing in his defence, that when he urged his opponents with the argument that "a vine and a vine-dresser were not the same," neither, therefore, were the "Father and the Son," these were not the only illustrations that he made use of, nor those on which he dwelt, for he also spoke of "a root and a plant," "a fount and a stream," which are not only *distinct* from each other, but of one and the same *nature*. Then he adds, "But my accusers have no eyes to see this portion of my treatise; but they take up two little words detached from the context, and proceed to discharge them at me as pebbles from a sling."\* If even a saint's words are not always precise enough to allow of being made a dogmatic text, much less are those of any modern periodical.

The conclusion I would draw from all I have been saying is this: Without deciding whether or not it is advisable to introduce points of theology into popular works, and especially whether it is advisable for laymen to do so, still, if this actually *is* done, we are not to expect in them that perfect accuracy of expression which is demanded in a Latin treatise or a lecture *ex cathedra*; and if there be a want of this exactness, we must not at once think it proceeds from self-will and undutifulness in the writers.

## § 2.

Now I come to the *matter* of what the writer in the *Rambler* really said, putting aside the question of the *word*-

\* Athan. de Sent. Dion. 8.

ing; and I begin by expressing my belief that, whatever he may be willing to admit on the score of theological Latinity in the use of the word "consult" when applied to the faithful, yet one thing he cannot deny, viz. that in using it, he implied, from the very force of the term, that they are treated by the Holy See, on occasions such as that specified, with attention and consideration.

Then follows the question, Why? and the answer is plain, viz. because the body of the faithful is one of the witnesses to the fact of the tradition of revealed doctrine, and because their *consensus* through Christendom is the voice of the Infallible Church.

I think I am right in saying that the tradition of the Apostles, committed to the whole Church in its various constituents and functions *per modum unius*, manifests itself variously at various times: sometimes by the mouth of the episcopacy, sometimes by the doctors, sometimes by the people, sometimes by liturgies, rites, ceremonies, and customs, by events, disputes, movements, and all those other phenomena which are comprised under the name of history. It follows that none of these channels of tradition may be treated with disrespect; granting at the same time fully, that the gift of discerning, discriminating, defining, promulgating, and enforcing any portion of that tradition resides solely in the *Ecclesia docens*.

One man will lay more stress on one aspect of doctrine, another on another; for myself, I am accustomed to lay great stress on the *consensus fidelium*, and I will say how it has come about.

1. It had long been to me a difficulty, that I could not find certain portions of the defined doctrine of the Church in ecclesiastical writers. I was at Rome in the year 1847; and then I had the great advantage and honour of seeing Fathers Perrone and Passaglia, and having various conversations with them on this point. The point of difficulty was this, that up to the date of the definition of certain articles of doctrine respectively, there was so very deficient evidence from existing documents that Bishops, doctors, theologians, held them. I do not mean to say that I expressed my difficulty in this formal shape; but that what passed between us in such interviews as they were kind enough to give me, ran into or impinged upon this question. Nor would I ever dream of making them answerable for the impression which their answers made on me; but, speaking simply on my own responsibility, I should say that, while Father Passaglia seemed to maintain that the Ante-Nicene writers were clear

in their testimonies in behalf (*e. g.*) of the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and Justification, expressly praising and making much of the Anglican Bishop Bull; Father Perrone, on the other hand, not speaking, indeed, directly upon those particular doctrines, but rather on such as I will presently introduce in his own words, seemed to me to say "*transeat*" to the alleged fact which constituted the difficulty, and to lay a great stress on what he considered to be the *sensus* and *consensus fidelium*, as a compensation for whatever deficiency there might be of patristical testimony in behalf of various points of the Catholic dogma.

2. I should have been led to fancy, perhaps, that he was shaping his remarks in the direction in which he considered he might be especially serviceable to myself, who had been accustomed to account for the (supposed) phenomena in another way, had it not been for his work on the Immaculate Conception, which I read the next year with great interest, and which was passing through the press when I saw him. I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing my gratitude and attachment to a venerable man, who never grudged me his valuable time.

But now for his treatise, to which I have referred, so far as it speaks of the *sensus fidelium*, and of its bearing upon the doctrine, of which his work treats, and upon its definition.

(1.) He states the historical *fact* of such *sensus*. Speaking of the "*Ecclesiæ sensus*" on the subject, he says that, though the liturgies of the Feast of the Conception "*satis apertè patefaciant quid Ecclesia antiquitus de hoc senserit argumento*," yet it may be worth while to add some direct remarks on the sense itself of the Church. Then he says, "*Ex duplici fonte eum colligi posse arbitramur, tum scilicet ex pastorum, tum ex fidelium sese gerendi ratione*" (pp. 74, 75). Let it be observed, he not only joins together the *pastores* and *fideles*, but contrasts them; I mean (for it will bear on what is to follow), the "*faithful*" do not *include* the "*pastors*."

(2.) Next he goes on to describe the relation of that *sensus fidelium* to the *sensus Ecclesiæ*. He says, that to inquire into the sense of the Church on any question, is nothing else but to investigate towards which side of it she has more inclined. And the "*indicia et manifestationes hujus propensionis*" are her public acts, liturgies, feasts, prayers, "*pastorum ac fidelium in unum veluti conspiratio*" (p. 101). Again, at p. 109, joining together in one this twofold consent of pastors and people, he speaks of the "*unanimes pastorum ac fidelium consensio . . . per liturgias, per festa, per euchologia, per fidei controversias, per conciones patefacta*."

(3.) These various "indicia" are also the *instrumenta traditionis*, and vary one with another in the evidence which they give in favour of particular doctrines; so that the strength of one makes up in a particular case for the deficiency of another, and the strength of the "*sensus communis fidelium*" can make up (*e.g.*) for the silence of the Fathers. "*Istiusmodi instrumenta interdum simul conjunctè conspirare possunt ad traditionem aliquam apostolicam atque divinam patefaciendam, interdum vero seorsum. . . Perperam nonnulli solent ad inficiandam traditionis alicujus existentiam urgere silentium Patrum . . . quid enim si silentium istud alio pacto . . . compensetur?*" (p. 139). He instances this from St. Irenæus and Tertullian in the "*Successio Episcoporum*," who transmit the doctrines "*tum activi operâ ministerii, tum usu et praxi, tum institutis ritibus . . . adeò ut catholica atque apostolica doctrina inoculata . . . fuerit . . . communi Ecclesiæ cœtui*" (p. 142).

(4.) He then goes on to speak directly of the force of the "*sensus fidelium*," as distinct (not separate) from the teaching of their pastors. "*Præstantissimi theologi maximam probandi vim huic communi sensui inesse uno ore fatentur. Etenim Canus, 'In quæstione fidei,' inquit, 'communis fidelis populi sensus haud levem facit fidem'*" (p. 143). He gives another passage from him in a note, which he introduces with the words, "*Illud præclarè addit;*" what Canus adds is, "*Quæro ex te, quando de rebus Christianæ fidei inter nos contendimus, non de philosophiæ decretis, utrùm potius quærendum est, quid philosophi atque ethnici, an quid homines Christiani, et doctrinâ et fide instituti, sentiant?*" Now certainly "*quærere quid sentiant homines doctrinâ et fide instituti,*" though not asking advice, is an act implying not a little deference on the part of the persons addressing towards the parties addressed.

Father Perrone continues, "*Gregorius verò de Valentia fusius vim ejusmodi fidelium consensus evolvit. 'Est enim,' inquit, 'in definitionibus fidei habenda ratio, quoad fieri potest, consensus fidelium.'*" Here, again, "*habere rationem,*" to have regard to, is an act of respect and consideration. However, Gregory continues, "*Quoniam et ii sanè, quatenus ex ipsis constat Ecclesia, sic Spiritu Sancto assistente, divinas revelationes integrè et purè conservant, ut omnes illi quidem aberrare non possunt. . . . Illud solùm contendo: Si quando de re aliquâ in materie religionis controversia [controversâ?] constaret fidelium omnium concordem esse sententiam (solet autem id constare, vel ex ipsâ praxi alicujus cultus communiter apud christianos populos receptâ, vel ex scandalo et*

*offensione communi, quæ opinione aliquâ oritur, &c.) meritò posse et debere Pontificem illâ niti, ut quæ esset Ecclesiæ sententia infallibilis*" (p. 144). Thus Gregory says that, in controversy about a matter of faith, the consent of all the faithful has such a force in the proof of this side or that, that the Supreme Pontiff *is able and ought to rest* upon it, as being the *judgment or sentiment* of the *infallible Church*. These are surely exceedingly strong words; not that I take them to mean strictly that infallibility is *in* the "consensus fidelium," but that that "consensus" is an *indicium* or *instrumentum* to us of the judgment of that Church which *is* infallible.

Father Perrone proceeds to quote from Petavius, who supplies us with the following striking admonition from St. Paulinus, viz. "ut de omnium fidelium ore pendeamus, quia in omnem fidelem Spiritus Dei spirat."

Petavius speaks thus, as he quotes him (p. 156): "*Movet me, ut in eam [viz. piam] sententiam sim propensior, communis maximus sensus fidelium omnium.*" By "movet me" he means, that he *attends* to what the *cætus fidelium* says: this is certainly not passing over the *fideles*, but making much of them.

In a later part of his work (p. 186), Father Perrone speaks of the "consensus fidelium" under the strong image of a *seal*. After mentioning various arguments in favour of the Immaculate Conception, such as the testimony of so many universities, religious bodies, theologians, &c., he continues, "Hæc demum omnia firmissimo veluti sigillo obsignat totius christiani populi consensus."

(5.) He proceeds to give several instances, in which the definition of doctrine was made in consequence of nothing else but the "sensus fidelium" and the "juge et vivum magisterium" of the Church.

For his meaning of the "juge et vivum magisterium Ecclesiæ," he refers us to his *Prælectiones* (part ii. § 2, c. ii.). In that passage I do not see that he defines the sense of the word; but I understand him to mean that high authoritative voice or act which is the Infallible Church's prerogative, inasmuch as she is the teacher of the nations; and which is a sufficient warrant to all men for a doctrine being true and being *de fide*, by the mere fact of its formally occurring. It is distinct from, and independent of, tradition, though never in fact separated from it. He says, "Fit ut traditio dogmatica identificetur cum ipsâ Ecclesiæ doctrinâ, a quâ separari nequit; qua propter, *etsi documenta deficerent omnia*, solum hoc vivum et juge magisterium *satis esset ad cognoscendam doctrinam divinitus traditam*, habito præsertim respectu ad solennes Christi promissiones" (p. 303).

This being understood, he speaks of several points of faith which have been determined and defined by the "magisterium" of the Church and, as to tradition, on the "consensus fidelium," prominently, if not solely.

The most remarkable of these is the "dogma de visione Dei beatificâ" possessed by souls after purgatory and before the day of judgment; a point which Protestants, availing themselves of the comment of the Benedictines of St. Maur upon St. Ambrose, are accustomed to urge in controversy. "Nemo est qui nesciat," says Father Perrone, "quot utriusque Ecclesiæ, tum Græcæ tum Latinæ, Patres contrarium sensisse visi sunt" (p. 147). He quotes in a note the words of the Benedictine editor, as follows: "Propemodum incredibile videri potest, quàm in eâ quæstione sancti Patres ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus ad Gregorii XI. [Benedicti XII.] pontificatum florentinumque concilium, hoc est toto quatuordecim seculorum spatio, incerti ac parùm constantes exstiterint." Father Perrone continues: "Certè quidem in Ecclesiâ non deerat quoad hunc fidei articulum divina traditio; alioquin nunquam is definiri potuisset: verùm non omnibus illa erat comperta; divina eloquia haud satis in re sunt conspicua; *Patres*, ut vidimus, in varias abierunt sententias; *liturgiæ ipsæ* non modicam præ se ferunt difficultatem. *His omnibus succurrit* jure Ecclesiæ magisterium, *communis præterea fidelium sensus*; qui altè adeò defixum . . habebant mentibus, purgatas animas statim ad Deum videndum eoque fruendum admitti, ut non minimum eorum animi vel ex ipsâ controversiâ fuerint *offensi*, quæ sub Joanne XXII. agitabatur, et cujus definitio *diu nimis protrahabatur*." Now does not this imply that the tradition, on which the definition was made, was manifested in the *consensus fidelium* with a luminousness which the succession of Bishops, though many of them were "Sancti Patres ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus," did not furnish? that the definition was delayed till the *fideles* would bear the delay no longer? that it was made because of them and for their sake, because of their strong feelings? If so, surely, in plain English, most considerable deference was paid to the "sensus fidelium;" their opinion and advice indeed was not asked, but their testimony was taken, their feelings consulted, their impatience, I had almost said, feared.

In like manner, as regards the doctrine, though not the definition, of the Immaculate Conception, he says, not denying, of course, the availableness of the other "instrumenta traditionis" in this particular case, "Ratissimum est, Christi fideles omnes circa hunc articulum unius esse animi, idque ita, ut maximo afficerentur *scandalo*, si vel minima

de Immaculatâ Virginis Conceptione quæstio moveretur" (p. 156).

3. A year had hardly passed from the appearance of Fr. Perrone's book in England, when the Pope published his Encyclical Letter. In it he asked the Bishops of the Catholic world, "ut nobis significare velitis, quâ devotione vester clerus *populusque fidelis* erga Immaculatæ Virginis conceptionem sit animatus, et quo desiderio flagret, ut ejusmodi res ab apostolicâ sede decernatur;" that is, when it came to the point to take measures for the definition of the doctrine, he did lay a special stress on this particular preliminary, viz. the ascertainment of the feeling of the faithful both towards the doctrine and its definition; as the *Rambler* stated in the passage out of which this argument has arisen. It seems to me important to keep this in view, whatever becomes of the word "consulted," which, I have already said, is not to be taken in its ordinary Latin sense.

4. At length, in 1854, the definition took place, and the Pope's Bull containing it made its appearance. In it the Holy Father speaks as he had spoken in his Encyclical, viz. that although he *already* knew the sentiments of the Bishops, still he had wished to know the sentiments of the *people* also: "*Quamvis* nobis ex receptis postulationibus de definiendâ tandem aliquando Immaculatâ Virginis Conceptione *perspectus* esset plurimorum sociorum *Antistitum* sensus, tamen Encyclicas literas, &c. ad omnes Ven. FF. totius Catholici orbis sacrorum Antistites misimus, ut, adhibitis ad Deum precibus, nobis scripto *etiam* significarent, quæ esset suorum *fidelium* erga Immaculatam Deiparæ Conceptionem pietas et devotio," &c. And when, before the formal definition, he enumerates the various witnesses to the apostolicity of the doctrine, he sets down "divina eloquia, veneranda traditio, perpetuus Ecclesiæ sensus, singularis catholicorum Antistitum ac *fidelium* conspiratio." *Conspiratio*; the two, the Church teaching and the Church taught, are put together, as one twofold testimony, illustrating each other, and never to be divided.

5. A year or two passed, and the Bishop of Birmingham published his treatise on the doctrine. I close this portion of my paper with an extract from his careful view of the argument. "Nor should the universal conviction of pious Catholics be passed over, as of small account in the general argument; for that pious belief, and the devotion which springs from it, are the *faithful reflection* of the pastoral teaching" (p. 172). Reflection; that is, the people are a *mirror*, in which the Bishops see themselves. Well, I suppose a person may *consult* his glass, and in that way may know things

about himself which he can learn in no other way. This is what Fr. Perrone above seems to say has sometimes actually been the case, as in the instance of the "beatificatio" of the saints; at least he does not mention the "*pastorum ac fidelium conspiratio*" in reviewing the grounds of its definition, but simply the "*juge Ecclesiæ magisterium*" and the "*communis fidelium sensus*."

His lordship proceeds: "The more devout the faithful grew, the more devoted they showed themselves towards this mystery. And it is the devout who have the surest instinct in discerning the mysteries of which the Holy Spirit breathes the grace through the Church, and who, with as sure a tact, reject what is alien from her teaching. The common accord of the faithful has weighed much as an argument even with the most learned divines. St. Augustine says, that amongst many things which most justly held him in the bosom of the Catholic Church, was the 'accord of populations and of nations.' In another work he says, 'It seems that I have believed nothing but the confirmed opinion and the exceedingly wide-spread report of populations and of nations.' Elsewhere he says: 'In matters whereupon the Scripture has not spoken clearly, the custom of the people of God, or the institutions of our predecessors, are to be held as law.' In the same spirit St. Jerome argues, whilst defending the use of relics against Vigilantius: 'So the people of all the Churches who have gone out to meet holy relics, and have received them with so much joy, are to be accounted foolish'" (pp. 172, 173).

And here I might come to an end; but, having got so far, I am induced, before concluding, to suggest an historical instance of the same great principle, which Father Perrone does not draw out.

### § 3.

First, I will set down the various ways in which theologians put before us the bearing of the Consent of the faithful upon the manifestation of the tradition of the Church. Its *consensus* is to be regarded: 1. as a testimony to the fact of the apostolical dogma; 2. as a sort of instinct, or *φρόνημα*, deep in the bosom of the mystical body of Christ; 3. as a direction of the Holy Ghost; 4. as an answer to its prayer; 5. as a jealousy of error, which it at once feels as a scandal.

1. The first of these I need not enlarge upon, as it is illustrated in the foregoing passages from Father Perrone.

2. The second is explained in the well-known passages of Möhler's *Symbolique*; e.g. "*L'esprit de Dieu, qui gouverne*

et vivifie l'Eglise, enfante dans l'homme, en s'unissant à lui, *un instinct*, un tact éminemment chrétien, qui le conduit à toute vraie doctrine. . . . Ce sentiment commun, cette conscience de l'Eglise est la tradition dans le sens subjectif du mot. Qu'est-ce donc que la tradition considérée sous ce point de vue ? C'est le sens chrétien existant dans l'Eglise, et transmis par l'Eglise ; sens, toutefois, qu'on ne peut séparer des vérités qu'il contient, puisqu'il est formé de ces vérités et par ces vérités." Ap. Perrone, p. 142.

3. Cardinal Fisher seems to speak of the third, as he is quoted by Petavius, *De Incarn.* xiv. 2 ; that is, he speaks of a custom imperceptibly gaining a position, "*nullâ præceptorum vi, sed consensu quodam tacito tam populi quàm cleri, quasi tacitis omnium suffragiis recepta fuit, priusquàm ullo conciliorum decreto legimus eam fuisse firmatam.*" And then he adds, "This custom has its birth *in that people which is ruled by the Holy Ghost,*" &c.

4. Petavius speaks of a fourth aspect of it. "It is well said by St. Augustine, that to the minds of individuals certain things are revealed by God, not only by extraordinary means, as in visions, &c., but also in those usual ways, according to which what is unknown to them is opened *in answer to their prayer.* After this manner it is to be believed that God has revealed to Christians the sinless Conception of the Immaculate Virgin." *De Incarn.* xiv. 2, 11.

5. The fifth is enlarged upon in Dr. Newman's second *Lecture on Anglican Difficulties*, from which I quote a few lines: "We know that it is the property of life to be impatient of any foreign substance in the body to which it belongs. It will be sovereign in its own domain, and it conflicts with what it cannot assimilate into itself, and *is irritated and disordered* till it has expelled it. Such expulsion, then, is emphatically a test of uncongeniality, for it shows that the substance ejected, not only is not one with the body that rejects it, but cannot be made one with it ; that its introduction is not only useless, or superfluous, or adventitious, but that it is intolerable." Presently he continues: "The religious life of a people is of a certain quality and direction, and these are tested by the mode in which it encounters the various opinions, customs, and institutions which are submitted to it. Drive a stake into a river's bed, and you will at once ascertain which way it is running, and at what speed ; throw up even a straw upon the air, and you will see which way the wind blows ; submit your heretical and Catholic principle to the action of the multitude, and you will be able to pronounce at once whether it is imbued with Catholic truth or with heretical

falsehood." And then he proceeds to exemplify this by a passage in the history of Arianism, the very history which I intend now to take, as illustrative of the truth and importance of the thesis on which I am insisting.

It is not a little remarkable, that, though, historically speaking, the fourth century is the age of doctors, illustrated, as it was, by the saints Athanasius, Hilary, the two Gregories, Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, and all of these saints bishops also, except one, nevertheless in that very day the divine tradition committed to the infallible Church was proclaimed and maintained far more by the faithful than by the Episcopate.

Here, of course, I must explain:—in saying this, then, undoubtedly I am not denying that the great body of the Bishops were in their internal belief orthodox; nor that there were numbers of clergy who stood by the laity, and acted as their centres and guides; nor that the laity actually received their faith, in the first instance, from the Bishops and clergy; nor that some portions of the laity were ignorant, and other portions at length corrupted by the Arian teachers, who got possession of the sees and ordained an heretical clergy;—but I mean still, that in that time of immense confusion the divine dogma of our Lord's divinity was proclaimed, enforced, maintained, and (humanly speaking) preserved, far more by the "*Ecclesia docta*" than by the "*Ecclesia docens*;" that the body of the episcopate was unfaithful to its commission, while the body of the laity was faithful to its baptism; that at one time the Pope, at other times the patriarchal, metropolitan, and other great sees, at other times general councils, said what they should not have said, or did what obscured and compromised revealed truth; while, on the other hand, it was the Christian people who, under Providence, were the ecclesiastical strength of Athanasius, Hilary, Eusebius of Vercellæ, and other great solitary confessors, who would have failed without them.

I see, then, in the Arian history a palmary example of a state of the Church, during which, in order to know the tradition of the Apostles, we must have recourse to the faithful; for I fairly own, that if I go to writers, since I must adjust the letter of Justin, Clement, and Hippolytus with the Nicene Doctors, I get confused; and what revives and re-instates me, as far as history goes, is the faith of the people. For I argue that, unless they had been catechised, as St. Hilary says, in the orthodox faith from the time of their baptism, they never could have had that horror, which they show, of the heterodox Arian doctrine. Their voice, then, is the voice of tradition;

and the instance comes to us with still greater emphasis, when we consider—1. that it occurs in the very beginning of the history of the “*Ecclesia docens*,” for there can scarcely be said to be any history of her teaching till the age of martyrs was over; 2. that the doctrine in controversy was so momentous, being the very foundation of the Christian system; 3. that the state of controversy and disorder lasted over the long space of sixty years; and 4. that it involved serious persecutions, in life, limb, and property, to the faithful whose loyal perseverance decided it.

It seems, then, as striking an instance as I could take in fulfilment of Father Perrone’s statement, that the voice of tradition may in certain cases express itself, not by Councils, nor Fathers, nor Bishops, but the “*communis fidelium sensus*.”

I shall set down some authorities for the two points successively, which I have to enforce, viz. that the Nicene dogma was maintained during the greater part of the 4th century,

1. not by the unswerving firmness of the Holy See, Councils, or Bishops, but

2. by the “*consensus fidelium*.”

I. On the one hand, then, I say, that there was a temporary suspense of the functions of the “*Ecclesia docens*.” The body of Bishops failed in their confession of the faith. They spoke variously, one against another; there was nothing, after Nicæa, of firm, unvarying, consistent testimony, for nearly sixty years. There were untrustworthy Councils, unfaithful Bishops; there was weakness, fear of consequences, misguidance, delusion, hallucination, endless, hopeless, extending itself into nearly every corner of the Catholic Church. The comparatively few who remained faithful were discredited and driven into exile; the rest were either deceivers or were deceived.

1. A.D. 325. The great council of Nicæa, of 318 Bishops, chiefly from the eastern provinces of Christendom, under the presidency of Hosius of Cordova, as the Pope’s Legate. It was convoked against Arianism, which it once for all anathematized; and it inserted the formula of the “*Consubstantial*” into the Creed, with the view of establishing the fundamental dogma which Arianism impugned. It is the first Œcumenical Council, and recognised at the time its own authority as the voice of the infallible Church. It is so received by the *orbis terrarum* at this day. The history of the Arian controversy, from its date, A.D. 325, to the date of the second Œcumenical Council, A.D. 381, is the history of the struggle through Christendom for the universal acceptance or the repudiation of the formula of the “*Consubstantial*.”

2. A.D. 334, 335. The synods of Cæsarea and Tyre against Athanasius, who was therein accused and formally condemned of rebellion, sedition, and ecclesiastical tyranny; of murder, sacrilege, and magic; deposed from his see, forbidden to set foot in Alexandria for life, and banished to Gaul. Constantine confirmed the sentence.

3. A.D. 341. Council of Rome of fifty Bishops, attended by the exiles from Thrace, Syria, &c., by Athanasius, &c., in which Athanasius was pronounced innocent.

4. A.D. 341. Great Council of the Dedication at Antioch, attended by ninety or a hundred Bishops. The council ratified the proceedings of the councils of Cæsarea and Tyre, and placed an Arian in the see of Athanasius. Then it proceeded to pass a dogmatic decree in reversal of the formula of the "Consubstantial." Four or five creeds, instead of the Nicene, were successively adopted by the assembled fathers. The first was a creed which they ascribed to Lucian, a martyr and saint of the preceding century, in whom the Arians always gloried as their master. The second was fuller and stronger in its language, and made more pretension to orthodoxy. The third was more feeble again. These three creeds were circulated in the neighbourhood; but, as they wished to send one to Rome, they directed a fourth to be drawn up. This, too, apparently failed. So little was known at the time of the real history of this synod and its creeds, that St. Hilary calls it "sanctorum synodus."

5. A.D. 345. Council of the creed called *Macrostich*. This creed suppresses, as did the third, the word "substance." The eastern Bishops sent this to the Bishops of the West, who rejected it.

6. A.D. 347. The great council of Sardica, attended by 380 Bishops. Before it commenced, the division between its members broke out on the question whether or not Athanasius should have a seat in it. In consequence, seventy-six retired to Philippopolis, on the Thracian side of Mount Hæmus, and there excommunicated the Pope and the Sardican fathers. These seceders published a sixth confession of faith. The synod of Sardica, including Bishops from Italy, Gaul, Africa, Egypt, Cyprus, and Palestine, confirmed the act of the Roman council, and restored Athanasius and the other exiles to their sees. The synod of Philippopolis, on the contrary, sent letters to the civil magistrates of those cities, forbidding them to admit the exiles into them. The imperial power took part with the Sardican fathers, and Athanasius went back to Alexandria.

7. A.D. 351. Before many years had run out, the great eastern party was up again. Under pretence of putting down a kind of Sabellianism, they drew up a new creed, into which they introduced certain inadvisable expressions of some of the ante-Nicene writers, on the subject of our Lord's divinity, and dropped the word "substance." St. Hilary thought this creed also Catholic; and other Catholic writers style its fathers "holy Bishops."

8. There is considerable confusion of dates here. Anyhow, there

was a second Sirmian creed, in which the eastern party first came to a division among themselves. St. Hilary at length gives up these creeds as indefensible, and calls this one a "blasphemy." It is the first creed which criticises the words "substance," &c., as unscriptural. Some years afterwards this "blasphemia" seems to have been interpolated, and sent into the East in the name of Hosius. At a later date, there was a third Sirmian creed; and a second edition of it, with alterations, was published at Nice in Thrace.

9. A.D. 353. The council of Arles. I cannot find how many Bishops attended it. As the Pope sent several Bishops as legates, it must have been one of great importance. The Bishop of Arles was an Arian, and managed to seduce, or to force, a number of orthodox Bishops, including the Pope's legate, Vincent, to subscribe the condemnation of Athanasius. Paulinus, Bishop of Trèves, was nearly the only champion of the Nicene faith and of Athanasius. He was accordingly banished into Phrygia, where he died.

10. A.D. 355. The council of Milan, of more than 300 Bishops of the West. Nearly all of them subscribed the condemnation of Athanasius; whether they generally subscribed the heretical creed, which was brought forward, does not appear. The Pope's four legates remained firm, and St. Dionysius of Milan, who died an exile in Asia Minor. An Arian was put into his see. Saturninus, the Bishop of Arles, proceeded to hold a council at Beziers; and its fathers banished St. Hilary to Phrygia.

11. A.D. 357. Hosius falls. "Constantius used such violence towards the old man, and confined him so straitly, that at last, broken by suffering, he was brought, though hardly, to hold communion with Valens and Ursacius [the Arian leaders], though he would not subscribe against Athanasius." *Athan. Arian. Hist.* 45.

12. Liberius. A.D. 357. "The tragedy was not ended in the lapse of Hosius, but in the evil which befell Liberius, the Roman Pontiff, it became far more dreadful and mournful, considering that he was Bishop of so great a city, and of the whole Catholic Church, and that he had so bravely resisted Constantine two years previously. There is nothing, whether in the historians and holy fathers, or in his own letters, to prevent our coming to the conclusion, that Liberius communicated with the Arians, and confirmed the sentence passed against Athanasius; but he is not at all on that account to be called a heretic." *Baron. Ann.* 357, 40-45. Athanasius says: "Liberius, after he had been in banishment two years, gave way, and from fear of threatened death was induced to subscribe." *Arian. Hist.* § 41. St. Jerome says: "Liberius, tædio victus exilii, in hæreticam pravitatem subscribens, Romam quasi victor intravit." *Chron.*

13. A.D. 359. The great councils of Seleucia and Ariminum, being one bi-partite council, representing the East and West respectively. At Seleucia there were 150 Bishops, of which only the twelve or thirteen from Egypt were champions of the Nicene "Consubstantial." At Ariminum there were as many as 400 Bishops, who, worn

out by the artifice of long delay on the part of the Arians, abandoned the "Consubstantial," and subscribed the ambiguous formula which the heretics had substituted for it.

14. A.D. 361. The death of Constantius ; the Catholic Bishops breathe again, and begin at once to remedy the miseries of the Church, though troubles were soon to break out anew.

15. A.D. 362. State of the Church of Antioch at this time. There were four Bishops or communions of Antioch ; first, the old succession and communion, which had possession before the Arian troubles ; secondly, the Arian succession, which had lately conformed to orthodoxy in the person of Meletius ; thirdly, the new Latin succession, lately created by Lucifer, whom some have thought the Pope's legate there ; and, fourthly, the new Arian succession, which was begun upon the recantation of Meletius. At length, as Arianism was brought under, the evil reduced itself to two successions, that of Meletius and the Latin, which went on for many years, the West and Egypt holding communion with the latter, and the East with the former.

16. A.D. 370-379. St. Basil was Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia through these years. The judgments formed about this great doctor in his lifetime show us vividly the extreme confusion which prevailed. He was accused by one party of being a follower of Apollinaris, and lost in consequence some of the sees over which he was metropolitan. He was accused by the monks in his friend Gregory's diocese of favouring the semi-Arians. He was accused by the Neocæsareans of inclining towards Arianism. And he was treated with suspicion and coldness by Pope Damasus.

17. About A.D. 360, St. Hilary says : "I am not speaking of things foreign to my knowledge ; I am not writing about what I am ignorant of ; I have heard and I have seen the shortcomings of persons who are present to me, not of laymen merely, but of Bishops. For, excepting the Bishop Eleusius and a few with him, for the most part the ten Asian provinces, within whose boundaries I am situate, are truly ignorant of God." It is observable, that even Eleusius, who is here spoken of as somewhat better than the rest, was a semi-Arian, according to Socrates, and even a persecutor of Catholics at Constantinople ; and, according to Sozomen, one of those who urged Pope Liberius to give up the Nicene formula of the "Consubstantial." By the ten Asian provinces is meant the east and south provinces of Asia Minor, pretty nearly as cut off by a line passing from Cyzicus to Seleucia through Synnada.

18. A.D. 360. St. Gregory Nazianzen says, about this date : "Surely the pastors have done foolishly ; for, excepting a very few, who, either on account of their insignificance were passed over, or who by reason of their virtue resisted, and who were to be left as a seed and root for the springing up again and revival of Israel by the influences of the Spirit, all temporised, only differing from each other in this, that some succumbed earlier, and others later ; some were foremost champions and leaders in the impiety, and others joined

the second rank of the battle, being overcome by fear, or by interest, or by flattery, or, what was the most excusable, by their own ignorance." *Orat.* xxi. 24.

19. A.D. 363. About this time, St. Jerome says: "Nearly all the churches in the whole world, under the pretence of peace and the emperor, are polluted with the communion of the Arians." *Chron.* Of the same date, that is, upon the council of Ariminum, are his famous words, "Ingenuit totus orbis et se esse Arianum miratus est." *In Lucif.* That is, the Catholics of Christendom were surprised indeed to find that their rulers had made Arians of them.

20. A.D. 364. And St. Hilary: "Up to this date, the only cause why Christ's people is not murdered by the priests of Antichrist, with this deceit of impiety, is, that they take the words, which the heretics use, to denote the faith which they themselves hold. *Sanctiores aures plebis quàm corda sunt sacerdotum.*" *In Aux.* 6.

21. St. Hilary speaks of the series of ecclesiastical councils of that time in the following well-known passage: "It is most dangerous to us, and it is lamentable, that there are at present as many creeds as there are sentiments, and as many doctrines among us as dispositions, while we write creeds and explain them according to our fancy. Since the Nicene council, we have done nothing but write the creed. While we fight about words, inquire about novelties, take advantage of ambiguities, criticise authors, fight on party questions, have difficulties in agreeing, and prepare to anathematise each other, there is scarce a man who belongs to Christ. Take, for instance, last year's creed, what alteration is there not in it already? First, we have the creed, which bids us not to use the Nicene 'consubstantial;' then comes another, which decrees and preaches it; next, the third, excuses the word 'substance,' as adopted by the fathers in their simplicity; lastly, the fourth, instead of excusing, condemns. We impose creeds by the year or by the month, we change our minds about our own imposition of them, then we prohibit our changes, then we anathematise our prohibitions. Thus, we either condemn others in our own persons, or ourselves in the instance of others, and while we bite and devour one another, are like to be consumed one of another."

22. A.D. 382. St. Gregory writes: "If I must speak the truth, I feel disposed to shun every conference of Bishops; for never saw I synod brought to a happy issue, and remedying, and not rather aggravating, existing evils. For rivalry and ambition are stronger than reason,—do not think me extravagant for saying so,—and a mediator is more likely to incur some imputation himself than to clear up the imputations which others lie under." *Ep.* 129. It must ever be kept in mind that a passage like this only relates, and is here quoted as only relating, to that miserable time of which it is spoken. Nothing more can be argued from it than that the "Ecclesia docens" is not at every time the active instrument of the Church's infallibility.

II. Now we come secondly to the proofs of the fidelity of the laity, and the effectiveness of that fidelity, during that domination of imperial heresy to which the foregoing passages have related. I have abridged the extracts which follow, but not, I hope, to the injury of their sense.

1. ALEXANDRIA. "We suppose," says Athanasius, "you are not ignorant what outrages they [the Arian Bishops] committed at Alexandria, for they are reported every where. They attacked *the holy virgins and brethren* with naked swords; they beat with scourges their persons, esteemed honourable in God's sight, so that their feet were lamed by the stripes, whose souls were whole and sound in purity and all good works." Athan. *Op. c. Arian*. 15, Oxf. tr.

"Accordingly Constantius writes letters, and commences *a persecution against all*. Gathering together a multitude of herdsmen and shepherds, and dissolute youths belonging to the town, armed with swords and clubs, they attacked in a body *the Church* of Quirinus: and *some* they slew, *some* they trampled under foot, *others* they beat with stripes and cast into prison or banished. They haled away many *women* also, and dragged them openly into the court, and insulted them, dragging them by the hair. *Some* they proscribed; from *some* they took away their bread, for no other reason but that they might be induced to join the Arians, and receive Gregory [the Arian Bishop], who had been sent by the Emperor." Athan. *Hist. Arian*. § 10.

"On the week that succeeded the holy Pentecost, when the *people*, after their fast, had gone out to the cemetery to pray, because that *all* refused communion with George [the Arian Bishop], the commander, Sebastian, straightway with a multitude of soldiers proceeded to *attack the people*, though it was the Lord's day; and finding a few praying, (for the greater part had already retired on account of the lateness of the hour,) having lighted a pile, he placed certain *virgins* near the fire, and endeavoured to force them to say that they were of the Arian faith. And having seized on *forty men*, he cut some fresh twigs of the palm-tree, with the thorns upon them, and scourged them on the back so severely that some of them were for a long time under medical treatment, on account of the thorns which had entered their flesh, and others, unable to bear up under their sufferings, died. All those whom they had taken, both the men and the virgins, they sent away into banishment to the great oasis. Moreover, they immediately banished out of Egypt and Libya the following Bishops [sixteen], and the presbyters, Hierax and Dioscorus: some of them died on the way, others in the place of their banishment. They caused also more than thirty Bishops to take to flight." *Apol. de Fug*. 7.

2. EGYPT. "The Emperor Valens having issued an edict commanding that the orthodox should be expelled both from Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, *depopulation and ruin to an immense extent immediately followed*; some were dragged before the tribunals,

others cast into prison, and many tortured in various ways; all sorts of punishment being inflicted upon persons who aimed only at peace and quiet." Socr. *Hist.* iv. 24, Bohn.

3. THE MONKS OF EGYPT. "*Antony left the solitude of the desert to go about every part of the city [Alexandria], warning the inhabitants that the Arians were opposing the truth, and that the doctrines of the Apostles were preached only by Athanasius.*" Theod. *Hist.* iv. 27, Bohn.

"Lucius, the Arian, with a considerable body of troops, proceeded to the *monasteries* of Egypt, where he in person assailed the assemblage of holy men with greater fury than the ruthless soldiery. When these excellent persons remained unmoved by all the violence, in despair he advised the military chief to send the fathers of the monks, the Egyptian Macarius and his namesake of Alexandria, into exile." Socr. iv. 24.

OF CONSTANTINOPLE. "*Isaac, on seeing the emperor depart at the head of his army, exclaimed, 'You who have declared war against God cannot gain His aid. Cease from fighting against Him, and He will terminate the war. Restore the pastors to their flocks, and then you will obtain a bloodless victory.'*" *Ibid.* 34.

OF SYRIA, &c. "That these heretical doctrines [Apollinarian and Eunomian] did not finally become predominant is *mainly to be attributed to the zeal of the monks* of this period; for *all the monks* of Syria, Cappadocia, and the neighbouring provinces *were sincerely attached to the Nicene faith.* The same fate awaited them which had been experienced by the Arians; for they incurred the full weight of the popular odium and aversion, when it was observed that their sentiments were regarded with suspicion by the monks." Sozom. *Hist.* vii. 27, Bohn.

OF CAPPADOCIA. "Gregory, the father of Gregory Theologus, otherwise a most excellent man and a zealous defender of the true and Catholic religion, not being on his guard against the artifices of the Arians, such was his simplicity, received with kindness certain men who were contaminated with the poison, and subscribed an impious proposition of theirs. This moved the monks to such indignation, that they *withdrew forthwith from his communion*, and took with them, after their example, *a considerable part of his flock.*" Ed. Bened. *Monit. in Greg. Naz. Orat.* 6.

4. SYRIA. "Syria and the neighbouring provinces were plunged into confusion and disorder, for the Arians were very numerous in these parts, and had possession of the churches. The members of the Catholic Church *were not, however, few in numbers.* It was through their instrumentality that the Church of Antioch was preserved from the encroachments of the Arians, and enabled to resist the power of Valens. Indeed, it appears that all the Churches which were governed by men who were firmly attached to the faith did not deviate from the form of doctrine which they had originally embraced." Sozom. vi. 21.

5. ANTIOCH. "Whereas he (the Bishop Leontius) took part in

the blasphemy of Arius, he made a point of concealing this disease, partly *for fear of the multitude*, partly for the menaces of Constantius; so those who followed the apostolical dogmas gained from him neither patronage nor ordination, but those who held Arianism were allowed the fullest liberty of speech, and were placed in the ranks of the sacred ministry. But Flavian and Diodorus, who had embraced the ascetical life, and maintained the apostolical dogmas, *openly withstood* Leontius's machinations against religious doctrine. They threatened that they would retire from the communion of his Church, and would go to the West, and reveal his intrigues. Though they were not as yet in the sacred ministry, but were *in the ranks of the laity*, night and day they used to excite all the people to zeal for religion. They were the first to divide the singers into two choirs, and to teach them to sing alternately the strains of David. They too, assembling the devout at the shrines of the martyrs, passed the whole night there in hymns to God. These things Leontius seeing, did not think it safe to hinder them, for he saw that *the multitude was especially well affected* towards those excellent persons. Nothing, however, could persuade Leontius to correct his wickedness. It follows, that among the clergy were many who were infected with the heresy: but *the mass of the people were champions of orthodoxy.*" Theodor. *Hist.* ii. 24.

6. EDESSA. "There is in that city a magnificent church, dedicated to St. Thomas the Apostle, wherein, on account of the sanctity of the place, religious assemblies are continually held. The Emperor Valens wished to inspect this edifice; when, having learned that *all who usually congregated there were opposed to the heresy* which he favoured, he is said to have struck the prefect with his own hand, because he had neglected to expel them thence. The prefect, to prevent the slaughter of *so great a number* of persons, privately warned them against resorting thither. But his admonitions and menaces were alike unheeded; for on the following day *they all crowded to the church.* When the prefect was going towards it with a large military force, a poor woman, leading her own little child by the hand, hurried hastily by on her way to the church, breaking through the ranks of the soldiery. The prefect, irritated at this, ordered her to be brought to him, and thus addressed her: 'Wretched woman, whither are you running in so disorderly a manner?' She replied, 'To the same place that others are hastening.' 'Have you not heard,' said he, 'that the prefect is about to put to death all that shall be found there?' 'Yes,' said the woman, 'and therefore I hasten, that I may be found there.' 'And whither are you dragging that little child?' said the prefect. The woman answered, '*That he also may be vouchsafed the honour of martyrdom.*' The prefect went back and informed the emperor that *all were ready to die in behalf of their own faith*; and added that it would be preposterous to destroy so many persons at one time, and thus succeeded in restraining the emperor's wrath." Socr. iv. 18. "Thus was the Christian faith confessed by the *whole city* of Edessa." Sozom. vi. 18.

7. SAMOSATA. "The Arians, having deprived this exemplary flock of their shepherd, elected in his place an individual with whom *none of the inhabitants of the city*, whether poor or rich, servants or mechanics, husbandmen or gardeners, men or women, young or old, would hold communion. *He was left quite alone*; no one even calling to see him, or exchanging a word with him. It is, however, said that his disposition was extremely gentle; and this is proved by what I am about to relate. One day, when he went to bathe in the public baths, the attendants closed the doors; but he ordered the doors to be thrown open, that the people might be admitted to bathe with himself. Perceiving that they remained in a standing posture before him, imagining that great deference towards himself was the cause of this conduct, he arose and left the bath. *These people believed that the water had been contaminated by his heresy*, and ordered it to be let out and fresh water to be supplied. When he heard of this circumstance, he left the city, thinking that he ought no longer to remain in a place *where he was the object of public aversion and hatred*. Upon this retirement of Eunonius, Lucius was elected as his successor by the Arians. Some young persons were amusing themselves with playing at ball in the market-place; Lucius was passing by at the time, and the ball happened to fall beneath the feet of the ass on which he was mounted. *The youths uttered loud exclamations, believing that the ball was contaminated*. They lighted a fire, and hurled the ball through it, believing that by this process the ball would be purified. Although this was only a childish deed, and although it exhibits the remains of ancient superstition, yet it is *sufficient to show the odium which the Arian faction had incurred in this city*. Lucius was far from imitating the mildness of Eunonius, and he persuaded the heads of government to exile most of the clergy." Theodor. iv. 15.

8. OSROENE. "Arianism met with similar opposition at the same period in Osroëne and Cappadocia. Basil Bishop of Cæsarea, and Gregory Bishop of Nazianzus, were held in high admiration and esteem *throughout these regions*." Sozom. vi. 21.

9. CAPPADOCIA. "Valens, in passing through Cappadocia, did all in his power to injure the orthodox, and to deliver up the churches to the Arians. He thought to accomplish his designs more easily on account of a dispute which was then pending between Basil and Eusebius, who governed the Church of Cæsarea. This dissension had been the cause of Basil's departing to Pontus. *The people, and some of the most powerful and wisest men of the city*, began to regard Eusebius with suspicion, and to meditate a secession from his communion. The emperor and the Arian Bishops regarded the absence of Basil, and the hatred of the people towards Eusebius, as circumstances that would tend greatly to the success of their designs. *But their expectations were utterly frustrated*. On the first intelligence of the intention of the emperor to pass through Cappadocia, Basil returned to Cæsarea, where he effected a reconciliation with Euse-

buis. The projects of Valens were thus defeated, and he returned with his Bishops." Sozom. vi. 19.

10. PONTUS. "It is said that when Eulalius, Bishop of Amasia in Pontus, returned from exile, he found that his Church had passed into the hands of an Arian, and that *scarcely fifty inhabitants of the city* had submitted to the control of their new Bishop." Sozom. vii. 2.

11. ARMENIA. "That company of Arians who came with Eustathius to Nicopolis had promised that they would bring over this city to compliance with the commands of the imperial vicar. This city had great ecclesiastical importance, both because it was the metropolis of Armenia, and because it had been ennobled by the blood of martyrs, and governed hitherto by Bishops of great reputation, and thus, as Basil calls it, was the nurse of religion and the metropolis of sound doctrine. Fronto, one of the city presbyters, who had hitherto shown himself as a champion of the truth, through ambition gave himself up to the enemies of Christ, and purchased the bishopric of the Arians at the price of renouncing the Catholic faith. This wicked proceeding of Eustathius and the Arians brought a new glory instead of evil to the Nicopolitans, since it gave them an opportunity of defending the faith. Fronto, indeed, the Arians consecrated, *but there was a remarkable unanimity of clergy and people in rejecting him*. Scarcely one or two clerks sided with him; on the contrary, he *became the execration of all Armenia*." Vita S. Basil. Maurin. pp. clvii. clviii.

12. NICOMEDIA. "Eighty pious clergy proceeded to Nicomedia, and there presented to the emperor a supplicatory petition complaining of the ill-usage to which they had been subjected. Valens, dissembling his displeasure in their presence, gave Modestus, the prefect, a secret order to apprehend these persons and put them to death. The prefect, *fearing that he should excite the populace to a seditious movement* against himself, if he attempted the public execution of so many, pretended to send them away into exile," &c. Socr. iv. 16.

13. ASIA MINOR. St. Basil says, about the year 372: "Religious people keep silence, but every blaspheming tongue is let loose. Sacred things are profaned; *those of the laity* who are sound in faith *avoid the places of worship* as schools of impiety, and raise their hands in solitude, with groans and tears, to the Lord in heaven." Ep. 93. Four years after he writes: "Matters have come to this pass; *the people have left their houses of prayer*, and assemble in deserts: a pitiable sight; *women and children, old men, and others infirm*, wretchedly faring in the open air, amid the most profuse rains and snow-storms, and winds, and frost of winter; and again in summer under a scorching sun. To this they submit, because they *will have no part in the wicked Arian leaven*." Ep. 342. Again: "Only one offence is now vigorously punished, an accurate observance of our fathers' traditions. For this cause the pious are driven from their countries, and transported into deserts. The

*people are in lamentation*, in continual tears at home and abroad. There is a cry in the city, a cry in the country, in the roads, in the deserts. Joy and spiritual cheerfulness are no more ; our feasts are turned into mourning ; our houses of prayer are shut up, our altars deprived of the spiritual worship." *Ep.* 343.

14. SCYTHIA. "There are in this country a great number of cities, of towns, and of fortresses. According to an ancient custom which still prevails, all the churches of the whole country are under the sway of one Bishop. Valens [the emperor] repaired to the church, and strove to gain over the Bishop to the heresy of Arius ; but this latter manfully opposed his arguments, and, after a courageous defence of the Nicene doctrines, quitted the emperor, and proceeded to another church, *whither he was followed by the people*. Valens was extremely offended at being left alone in a church with his attendants, and, in resentment, condemned Vetrano [the Bishop] to banishment. Not long after, however, he recalled him, because, I believe, *he apprehended an insurrection*." Sozom. vi. 21.

15. CONSTANTINOPLE. "Those who acknowledged the doctrine of consubstantiality were not only expelled from the churches, but also from the cities. But although expulsion at first satisfied them [the Arians], they soon proceeded to the worse extremity of inducing compulsory communion with them, caring little for such a desecration of the churches. They resorted to all kinds of scourgings, a variety of tortures, and confiscation of property. Many were punished with exile, some died under the torture, and others were put to death while being driven from their country. *These atrocities were exercised throughout all the eastern cities*, but especially at Constantinople." Socr. ii. 27.

The following passage is quoted for the substantial fact which it contains, viz. the testimony of popular tradition to the Catholic doctrine : "At this period a union was nearly effected between the Novatian and Catholic Churches ; for, as they both *held the same sentiments concerning the Divinity*, and were subjected to a common persecution, the members of both Churches assembled and prayed together. The Catholics then possessed no houses of prayer, for the Arians had wrested them from them." Sozom. iv. 20.

16. ILLYRIA. "The parents of Theodosius were Christians, and were attached to the Nicene doctrine, hence he took pleasure in the ministration of Ascholius [Bishop of Thessalonica]. He also rejoiced at finding that the *Arian heresy had not been received in Illyria*." Sozom. vii. 4.

17. NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MACEDONIA. "Theodosius inquired concerning the religious sentiments which were prevalent in the other provinces, and ascertained that, as far as Macedonia, *one form of belief was universally predominant*," &c. Ibid.

18. ROME. "With respect to doctrine no dissension arose either at Rome or in any other of the Western Churches. *The people unanimously adhered to the form of belief established at Nicæa*." Sozom. vi. 23.

“Not long after, Liberius (the Pope) was recalled and re-instated in his see; for the people of Rome, *having raised a sedition, and expelled Felix* [whom the Arian party had intruded] from their Church, Constantius deemed it *inexpedient to provoke the popular fury.*” Socr. ii. 37.

“Liberius, returning to Rome, found the *mind of the mass of men alienated from him*, because he had so shamefully yielded to Constantius. And thus it came to pass, that those persons who had hitherto kept aloof from Felix [the rival Pope], and had avoided his communion in favour of Liberius, on hearing what had happened, *left him for Felix*, who raised the Catholic standard. Among others, Damasus [afterwards Pope] took the side of Felix. Such had been, even from the times of the Apostles, *the love of Catholic discipline in the Roman people.*” Baron. ann. 357. He tells us besides, that the people would not even go to the public baths, lest they should bathe with the party of Liberius.

19. MILAN. “At the council of Milan, Eusebius of Vercellæ, when it was proposed to draw up a declaration against Athanasius, said that the council ought first to be sure of the faith of the Bishops attending it, for he had found out that some of them were polluted with heresy. Accordingly he brought before the Fathers the Nicene creed, and said he was willing to comply with all their demands, after they had subscribed that confession. Dionysius, Bishop of Milan, at once took up the paper and began to write his assent; but Valens [the Arian] violently pulled pen and paper out of his hands, crying out that such a course of proceeding was impossible. Whereupon, after much tumult, *the question came before the people, and great was the distress of all of them*; the faith of the Church was impugned by the Bishops. *They then, dreading the judgment of the people*, transfer their meeting from the church to the imperial palace.” Hilar. in Const. i.

“As the feast of Easter approached, the empress sent to St. Ambrose to ask a church of him, where the Arians who attended her might meet together. He replied, that a Bishop could not give up the temple of God. The pretorian prefect came into the church, where St. Ambrose was, *attended by the people*, and endeavoured to persuade him to yield up at least the Portian Basilica. *The people were clamorous against the proposal*; and the prefect retired to report how matters stood to the emperor. The Sunday following, St. Ambrose was explaining the creed, when he was informed that the officers were hanging up the imperial hangings in the Portian Basilica, and that upon this news the people were repairing thither. While he was offering up the holy sacrifice, a second message came that *the people had seized an Arian priest* as he was passing through the street. He despatched a number of his clergy to the spot to *rescue the Arian from his danger*. The court looked on this resistance of the people as seditious, and immediately laid considerable fines upon *the whole body of the tradesmen* of the city. Several were thrown into prison. In three days’ time these tradesmen were fined

two hundred pounds weight of gold, and they said *that they were ready to give as much again, on condition that they might retain their faith.* The prisons were filled with tradesmen : *all the officers of the household, secretaries, agents of the emperor, and dependent officers who served under various counts, were kept within doors, and were forbidden to appear in public under pretence that they should bear no part in the sedition. Men of higher rank were menaced with severe consequences, unless the Basilica were surrendered.* . . .

"Next morning the Basilica was surrounded by soldiers ; but it was reported, that *these soldiers had sent to the emperor to tell him that if he wished to come abroad he might, and that they would attend him, if he was going to the assembly of the Catholics ; otherwise, that they would go to that which would be held by St. Ambrose.* Indeed, the *soldiers were all Catholics, as well as the citizens of Milan ; there were no heretics there, except a few officers of the emperor and some Goths.* . . .

"St. Ambrose was continuing his discourse when he was told that the emperor had withdrawn the soldiers from the Basilica, and that he had restored to the tradesmen the fines which he had exacted from them. *This news gave joy to the people, who expressed their delight with applauses and thanksgivings ; the soldiers themselves were eager to bring the news, throwing themselves on the altars, and kissing them in token of peace.*" Fleury's *Hist.* xviii. 41, 42, Oxf. trans.

20. THE SOLDIERY. Soldiers having been mentioned in the foregoing extract, I add the following passage. "Terentius, a general distinguished by his valour and by his piety, was able, on his return from Armenia, to erect trophies of victory. Valens promised to give him every thing that he might desire. But he asked not for gold or silver, for lands, power, or honours ; *he requested that a church might be given to those who preached the apostolical doctrines.*" Theodor. iv. 32.

"Valens sent Trajan, the general, against the barbarians. Trajan was defeated, and, on his return, the emperor reproached him severely, and accused him of weakness and cowardice. But Trajan replied with great boldness, 'It is not I, O emperor, who have been defeated ; for you, *by fighting against God, have thrown the barbarians upon His protection.* Do you not know who those are whom you have driven from the churches, and who are those to whom you have given them up ? Arintheus and Victor, the other commanders, *accorded in what he had said, and brought the emperor to reflect on the truth of their remonstrances.*' Ibid. 33.

21. CHRISTENDOM GENERALLY. St. Hilary to Constantius : "Not only in words, but in tears, we beseech you to save the Catholic Churches from any longer continuance of these most grievous injuries, and of their present intolerable persecutions and insults, which moreover they are enduring, which is monstrous, from our brethren. Surely your clemency should listen to the *voice of those who cry out so loudly, 'I am a Catholic, I have no wish to be a heretic.'* It

should seem equitable to your sanctity, most glorious Augustus, that they who fear the Lord God and His judgment should not be polluted and contaminated with execrable blasphemies, but *should have liberty to follow those Bishops and prelates* who observe inviolate the laws of charity, and who desire a perpetual and sincere peace. It is impossible, it is unreasonable, to mix true and false, to confuse light and darkness, and bring into a union, of whatever kind, night and day. *Give permission to the populations to hear the teaching of the pastors whom they have wished*, whom they fixed on, whom they have chosen, to attend their celebration of the divine mysteries, to offer prayers through them for your safety and prosperity." *In Const. i.*

Now I know quite well what will be said to so elaborate a collection of instances as I have been making. The "lector benevolus" will quote against me the words of Cicero, "*Utitur in re non dubiâ testibus non necessariis.*" This is sure to befall a man when he directs the attention of a friend to any truth which hitherto he has thought little of. At first, he seems to be hazarding a paradox, and at length to be committing a truism. The hearer is first of all startled, and then disappointed; he ends by asking, "Is this all?" It is a curious phenomenon in the philosophy of the human mind, that we often do not know whether we hold a point or not, though we hold it; but when our attention is once drawn to it, then forthwith we find it so much part of ourselves, that we cannot recollect when we began to hold it, and we conclude (with truth), and we declare, that it has always been our belief. Now it strikes me as worth noticing, that, though Father Perrone is so clear upon the point of doctrine which I have been urging in 1847, yet in 1842, which is the date of my own copy of his *Prælectiones*, he has not given the *consensus fidelium* any distinct place in his *Loci Theologici*, though he has even given "heretici" a place there. Among the *Media Traditionis*, he enumerates the *magisterium* of the Church, the Acts of the Martyrs, the Liturgy, usages and rites of worship, the Fathers, heretics, Church history; but not a word, that I can find, directly and separately, about the *sensus fidelium*. This is the more remarkable, because, speaking of the *Acta Martyrum*, he gives a reason for the force of the testimony of the martyrs which belongs quite as fully to the faithful generally; viz. that, as not being theologians, they can only repeat that objective truth, which, on the other hand, Fathers and theologians do but present subjectively, and thereby coloured with their own mental peculiarities. "We learn from them," he says, "what was the traditional doctrine in both domestic and public assemblies of

the Church, without any admixture of private and (so to say) subjective explanation, such as at times creates a difficulty in ascertaining the real meaning of the Fathers; and so much the more, because many of them were either women or ordinary and untaught laymen, who brought out and avowed just what they believed in a straightforward inartificial way." May we not conjecture that the argument from the Consent of the Faithful was but dimly written among the *Loci* on the tablets of his intellect, till the necessities, or rather the requirements, of the contemplated definition of the Immaculate Conception brought the argument before him with great force? Yet who will therefore for an instant suppose that he did not always hold it? Perhaps I have overlooked some passage of his treatises, and am in consequence interpreting his course of thought wrongly; but, at any rate, what I seem to see in him, is what actually does occur from time to time in myself and others. A man holds an opinion or a truth, yet without holding it with a simple consciousness and a direct recognition; and thus, though he has never denied, he has never gone so far as to profess it.

As to the particular doctrine to which I have here been directing my view, and the passage in history by which I have been illustrating it, I am not supposing that such times as the Arian will ever come again. As to the present, certainly, if there ever was an age which might dispense with the testimony of the faithful, and leave the maintenance of the truth to the pastors of the Church, it is the age in which we live. Never was the Episcopate of Christendom so devoted to the Holy See, so religious, so earnest in the discharge of its special duties, so little disposed to innovate, so superior to the temptation of theological sophistry. And perhaps this is the reason why the "*consensus fidelium*" has, in the minds of many, fallen into the background. Yet each constituent portion of the Church has its proper functions, and no portion can safely be neglected. Though the laity be but the reflection or echo of the clergy in matters of faith, yet there is something in the "*pastorum et fidelium conspiratio*," which is not in the pastors alone. The history of the definition of the Immaculate Conception shows us this; and it will be one among the blessings which the Holy Mother, who is the subject of it, will gain for us, in repayment of the definition, that by that very definition we are all reminded of the part which the laity have had in the preliminaries of its promulgation. Pope Pius has given us a pattern, in his manner of defining, of the duty of considering the sentiments of the laity upon a point of tradition, in spite of what-

ever fullness of evidence the Bishops had already thrown upon it.

In most cases when a definition is contemplated, the laity will have a testimony to give; but if ever there be an instance when they ought to be consulted, it is in the case of doctrines which bear directly upon devotional sentiments. Such is the Immaculate Conception, of which the *Rambler* was speaking in the sentence which has occasioned these remarks. The faithful people have ever a special function in regard to those doctrinal truths which relate to the Objects of worship. Hence it is, that, while the Councils of the fourth century were traitors to our Lord's divinity, the laity vehemently protested against its impugners. Hence it is, that, in a later age, when the learned Benedictines of Germany and France were perplexed in their enunciation of the doctrine of the Real Presence, Paschasius was supported by the faithful in his maintenance of it. The saints, again, are the object of a religious *cultus*; and therefore it was the faithful, again, who urged on the Holy See, in the time of John XXII., to declare their beatitude in heaven, though so many Fathers spoke variously. And the Blessed Virgin is preëminently an object of devotion; and therefore it is, I repeat, that though Bishops had already spoken in favour of her absolute sinlessness, the Pope was not content without knowing the feelings of the faithful.

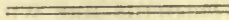
Father Dalgairns gives us another case in point; and with his words I conclude: "While devotion in the shape of a dogma issues from the high places of the Church, in the shape of devotion . . . it starts from below. . . Place yourselves, in imagination, in a vast city of the East in the fifth century. Ephesus, the capital of Asia Minor, is all in commotion; for a council is to be held there, and Bishops are flocking in from all parts of the world. There is anxiety painted on every face; so that you may easily see that the question is one of general interest. . . . Ask the very children in the streets what is the matter; they will tell you that wicked men are coming to make out that their own mother is not the Mother of God. And so, during a live-long day of June, they crowd around the gates of the old cathedral-church of St. Mary, and watch with anxious faces each Bishop as he goes in. Well might they be anxious; for it is well known that Nestorius has won the court over to his side. It was only the other day that he entered the town, with banners displayed and trumpets sounding, surrounded by the glittering files of the emperor's body-guard, with Count Candidianus, their general and his own partisan, at

their head. Besides which, it is known for certain, that at least eighty-four Bishops are ready to vote with him; and who knows how many more? He is himself the patriarch of Constantinople, the rival of Rome, the imperial city of the East; and then John of Antioch is hourly expected with his quota of votes; and he, the patriarch of the see next in influence to that of Nestorius, is, if not a heretic, at least of that wretched party which, in ecclesiastical disputes, ever hovers between the two camps of the devil and of God. The day wears on, and still nothing issues from the church; it proves, at least, that there is a difference of opinion; and as the shades of evening close around them, the weary watchers grow more anxious still. At length the great gates of the Basilica are thrown open; and oh, what a cry of joy bursts from the assembled crowd, as it is announced to them that Mary has been proclaimed to be, what every one with a Catholic heart knew that she was before, the Mother of God! . . . Men, women, and children, the noble and the low-born, the stately matron and the modest maiden, all crowd round the Bishops with acclamations. They will not leave them; they accompany them to their homes with a long procession of lighted torches; they burn incense before them, after the eastern fashion, to do them honour. There was but little sleep in Ephesus that night; for very joy they remained awake: the whole town was one blaze of light, for each window was illuminated.”\*

My own drift is somewhat different from that which has dictated this glowing description; but the substance of the argument of each of us is one and the same. I think certainly that the *Ecclesia docens* is more happy when she has such enthusiastic partisans about her as are here represented, than when she cuts off the faithful from the study of her divine doctrines and the sympathy of her divine contemplations, and requires from them a *fides implicita* in her word, which in the educated classes will terminate in indifference, and in the poorer in superstition.

O.

\* Sacred Heart.



## Correspondence.

*To the Editor of the Rambler.*

## IS TEMPORAL PROSPERITY A NOTE OF THE CHURCH?

SIR,—I speak under correction, but I think not. My space only permits me to give some rapid indication of what may be said on so large a subject.

Luther asserted adversity to be a note of the Church, and Bellarmine's reply to this will hold good also against the opposite extreme. Facts are against it.\* "The Church," he says, "at the commencement, as well as latterly, suffered great straits, and her middle ages were most prosperous. And," he adds, "all these things were foretold." It is true Bellarmine points† to the "temporal prosperity granted by God to those who have defended the Church;" but I think this must rather be understood as an extraordinary sign of the truth than as its necessary accompaniment. Certainly, in the heading to his explanation of the 127th Psalm, he tells us that St. Hilary and St. Augustine consider its promises of temporal prosperity as so peculiar to the old dispensation that they are compelled to give it a mystical interpretation in order to adapt it to Christian times; and he elsewhere‡ bids Christians fear prosperity as the husbandman fears unseasonable mildness. In the days of old, the book of Job gave a mysterious warning that temporal prosperity was to be no note of the Church; and most certainly the motto of Christianity, "Seek the things that are above, not the things that are upon the earth," does not naturally tend to making money, or rising in society.

To say, "Religion may preach poverty to the saint, but it teaches worldly success and the comforts of life to the faithful at large," appears to me inaccurate and exaggerated language, though there is a certain truth which it misrepresents. God's blessing will assuredly accompany the practice of His true religion; but whether that blessing will bring with it worldly success, depends on what God's wisdom sees best in each particular case. The Church must not frighten away the weak in faith, who half dread to look to heaven lest it should cost them earth; and she bids them "Seek first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you." If temporal prosperity is good for you, you will have it. But this is not to *teach* these things. In the catacombs of old, the faithful recognised the Cross where catechumens saw only the picture of an anchor; and when the Cross took possession of the Basilicas its

\* De notis Eccl. iv. 2.

† Concio iii. Dom. prima Adv.

‡ Ibid. iv. 18.

shame was veiled from the multitude by the rich jewels which studded it ; yet then, as now, the Church preached the Cross ; and now, as then, she teaches *Væ divites ! Beati pauperes !*

I do not see any real difficulty in the Protestant argument which O. H. cannot answer. It is as old as the days of St. Gregory the Great, who tells us,\* that heretics are so intent on present things that they do not recognise the Church *in vulneribus positam*. It is quite true that religion cultivates natural virtues whose natural fruit may be temporal prosperity, *but she does so for another end*, she aims at heaven, and leaves earth to take its chance. God may often leave His elect without their natural reward, in order to give them a hundred-fold more in a supernatural way ; but His justice will not allow others to lose the reward of virtue, even though practised apart from the love of Him, in a natural way ; which may deserve earth, though it cannot merit heaven. So we need not be surprised that Protestant often excel Catholic countries in temporal prosperity. When (as in England) a Protestant people is blessed with great natural virtues and gifts, it is no wonder that God gives them the worldly success they strive after ; He gives them pleasant homes, full purses, a good name, and national greatness ; and they hug themselves with satisfaction, and talk of their honest pride, and how moral they are, "not as this publican !" and they exclaim, "Who is lord over us ?" and mock at the idea of returning to be the servants of an Italian Bishop, whose country swarms with beggars !

Italy has never, in Christian times, attained the worldly greatness of Protestant England, or heathen Rome ; nor can she be said to have decayed like Greece or Egypt. In her brightest days she could only boast of several great and independent merchant cities, who tore her bosom with their mutual wars and jealousies, and were themselves distracted by internal dissensions, or oppressed by tyrants. Their commerce passed away through a natural cause, when the high road to the East took another direction. She was hardly ever free from actual or attempted foreign domination. I know nothing to prove that the character of the different peoples she comprises has deteriorated, *excepting through the fearful spread of revolutionary and infidel principles* ; which was as bad in France. Germany as well as Italy was the cradle of modern arts and sciences, and in Italy as well as Germany they reign to this day. I doubt if, at this moment, England can boast of higher intellectual gifts (though she brings them more into play) than Italy, or if Lyons can surpass the Roman silk in its way. The Church preserved and christianised what heathen intellect had produced and debased, that she might use it as a means in her task of bringing man to his perfection. But the arts and sciences are only an accidental accompaniment of her divine mission ; when the world despised them, she was their foster parent ; and now the silly world makes them an end of its existence, she is accused of neglecting them ! If the Italians were better

\* Moral. iii. 24.

children of the Church, certainly their political troubles would not be what they are ; but this does not prove any particular government to be in fault, much less the Church, so far as Austria is concerned. For, till yesterday, Austrian policy was notoriously oppressive to her. All honour to the young Emperor for the new Concordat, of which the Sardinian government complains so feelingly to England ! but its fruits are yet to come. However, in Rome, if any where, there is a Catholic government ; but is it responsible for the natural character of its people ? and where a people take part in the administration of a government, they will impart more or less of their own character to it. But an unsettled people is no more *proof* of a bad government than an unruly son is proof of a bad father. A divine government did not cure the Jews. St. Bernard described the Roman character in no cheering colours to Pope Eugenius, but he bade him not lose heart : \* “ You have to answer for its *care*, not its *cure* ; ” “ Non est in medico semper re-levetur ut æger.”

The temporal power of the Popes is marked with the Cross throughout. Its very virtues are said to hinder its temporal success. The April *Edinburgh Review* (p. 588) says, “ The most fruitful sources of evil and corruption amongst the Roman population are the boundless charitable endowments which pauperise the city.” Well, almsgiving is a truer note of the Church than temporal prosperity. It is no new thing for the people of Italy to be so blind to the treasure they possess, to shut their eyes to their true glory in being the seat of the Papacy, and to yearn after a king like other nations ; to look back to Egypt, to the days of pagan greatness. Cesare Balbo says, “ The imitation of ancient Rome, the puerile and senseless desire to resuscitate its power, has contributed more than any thing, perhaps, to lead astray Italian minds, from the tenth century down to the present day.” And we all know that when Pius IX. sought refuge on the shores of Naples, he found there the tomb of a sainted predecessor,† whose dying words, 763 years before, had been, “ I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile ; ” but who lived not to hear his attendant Bishop’s answer, “ Holy Father, you cannot die in exile, for the good pleasure of God has given you the peoples for your inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for the limits of your jurisdiction.” The Church’s government must not be tested by Italy alone ; Rome is but the centre of her world-wide sway and influence ; and is it not fitting that at every step Rome should remind us her kingdom is not of this world ? Who can look out from those walls over the wide Campagna, strewn with the huge ruins of her pagan predecessor, without hearing the angel’s cry ringing in his soul, “ Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen ! ” and without feeling in his inmost being how the new Jerusalem has descended on the earth, to sanctify to that scene of desolation the penance which the very ground seems to be undergoing for its former pride ; and he sees far off the type of peace in the white

\* De Consid. iv. 2.

† St. Greg. VII.

gleaming walls of the Passionist convent, modestly reposing where once rose the heathen temple of the Latin Jove. And when, from this grand and peaceful scene of penitent desolation he turns to the silent city, the cross is there again to greet him ; and his heart tells him that, in the very nature of things, Christian Rome was never meant to have its place in the world by the side of glittering Paris or bustling London. In Rome the very air is redolent of grace ; and if the Italians will persist in making light of their blessings, it is no wonder they fall like Lucifer. Theirs is an atmosphere of supernatural life, for good or for evil ; it engenders heroic virtues and glorious saints : and Satan has his side of the picture ; he finds easy entrance into sacrilegious souls, and can wield through them unusual power. Moreover, he finds his work done well enough in many places without disturbing existing governments ; and Freemasonry does much for him very quietly every where, so he does not trouble himself about other secret societies except in Catholic countries, where he cannot leave things quiet ; and especially in Italy will he exert all his malice against her who is clothed with the sun, and has the moon of temporal changes under her feet ; against the glorious Church of God, and her earthly head the venerable Vicar of Christ. And, above all, will he rage and gnash his teeth against our present illustrious and beloved Pontiff, chosen by God to proclaim to the world the Immaculate Conception of our Lord's blessed Mother, by whose means the vile serpent's head is crushed, and all his efforts rendered futile.

And, as Bellarmine says, *omnia prædicta sunt*. Our Lord did not promise us temporal prosperity ; He said, "In the world you shall have distress ; but have confidence, I have overcome the world."

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

M. S.

*Feast of our Lady, Help of Christians, 1859.*

---

#### TEMPORAL PROSPERITY, WHETHER A NOTE OF THE CHURCH.

SIR,—I cannot resist writing a few lines upon the letter signed O. H. in your last Number.

With much in it I agree ; but O. H.'s argument overlooks altogether the greatest illustration the world has ever seen of an exclusively national Church,—I mean the chosen people of God in the Old Testament. We see there a people who were, with few exceptions, the sole depositaries of truth in the world ; a people to whom God had expressly promised temporal prosperity as a reward of faith and obedience ; with whom God had condescended to make a compact, binding Himself to protect them by His *visible* power, if they would obey His law ; to whom He promised a land flowing with

milk and honey, and whom He led thither through a series of stupendous miracles.

Yet, when we read the Old Testament, we find their history as full of punishments as of favours; and if we turn to secular ancient history, we cannot fail to perceive that in arts, arms, commerce, naval power, philosophy, literature, and weight and influence in the then known world, they were inferior to many other nations, who were, for the most part, heathen,—to Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans.

Now this appears to me absolutely opposed to the argument that temporal prosperity is a note of the Church; for *this*, observe, is an instance so complete, that it can never occur again. No people will ever be able to look upon itself as the exclusive choice of the Most High. It is the character of the modern Church to be Catholic, to embrace all nations in her fold, and to be as “a field in which the enemy hath sown cockle:” and we are expressly told that this peculiarity is to continue to the end of the world, if not in all probability to increase. It seems to me, then, that if, as is in point of fact the case, divine punishment is quite as characteristic of the history of the chosen people of God as divine protection; if, as is likewise the case, that people were inferior in temporal greatness and prosperity to many others; if, moreover, as cannot be denied, that people were marked out from the rest of the world in a manner quite different to what any Catholic nation ever can be,—then it follows that we should not expect to see nations prosperous in proportion to their Catholicity. I am far from saying the connection may not exist, I should be inclined to think it does; but it follows the ordinary laws of God’s providence, which are, and ever must be, a mystery to us. Moreover, since the coming of our Saviour on earth, humiliation, suffering, and poverty are to be looked on as His livery; and His prophecies to His Church rather foretell thorns than roses, strife than peace, and humiliation than triumph. Of course, the lowly virtues of the New Testament are applicable to different states of life in different proportions; but there must be a *recognition* of them in the king as well as in the hermit. Heroic, by which I mean self-sacrificing, virtues are, as a general rule, less applicable to fathers of families, simply because, all duties being relative, the duty of a man to his wife and children comes before a larger number of more distant duties. This it is which has led, in the Catholic Church, to the celibacy of the clergy; which is no dogma, but a mere consequence of what I may call *the division of labour* consequent on a more developed state of Christian civilisation. The attire of the glorified Church is to be wrought about with a variety of ornament. Meanwhile, that temporal prosperity should frequently be withheld from the Church, that she should be often hated and despised, that she should be defaced by “spot and wrinkle,” that she should be to many a stumbling-block,—all this seems to me nothing more than what we might be led to expect.

1st. Because she is the body of a Head crowned with thorns.

2d. Because she is like the net, which held many bad as well as good fish.

3d. Because it is easier for her individual members to excel in one thing rather than in many; and therefore intellect, and even moral virtues, will frequently be found dissociated from the Church, which, in imitation of her Divine Master, calls especially the poor, the sinful, and the ignorant: not that she calls them *peculiarly*, but because her *including them* repels the rich, the self-righteous, and the intellectual.

4th. Because where there is "community of saints," there is probably, to a great extent, community of temporal rewards and punishments; as in the Old Testament the innocent suffered *with* the guilty, and in the New the innocent for the guilty.

5th. That as proximity to grace augments responsibility, and diminishes the chance of excuses of ignorance, so it increases the guilt of those who wilfully choose evil rather than good. Sacraments, humanly speaking, cause sacrileges, and faith blasphemy; and this simply through the exercise of man's free-will. We should never forget those awful words of Simeon applied to our Lord, "that He was set for the *fall* and resurrection of many in Israel;" and then we shall wonder less at what seem the more devilish forms of unbelief in the immediate proximity of all that is most holy.

6th. That given an imperfect world, it is easier to bring it to acquiesce in a law of expediency than to submit to one which aims at a definition of right and wrong.

For all these reasons, my common sense is not the least hurt by the fact of the absence of temporal prosperity in the Church in any particular country and at any particular time; though sometimes I might expect to see them culminate together. If I speak of O. H.'s letter as containing a *half-truth*, I claim no more for my own; for I look upon it as a proof of ignorance as well as presumption, to despise truths which must be partial, because they are shown forth by a human intelligence. *Out* of the dogmas of the Church I admit *no* complete truths.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

F.

---

#### PROSPERITY, NOT THE PRICE, BUT A REWARD, OF CHRISTIAN VIRTUE.

SIR,—A writer in a Catholic newspaper has been hard on a sentence of mine in your last Number. May I ask room for a few lines in answer to him?

I had said, "Religion may preach poverty to the saint, but it teaches worldly success and the comforts of life to the faithful at large." I did not mean that worldly success was the *wages*, or the

*object*, of Christian obedience; but I meant that, as a rule, it was the *natural* effect of certain *supernatural* graces, and that it was the extra recompense or present, the *mantissa*, as Maldonatus calls it, the *collarium*, as Cornelius à Lapide calls it, coming from a bountiful Providence upon His consistent, faithful servants.

Our Lord says, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be *added* to you." Maldonatus refers us to the instance of Solomon. St. Paul too says, "Godliness is profitable to all things, having *promise of the life that now is*, and of that which is to come." What is *promised* is *preached*; though I did not use the word "preach."

I think experience too proves the truth of what I have said, as a matter of fact. Poverty may either be the high reward of the saint and faithful Christian striving after perfection, or the punishment of the careless Christian. Those who strive after perfection are the few; as to the *multitude* of Christians, poverty is the token, not of perfection, but of certain great imperfections, or rather great sins. And in like manner, as to the *multitude* of Christians, the absence of poverty is the token of the absence of those particular sins. I appeal to any one who knows the poor, whether, looking at them as a whole, their miseries do not arise from three causes, carelessness and improvidence, drunkenness, neglect of conjugal and parental duty. The absence of these does not guarantee the presence of supernatural virtue; but their presence testifies to its absence. If whole classes of men are without bread, clothing, or lodging, "in labour and painfulness, in much watchings, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness," it is not because they are like St. Paul; but, on the contrary, because they utterly neglect "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever modest, whatsoever just, whatsoever holy, whatsoever lovely, whatsoever of good fame;" whatsoever is of "virtue," whatsoever has the "praise of discipline." Here one great exception of course must be joyfully made, viz. of the poor children who have bad parents, the poor wives who have bad husbands, the poor old grandparents, penitents, though they have sinned in their day. I class all these, whom the Almighty afflicts in love, with St. Paul and the perfect, for they are under the discipline of the perfect; nor have I said that *individuals* have an exact measure of temporal good or evil in proportion to their works; but if a whole independent *community* be in a slovenly, discontented, disorderly, restless, rebellious condition, "incontinent, unmerciful, traitors, stubborn, puffed up, lovers of pleasure more than of God," as St. Paul says (and this I think is the state of good part of Italy), I cannot but think that such a community, such a nation, is in a state of religious decadence.

I did not say in my letter, and do not say, that good Christians will make *splendid fortunes*, or be *better off* than the children of this world; for men who make worldly success their object, and the one object of their lives, and pursue it with energy and prudence, will commonly have their reward where they seek it, and will beat in the race of wealth or honour the good Catholic, who not only does not

make it his sole object, but not his object at all. And in like manner I did not quarrel with the social state of Italy because England *surpassed* her in worldly greatness, but because she was all in confusion, without stable government, without internal union, without civil obedience, without religious peace.

I am tempted here to quote some words of the Council of Paris of 1849; they may be taken as a sort of friendly hint addressed by the Christians of France to the Christians of Italy and their abettors. "It is not true," say the Fathers of the Council, "that in holding the inequality of ranks in society, the Church implies that those hapless persons who are both broken with labour, and yet encompassed with utter penury, are fettered to their misfortunes *without power of change and as though by some insuperable fate*, the pressure of which neither can nor ought to be alleviated. This most perverted sentiment, which of old time *was in fashion among the pagans*, is utterly foreign to the Christian doctrine, and is abhorred and detested by the Church.

"Neither is it true that we must understand the Evangelical doctrine concerning the spiritual advantage of pain and its sanctifying power in the sense that it is not lawful for Christians either to desire or to secure a relief of their miseries. For they are taught by the Church to pray daily for deliverance from evil, which in this life is, *in the first place sin, next misery or any trouble*: and, on every opportunity which offers itself, doth the same Church declare that it is both lawful and honourable for those who are in want of the goods of this life, to strive earnestly in order that *every one of them*, by means of his strenuous efforts, and in conscientious ways, may *alleviate the hardship of his condition*, nay further, may succeed, by the assistance of God, in *rising to a more prosperous state*.

"Once more, it is not true that the Church disapproves of either the prudent investigations of the learned or the *wise endeavours of the civil power, for the amelioration of those classes of society which are in want*. What measures soever can be ascertained and established which are salutary for this purpose, we declare to be *worthy of praise, and agreeable to Christian piety*" (Decret. pp. 66-68).

It must be recollected by my critic that these strong sentiments have been "*recognita et approbata*" by the Holy See.

I cannot tell, of course, whether he is a priest, but by his authoritative tone I suppose he is; and if so, I recommend him to "preach" to his poorer people, that if they do not strive hard by conscientious ways to rise out of their abject poverty, they are omitting a course of conduct which the Holy See has pronounced to be "lawful, honourable, praiseworthy, and consistent with Christian piety."

I am, &c.

O. H.

---

#### LAY STUDENTS IN THEOLOGY.

SIR,—I beg to direct your writer's attention to a passage in Dr. Newman's recent volume on University Teaching, in answer to his ques-

tion about laymen studying theology. It agrees pretty nearly with a judgment which I have heard, and to which I defer, viz. that laymen may study the Treatises *de Religione* and *de Ecclesia*; but had better keep clear of the high mysteries of faith and of the subject of grace.

After mentioning the reasons which "oblige us to introduce the subject of religion into our secular schools," he proceeds to answer the objection that "it is better for a youth to know nothing [of theology] than to have a slender knowledge, which he can use freely for the very reason that it is slender." He writes thus:

"In the first place, it is obvious to answer, that one great portion of the knowledge here advocated is, as I have just said, historical knowledge, which has little or nothing to do with doctrine. If a Catholic youth mixes with educated Protestants of his own age, he will find them conversant with the outlines and the characteristics of sacred and ecclesiastical history as well as profane: it is desirable that he should be on a par with them, and able to keep up a conversation with them. It is desirable, if he has left our University with honours or prizes, that he should know as well as they the great primitive divisions of Christianity, its polity, its luminaries, its acts, and its fortunes; its great eras, and its course to this day. He should have some idea of its propagation, and the order in which the nations which have submitted to it entered its pale; and the list of its Fathers, and of its writers generally, and the subjects of their works. . . . He should be able to say what the Holy See has done for learning and science; the place which these islands hold in the literary history of the dark age; what part the Church had, and how its highest interests fared, in the revival of letters. . . . I do not say that we can ensure all this knowledge in every accomplished student who goes from us, but at least we can admit such knowledge, we can encourage it, in our lecture-rooms and examination-halls.

"And so in like manner as regards Biblical knowledge, it is desirable that, while our students are encouraged to pursue the history of classical literature, they should also be invited to acquaint themselves with some general facts about the canon of Holy Scripture, its history, the Jewish canon, St. Jerome, the Protestant Bible; again, about the languages of Scripture, the contents of its separate books, their authors, and their versions. In all such knowledge I conceive no great harm can lie in being superficial.

"But now as to Theology itself. To meet the apprehended danger, I would exclude the teaching *in extenso* of pure dogma from the secular schools, and content myself with enforcing such a broad knowledge of doctrinal subjects as is contained in the catechisms of the Church, or the actual writings of her laity. I would have them apply their minds to such religious topics as laymen actually do treat, and are thought praiseworthy in treating. Certainly I admit that when a lawyer, or physician, or statesman, or merchant, or soldier, sets about discussing theological points, he is likely to suc-

ceed as ill as an ecclesiastic who meddles with law, or medicine, or the exchange. But I am professing to contemplate Christian knowledge in what may be called its secular aspect, as it is practically useful in the intercourse of life and in general conversation; and I would encourage it as it bears upon the history, literature, and philosophy of Christianity.

"It is to be considered, that our students are to go out into the world, and a world not of professed Catholics, but of inveterate, often bitter, commonly contemptuous Protestants; nay, of Protestants who, so far as they come from Protestant Universities and public schools, do know their own system, do know, in proportion to their general attainments, the doctrines and arguments of Protestantism. I should desire, then, to encourage in our students an intelligent apprehension of the relations, as I may call them, between the Church and society at large; for instance, the difference between the Church and a religious sect; between the Church and the civil power; what the Church claims of necessity, what it cannot dispense with, what it can; what it can grant, what it cannot. A Catholic hears the celibacy of the clergy discussed; is that usage of faith, or is it not of faith? He hears the Pope accused of interfering with the prerogatives of her Majesty, because he appoints an hierarchy. What is he to answer? What principle is to guide him in the remarks which he cannot escape from the necessity of making? He fills a station of importance, and he is addressed by some friend who has political reasons for wishing to know what is the difference between Canon and Civil Law, whether the Council of Trent has been received in France, whether a priest cannot in certain cases absolve prospectively, what is meant by his *intention*, what by the *opus operatum*; whether, and in what sense, we consider Protestants to be heretics; whether any one can be saved without sacramental confession; whether we deny the reality of natural virtue, and what worth we assign to it.

"Questions may be multiplied without limit, which occur in conversation between friends in social intercourse, or in the business of life, where no argument is needed, no subtle and delicate disquisition, but a few direct words stating the fact. Half the controversies which go on in the world arise from ignorance of the facts of the case; half the prejudices against Catholicity lie in the misinformation of the prejudiced parties. Candid persons are set right, and enemies silenced, by the mere statement of what it is that we believe. It will not answer the purpose for a Catholic to say, 'I leave it to theologians,' 'I will ask my priest;' but it will commonly give him a triumph, as easy as it is complete, if he can then and there lay down the law. I say, 'lay down the law;' for remarkable it is, that even those who speak against Catholicism like to hear about it, and will excuse its advocate from alleging arguments, if he can gratify their curiosity by giving them information. Generally speaking, however, as I have said, such mere information will really be an argument also. I recollect some twenty-five years

ago three friends of my own, as they then were, clergymen of the Establishment, making a tour through Ireland. In the West or South they had occasion to become pedestrians for the day; and they took a boy of thirteen to be their guide. They amused themselves with putting questions to him on the subject of his religion; and one of them confessed to me on his return that that poor child put them all to silence. How? Not of course by any train of argument or refined theological disquisition, but merely by knowing and understanding the answers in his catechism.

“Nor will argument itself be out of place in the hands of laymen mixing with the world. As secular power, honour, and resources are never more suitably placed than when they are in the hands of Catholics; so secular knowledge and secular gifts are then best employed when they minister to Divine Revelation. Theologians inculcate the matter and determine the details of that revelation; they view it from within; philosophers view it from without; and this external view may be called the Philosophy of Religion, and the office of delineating it externally is most gracefully performed by laymen. In the first age laymen were most commonly the apologists. Such were Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Aristides, Hermias, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius. In like manner, in this age some of the most prominent defences of the Church are from laymen; as De Maistre, Chateaubriand, Nicolas, Montalembert, and others. If laymen may write, lay-students may read; they surely may read what their fathers may have written. They might surely study other works too, ancient and modern, whether by ecclesiastics or laymen, which, although they do contain theology, nevertheless in their structure and drift are polemical. Such is Origen’s great work against Celsus. . . . Even, however, if we confine ourselves strictly to the philosophy, that is, the external contemplation of religion, we shall have a range of reading sufficiently wide, and as valuable in its practical application as it is liberal in its character. In it will be included what are commonly called the Evidences, and what is an especially interesting subject at this day, the notes of the Church.”

A letter which has come into my hands from a foreign theologian singularly corroborates some of these remarks, going further than the author. It says, “My opinion is, which many others share, that at present laymen of a certain rank have more need of knowing *dogmatic* theology, ecclesiastical history, and canon law, than priests. The reason is, that in lay company the deepest and most difficult problems in those subjects are discussed. This is seldom done when any priest is present. Moreover, in your country, laymen have better opportunities than priests to correct a thousand false notions of Protestants.”

H.

## ON DEVOTION TO HOLY MEN DEPARTED.

SIR,—A theologian, whom without extravagance I may consider of the very highest authority on the point, writes to me as follows on the subject which your correspondent R. M. has started. He says:

1. There is no obstacle against publishing pictures, even with prayers attached, in honour of these martyrs, provided that (1) there is no glory round the head; and (2) the title of Saint or Blessed is not given to them. Moreover, it is fitting (3) that the word "martyr" should not be employed as a special and solemn personal qualification. But we might allowably say "martyred;" "shed his blood for the faith;" "N. M. martyr of the order of Benedictines."

2. There is no obstacle to painting or exposing the portraits of these martyrs in the churches, provided no aureole is given them.

3. There is no obstacle to inserting their lives in the collections of the Lives of the Saints, provided they are not qualified in an undue manner.

4. The private *cultus* of persons who have died in the odour of sanctity, so far from being forbidden in the Church, is, on the contrary, completely authorised.

I will add one remark: Gilbert, who had the pictures of the English Martyrs painted in the English chapel at Rome, probably did things that would not be at present permitted. At that time the wise decrees of Urban VIII. had not been made. These decrees are excessively severe; but they have been softened by interpretation and by usage; as may be seen in Benedict XIV. *de Can. S.* In Italy they are much more facile than on this side the Alps. And yet it was because of the abuses which took place in Italy, that the decrees were made. The devout women of Venice went to burn their candles before the tomb of the Protestant Servite Paolo Sarpi.

C. M.

## TRADITIONS OF HISTORICAL POINTS IN THE SCHOOLS.

SIR,—May I be permitted, without pretending to answer a question which will, I hope, be treated by some one more competent than myself, to introduce to the readers of the *Rambler* a passage from Sir Thomas More's letter to Dorpius, which throws some light on the distinction between the *traditional theology of the schools*, and *real historical and patristic learning*, proposed in your last Number for discussion.

"You will perhaps say (writes Sir Thomas)\* that in the ancient writers the matters are not so easily found, nor so well arranged, as in these more modern ones, who have collected together all cognate and similar subjects under certain heads, and have sorted each into its own family. In this, Dorpius, perhaps I should agree with you;

\* Thomæ Mori Opera omnia, Latine, Frankfort, 1689, pp. 292 et sqq.

I confess that it is convenient, both in literary and in domestic furniture, to have every thing distinct and in its own place; so that you may, at a moment's notice, lay your hand upon it without mistake. It is, I confess, a convenience. But some people make such an inconvenient use of this great convenience, that it would almost have been better for them not to have the convenience at all. And I imagine that this was the chief reason why all the most ancient commentators on the Bible have been so long neglected by most people; because the corrupted judgments of these unhappy wits have persuaded, first themselves and then others, that there is nowhere any thing worth reading that has not been collected into the receptacles of these compendia. So they content themselves with them, and carelessly condemn all else. I myself once fell in with a person of this way of thinking in a bookseller's shop. He was an old man, with one foot already in the grave, and likely to have both there soon. He had already enjoyed the honour of the doctorate for more than thirty years. I happened to say to him that St. Augustine once thought that all devils were corporeal substances.\* He immediately bent his brows, and tried to frown down my temerity. So I replied, 'It is not I that say so, father; nor do I defend Augustine for saying so: he was a man, he might be wrong. I believe in him as in a man that was most frequently right; but I do not think that any one man is to be believed in every thing.' Then my friend began to glow with passion, chiefly because of my calumnious imputation upon the great Father. 'Do you think,' said he, 'that I have never read Augustine? I read him before you were born.' Then he would have transfixed me with his angry words, if I had not luckily had proof at hand. As we were in the bookseller's shop, I took up St. Augustine's book *de Divinatione Dæmonum*, and turned to the place, and showed it him. After reading the passage once and again, and at length, on the third reading, having with my help begun to understand it, he said, with astonishment, 'Surely I much wonder how Augustine can speak thus in this book; for he certainly does not say so in the Master of the Sentences, which is a book of much greater authority than this.'"

Here I interrupt the course of my author's remarks, because Stapleton, in his *Vita Thomæ Mori*, c. xiii., takes up the quotation at the point to which I have brought it, introducing it with the following heading of his own:

"About the theologians who are versed only in scholastic

\* St. Augustine does not quite say this; he speaks of devils having bodies, aerial, not earthly bodies, and so far of the nature of human bodies, that by means of the analogy he answers the objection that, since in their bodies they move more quickly and perceive more keenly than we in ours, therefore their bodies are superior to ours. No, he answers, for the bodies of brute animals are endowed with a faculty of greater speed and of more acute perception than ours have, yet they are not on that account better than ours. He does not appear to notice these passages in his *Retractions*, but the sense of the word "corpus" is very vague in the Fathers. Vid. Petav. de Deo, ii. 1. Other instances are given from St. Augustine, in F. de Lugo de Angel. i. 1.—ED.

learning, and who neglect the reading of the Fathers and of the Scriptures, contenting themselves with Peter Lombard or Gratian only, and the patristic texts cited by them; he writes, in his Epistle to Martin Dorpius, to exhibit the magnitude of their mistake and of their failing." Then he continues More's text, where I broke it off, thus:

"People of this kidney, who read neither the Fathers nor the Scriptures, seem to me to act like a person who would not look at any Latin Classic, but would only learn the construction of the language from the rules of Alexander, and the words from Perott's *Cornucopia* and from Calepin, because he was persuaded that all Latin words were to be found in these works. And, indeed, he would find the greatest part, and all the choicest of them. For just as, in the recent school-theologians, the texts of the old Fathers are inserted as authorities, so in these grammatical books do the old poets and orators figure, and some, indeed, whose works are no longer extant. But these will never make a Latin scholar, nor the others a theologian, if he studies them alone; even though he may be up in ten thousand of the abstract questions."

Perhaps the circumstance that he writes this in defence of Erasmus against Dorpius, might deprive even More's venerable name of the weight which it otherwise would have given to this letter, were it not that he is confirmed by Stapleton's high authority. As it stands, it must be taken to express the united judgment of our great Martyr and our greatest Doctor. The grammatical works of Alexander, Perott, and Calepin, noticed in the extract, may find their parallel in the grammar, gradus, and delectus of modern days. "As grammar, gradus, and delectus," says More, "do not make a scholar, so scholastic *compendia* do not make a theologian."

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

R. S.

## DESIGNS AND PROSPECTS OF RUSSIA.

SIR,—A friend of mine has expressed his views on the subject of the attitude and views of Russia, in connection with the present war, so clearly in an unpublished pamphlet, that I hope you will allow me to set them before your readers as far as your space admits.

Russia, as he considers, is the power destined to gain by the mad and lawless policy of France and Sardinia. The "liberalism" put forward is only the familiar repetition of many another stroke of the kind. Such professions of philanthropic sympathy preceded the disruption of Poland; such talk was heard about Greece and before Navarino, and has now half-severed a new region from Turkey on the Danube, to be soon absorbed like Poland. The strings and levers of the Secret Societies of the Continent are in reality in her hands. She has Legitimacy in one hand, and Revolu-

tion in the other; and is so practised in the game, that she might almost play it blindfold.

How long is it since it has been known to the better informed in every country but England—which is so enlightened that she cannot see—that before Russia's plans in Turkey can be much further developed, Austria must be reduced to at least an inert, suffering, exhausted condition? Austria's Slavic populations must also be taught to look for their future to the cognate Muscovite, and, with those of Turkey, gradually crystallise into Russian provinces, from the Black Sea to the Adriatic.

This assault of France and Sardinia will probably advance Russia morally and politically—though not as yet physically—to all but the accomplishment of that design.

Even a succession of military successes, pitched battles fairly won, can hardly save Austria. She will almost certainly break down in finance, after having, to men's surprise, just raised her head above the level of bankruptcy. Russia will have nothing to do but stand by, guiding events through her satellites in Paris, Turin, and London. If Austria be not sufficiently broken, she can disturb her by conspiracy in her rear, or even by attack. If she be so far broken as to present a prospect of France becoming too powerful, she can head a German alliance, and march to the Rhine, putting Austria once more as ostentatiously as possible in a position of disgraceful obligation for help out of a pit which the helper had dug.

My own impression is, that the financial ruin and the show of help are for Austria, and that military concussion is reserved for France. But who can say? It may depend on the completeness of Louis Napoleon's collusion with Alexander. If he is yet to join in a partition of Turkey, then the whole weight of all calamity may probably fall on Austria. Still, the former course—that, to wit, of hopeless depression of Austria through financial exhaustion, and of France through a defeat at the hands of a new coalition—seems the more likely.

In any event, the real case, as concerns Europe, has not even been hinted at by our wonderful Press and Parliament. On the one hand, a philanthropic impossibility, a lawless propagandism of constitutional forms, is accepted as motive for encouraging the march of France into Italy; on the other hand, a risk of such a thing as French ambition is the utmost motive that has been suggested for misgiving, and for pausing in headlong coöperation with Cavour and the Clubs. Certainly this is, so far, common sense; but how infinitely short of the truths involved, and the motives presented, by three words, "What of Russia?" You will not get that chord touched.

But there are other motives besides those drawn from strategy, and geographical positions, and sympathies of blood and language, which make Russia intent on paralysing Austria, reducing her to a small German state, and slipping the Muscovite bit into the mouths of her Slavic tribes.

The same motives which rendered it clear gain to Russia that the prestige of the Germanic empire—the shadow of that of Rome—should cease, and that Vienna should sink into only the capital of Austria, and her emperor be one, therefore, of a later date than the Romanoff, still prevail. The grandeur of the old imperial dignity is not yet sufficiently stripped from Russia's rival. Like that other august claimant of homage and reverence, the crown of St. Louis, it must be lowered to the dust. Russia must have none but new kings and *parvenu* states, or, at best, decrepit old ones, as the preliminary to enforcing her long-reserved claim to universal imperial sway, and the fruition of her pretended inheritance through Byzantium and the Palæologi.

She has also to make her throne the citadel of man's religious necessities. However strong unbelief and vice and revolution may be, in the long-run Russia knows that men must have order, and all that renders order possible; and that, therefore, religion must reappear, like an Ararat, after every deluge. What strength may be got through these moral necessities, after teaching the world to feel them through successive confusions and desolations, and after breaking down every rival representative of such ideas, Russia means to retain for herself. She may somewhat miscalculate final issues, but, in the mean time, such are among her motives; such are, therefore, among the facts with which we are concerned in viewing such an event as war waged against Austria. Every portion of this subject,—in which England has been only seeing, on the one hand, a tempting vision of a romantic united Italy, and, on the other, a warning spectre of an aggrandised France,—teems, in fact, with Russia's schemes. Her motives and interests, ethnological, geographical, military, political, religious, crowd into the very van of the question. Yet they are unseen, unnamed. Their overwhelming importance is rendered doubly impressive by the dead silence regarding them. Such a demeanour, in the face of such facts, is fearfully ominous; it shows the truth to be so grave as to make the weak look askance, and that where ignorance and panic cannot be supposed, there must be collusion.

One word as to contingency directly affecting our own shores. Which power is likely to do Russia's work of breaking England when her turn comes? Is it Austria? or is it France? Supposing Louis Napoleon to look forward to the humiliation of England as the triumph which is to give to himself fame, and to his dynasty permanence, when can he most safely attempt it,—before or after the crushing of Austria? Austria (like the rest of Germany) might easily be induced to strike a blow to save England, and arrest the domination of France, were she herself standing upright and uncrippled. If French ambition, or rather vain-glory and revenge, are, therefore, ere long to be directed against us, the assault on Austria is a wise preliminary. Our most sure ally will be thus destroyed, not to speak of her dispositions changed by a sense of injury in being abandoned. France will assail us with no alarms

in her rear, but, on the contrary, with Italian ships, and ports, and sailors, added to her own. The temptation, should France entirely triumph in her present war, to pursue the career desired by Russia will be irresistible; and a deadly struggle between the two great maritime powers will end in the possession by a third of the prize for which they contend.

H. H.

## Literary Notices.

*A Tour in Dalmatia, Albania, and Montenegro, with an Historical Sketch of the Republic of Ragusa.* By W. F. Wingfield, M.A. M.D. (London, Bentley.) A record of a short excursion made by the writer into a part of the world that is little known, with the object of ascertaining the condition of the Christian population of Turkish Albania, and that of the Slave nationalities on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Many interesting details on both these subjects may be picked up in this modest volume.

The history of Ragusa, the "little Venice" of the Adriatic, is interesting, as that of a republic which alone knew how to preserve itself and its maritime commerce by treaty and peaceable means during Turkish ascendancy in the Mediterranean, without compromising its religious faith or political independence, and which only fell at last through voluntarily taking part with Napoleon I. It appears, from late notices in the public prints, likely to figure in the present war.

*Mansel's Bampton Lectures.* 3d edition. (London, Murray.) We have, as our readers know, already reviewed this able work at some length. We notice it again merely from justice to Mr. Mansel, who has replied to some observations we ventured to make on his omission of any reference to Dr. Newman's works. We need hardly say, for we shall quote his words, how satisfactory and handsome Mr. Mansel's reply is; still, he will be pleased to know that we feel it to be so; moreover, he will not be unwilling perhaps to be assured also that—whatever might be the zeal of friends of Dr. Newman in his behalf—as regards Dr. Newman himself, the notion that Mr. Mansel had passed him over did not once come into his mind; and that the perusal of Mr. Mansel's new preface has been to him simply a surprise and a pleasure,—a pleasure, no part of which has gone in undoing any previous pain. He writes as follows: "It remains only to say a few words on a question of fact, involving one of the most serious accusations that can be brought against the character of an author. A writer in the *Rambler*, to whom in other respects I feel I am indebted for a liberal and kindly appreciation of my labours, has qualified his favourable judgment by the grave charge that the 'whole gist of the book' is borrowed without acknowledgment from the teaching of Dr. Newman, as a preacher or as a writer. Against a

charge of this kind there is but one possible defence. No obligation was acknowledged, simply because none existed. I say this, assuredly with no intention to speak slightly of one whose transcendent gifts no differences should hinder me from acknowledging, but because it is necessary, in justice to myself, to state exactly the relation in which I stand towards him. Dr. Newman's teaching from the University pulpit was almost at its close before my connection with Oxford began; his parochial sermons I had very seldom an opportunity of hearing. His published writings might doubtless have given me much valuable assistance, but with these I was but very slightly acquainted when these Lectures were first published; and the little I knew contained nothing which appeared to bear upon my argument. This is but one out of many deficiencies of which I have been painfully conscious during the progress of the work; and which I would gladly have endeavoured to supply, had circumstances allowed me a longer time for direct preparation.

"The point, indeed, on which the reviewer lays most stress is one in which there was little room for originality, either in myself or in my supposed teacher. That Revelation is accommodated to the limitations of man's faculties, and is primarily designed for the purposes of practical religion, and not for those of speculative philosophy, has been said over and over again by writers of almost every age, and is, indeed, a truth so obvious, that it might have occurred independently to almost any number of thinkers. Doubtless there is no truth, however trite and obvious, which may not assume a new and striking aspect in the hands of a great and original writer; and in this, as in other respects, a better acquaintance with Dr. Newman's works might have taught me a better mode of expressing many arguments to which my own language may have done but imperfect justice. Even at this late hour I am tempted to subjoin, as a conclusion to these observations, one passage of singular beauty and truth, of which, had I known it earlier, I would gladly have availed myself, as pointing out the true spirit in which inquiries like these should be pursued, and the practical lesson which they are designed to teach." He then quotes *University Sermons*, page 351.

*Literary Remains; consisting of Lectures and Tracts on Political Economy.* By the late Rev. Richard Jones, formerly Professor of Political Economy at the East-India College, Haileybury, and Member of the Tithe and Charity Commissions: edited, with a Prefatory Notice, by the Rev. W. Whewell, D.D. (London, Murray.) Mr. Jones was well known, not only for his eminent practical ability, but for the originality of many of his speculations in political economy. Before his time that science almost aspired to rank with pure mathematics; at least its professors started with universal *à-priori* principles, definitions, and axioms, and from them deduced a series of propositions, which they regarded as demonstrated, often in spite of facts, and as universally true for all mankind, in spite of their utter ignorance of the social state of nine-tenths of the human race. Mr. Jones, on the contrary, insisted on always treating

political economy as a purely inductive science ; he refused to allow that principles that were only proved for England, were to be accepted without proof as true for other countries ; he demanded a survey of all countries and all ages for his *Political Economy of Nations*. Hence arose an amusing contest between the adherents of Mr. Ricardo, the great professor of the *à-priori* school, and Mr. Jones. The dispute was about rent : rent, it appears, according to the pure understanding, is the result of the excess of the produce of good over bad soil ; according to sober observation it is of various kinds,—there are *serf-rents*, *metayer-rents*, *ryot-rents*, *cottier-rents*, and *farmers'-rents*. This appeal to facts, and laborious generalisations, naturally annoyed the disciples of a school which, in speaking of ordinary and vulgar things, so mystified and spiritualised them that no one could recognise them. Mr. Jones's rent was "what is commonly called rent ;" the Ricardian rents are abstract ideas, representing rents that are not actually paid in any country.

The materials for the lectures now published were chiefly gathered during this controversy, which arose from a work of Mr. Jones on rent, published in 1831. This work led to his appointment as Professor of Political Economy at the newly-established King's College, London, in 1833 ; and in 1835 he succeeded Mr. Malthus in the same capacity at Haileybury. Jones was the great animating spirit, one might say the author, of the Tithe-Commutation Act, and the Archbishop's commissioner in carrying out its enactments. For this the Anglican Establishment owed him a debt of gratitude which it never repaid. "He was told by the Government that he was to look for his final provision to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had appointed him to the office of commissioner. . . . But it was never found possible to reward him," all the preferments finding their issues in other directions. Dr. Whewell's publication of these *Remains* is a tribute to an old Cambridge friend.

Mr. Jones's book is one that must be studied by those who wish to become acquainted with the dry subject about which it treats ; a subject necessary for an enlarged political knowledge, but not so necessary as our modern statesmen seem to suppose. Political economy, when regarded as the basis of political science, leads only to the French system, which seems to have no eye but for the formal distributions of power and wealth, without a moment's consideration of the moral basis which should underlie every constitution, political and social. Better is it to consider the moral basis as every thing, than to attribute too much to the formal distribution ; cutting and shuffling the cards is of little use when all the trumps are withdrawn. As the late Duchess of Orleans well remarked, a constitution is something more than a political system ably and dextrously framed ; it is also a combination of reciprocal duties, freely and cordially accepted on both sides. Our great political dangers seem all to proceed from the side of the Benthamite system of mechanical morality.

*The Good News of God.* Sermons by Charles Kingsley, Rector of

Eversley. (London, J. W. Parker.) Mr. Kingsley is right, and he is wrong, in calling his sermons *news*; for they neither preach the old Christianity, nor do they announce for the first time another Gospel. Mr. Kingsley has to a certain extent made himself the mouthpiece of the religious tendencies of the present age, which, as F. Faber says, takes man's side and not God's, and seeks rather to reduce God to the level of ordinary good men, than to raise the standard of goodness to any superhuman level. Mr. Kingsley's moral theology is that of Socrates; his dogmatic theology that of Socinus, garnished with dressings appropriate to his position as rector of Eversley. The first of these sermons is on the beatific vision: this, for the new school, is not the vision of God "as He is;" but it is "to see, if but for a moment, with the mind's eye, what God is like." This vision is attained by induction—by observing and gathering up in the memory the impressions of all the goodness in the world. "When we see countless drops of goodness scattered about in the world, a little good in this man, and a little good in that, shall we not say there must be one great sea of goodness from whence all human goodness comes? And where can that be, but in the very character of God Himself?" Therefore, if we want to know what God is, we must "think of all the noble, beautiful, lovable actions, tempers, feelings, which we ever saw or heard of;" and then make a compound of them, to make one perfectly good character, in which we can dimly contemplate God. In this sense all men, the most abandoned even, have had the beatific vision; for they all at some moments love goodness; "and all the wisest men among the heathen, the men who have been honoured and even worshiped as blessings to their fellow-men, have agreed, one and all, in the great and golden rule, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul, and thy neighbour as thyself:'" but no man, Christian or heathen, can love a God who "feels feelings and does deeds which, if a man felt or did, we should call him arbitrary, proud, revengeful, cruel,"—such as condemning the sinner to hell.

The second sermon is entitled "The Glory of the Cross." Here Mr. Kingsley says we see a sight that was not given to the heathen to behold,—the complete triumph of *magnanimity*. And this is all he sees on Calvary!

On the whole, the volume may be characterised as an attempt to reduce the Bible to terms of Aristotle or Plutarch; to do away with all distinctions between the natural and supernatural, and to identify heathen with Christian virtues. The world has been tempted to this course by the spectacle of men calling themselves Christians, and setting up as models of religious persons, and yet totally lacking all the virtues which ought to be common to all men, Jew, Gentile, or Christian; lacking honesty and honour, and all the qualities which characterise a true gentleman. A protest on behalf of the natural virtues was wanted. Mr. Kingsley goes too far in his protest when he virtually protests against the supernatural.

## Contemporary Events.

### HOME AFFAIRS.

#### 1. *The New Parliament.*

On April 19, in her Speech dissolving Parliament, her Majesty used the following words, which express more of political principle and personal feeling than is usual with such state-papers :

“ We are commanded by her Majesty to inform you that it is her Majesty’s intention forthwith to dissolve the present Parliament, with a view to enable her people to express, in the mode prescribed by the constitution, their opinions on the state of public affairs.

“ Her Majesty commands us to inform you that the appeal which she is about to make to her people has been rendered necessary by the difficulties experienced in carrying on the public business of the country, as indicated by the fact that within little more than a year two successive Administrations have failed to retain the confidence of the House of Commons; and her Majesty prays that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the step which she is about to take may have the effect of facilitating the discharge of her high functions, and of enabling her to conduct the government of the country under the advice of a Ministry possessed of the confidence of her Parliament and people.”

Parliament accordingly was dissolved in the ordinary way on April 23, and the elections followed.

The new Parliament, the sixth of the present reign, was opened by the Queen in person on the 7th of June.

Two questions were before the country,—its home policy and its foreign; the questions of Parliamentary Reform, and of the French Alliance. The former of the two administrations, of which the Queen speaks in her speech on dissolving Parliament, had lost power on the foreign question; the ministry which succeeded had lost the confidence of the House of Commons on the home question, and had only staved off a resignation by the dissolution, which had been the main subject of her Majesty’s Speech.

#### 2. *Debate in the Commons on the Queen’s Speech, and Amendment on it carried.*

In her Speech in opening the new Parliament, the Queen spoke of both questions thus :

Of the foreign, which, though it had taken a very different shape, was substantially the same as that on which Lord Palmerston lost office :

“ War has been declared between France and Sardinia on one side, and Austria on the other. Receiving assurances of friendship from both the contending parties, I intend to maintain between them a strict and impartial neutrality; and I hope, with God’s assistance, to preserve to my people the blessing of continued peace.”

Of the home, which was the difficulty of Lord Derby :

“ I should with pleasure give my sanction to any well-considered measure for the amendment of the laws which regulate the representation of my people in Parliament; and, should you be of opinion that the necessity of giving your immediate attention to measures of urgency relating to the defence and financial condition of the country will not leave you sufficient time for legislating, with due deliberation, during the present session, on a subject at once so difficult and so extensive, I trust that at the commencement of the next session your earnest attention will be given to a question, of which an early and satisfactory settlement would be greatly to the public advantage.”

In the House of Commons the Opposition moved an amendment on the Address in answer to the Royal Speech. Lord Hartington, who was their spokesman, said :

“ I do not suppose her Majesty’s Government can complain of the course which we are taking. The issue which we now put to the House is simply that which the Government have already put to the people. And it is to that question that I now ask the represen-

tatives of the people to give an answer. In dissolving the late Parliament, her Majesty's Government had not done so upon any particular measure. They did not complain that they were not supported in their foreign policy. They simply put this issue to the country; they said, 'For two sessions we have endeavoured to carry on the business of the country, without being able, upon a party division, to go into the lobby with a majority of this House.' They said that such a position was no longer consistent with their own dignity or advantageous to the country. And they asked the country to return a House of Commons which might convert their minority into a majority. Sir, I hope that the decision of the challenge which has been thus thrown down, and which we thus accept, will, at the conclusion of this debate, be received by both parties in a spirit of fairness and of honour. For myself I can say, and I believe that in so doing I speak the sentiments of almost all the members on this side of the House, that if we are defeated on this amendment we shall cheerfully and willingly bow to the decision of the House. We shall then know what is our position as an opposition."

The Amendment ran in the following strong form of words:

"We beg humbly to submit to your Majesty that it is essential, in order to secure these satisfactory results, and particularly in the discharge of these high functions, that your Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this House and of the country; and we deem it our duty respectfully to represent to your Majesty that such confidence is not reposed in your Majesty's present Government."

On the morning of June 11, 2 a.m., the division took place, when Government was defeated in a House of 633 members by a majority of 13; 323 being for the amendment, and 310 against it.

### 3. *Resignation of Conservative Ministry; their Successors.*

Government resigned a few hours after the division. The Queen in consequence sent for Lord Granville in the afternoon of the same day. What ensued will be told most accurately in the words, not of the noble lords who

took part in the proceedings, but of the *Times* newspaper; we say this because on the one hand there is less of diplomatic reserve in its account, and on the other because Lord Derby in the House implied, and Lord Granville also, that it was so true that it ought never to have been published. The account is as follows: her Majesty desired Lord Granville to form an administration, strong in ability and parliamentary power, which should also at the same time comprehend within itself every section of the Liberal party. She said, moreover, that she preferred to betake herself to Lord Granville, because it was invidious to have to choose between two such meritorious statesmen as Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Lord Granville in consequence addressed himself to both statesmen. Lord Palmerston, "in the handsomest manner, and without the slightest hesitation," consented to wave his claims and to act under Lord Granville; but Lord John Russell "was disposed to insist upon conditions which would render any union or coöperation impossible, whether under the premiership of Lord Granville or any one else." What Lord John's motive was for such a course of action was not stated. The issue was, that the Queen sent for Lord Palmerston, who, after some days' negotiation, succeeded in forming a ministry; Lord John Russell undertaking the Foreign Secretaryship; on the other hand, Lord Clarendon being excluded from the ministry. The arrangement of offices runs thus:

#### THE CABINET.

*First Lord of the Treasury,*  
Viscount Palmerston.  
*Chancellor of the Exchequer,*  
Mr. Gladstone.  
*Home Secretary,*  
Sir G. C. Lewis.  
*Colonial Secretary,*  
Duke of Newcastle.  
*India Secretary,*  
Sir C. Wood.  
*Foreign Secretary,*  
Lord John Russell.  
*War Secretary,*  
Mr. Sidney Herbert.  
*First Lord of the Admiralty,*  
The Duke of Somerset.  
*Lord Chancellor,*  
Lord Campbell.

*President of the Council,*

Earl Granville.

*Privy Seal,*

Duke of Argyll.

*Postmaster-General,*

Earl of Elgin.

*President of the Board of Trade,*

Mr. Cobden.

*President of the Poor-Law Board,*

Mr. Milner Gibson.

*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,*

Sir G. Grey.

*Secretary for Ireland,*

Mr. Cardwell.

*Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,*

Lord Carlisle.

The only light thrown upon the intended policy of the new Administration is contained in the address of Lord Palmerston to the Liberal members of Parliament, at their meeting prior to the opening of the session. On that occasion he insisted strongly on the duty of maintaining a strict neutrality, and declared he could not foresee any circumstance which would render the hostile intervention of England necessary. He added that, in his opinion, nothing was so conducive to the interests of Europe or the preservation of peace as the maintenance of a strict alliance between England and France. He had also stated his desire, we believe on the hustings, that Italy should be rid of the Austrians.

As a mark of special favour, her Majesty has proposed to confer on Lord Derby the Order of the Garter; and, as there is no garter vacant, she will summon an extraordinary chapter for that purpose. Her Majesty also confers the Grand Cross of the Bath on Lord Malmesbury and Sir John Pakington.

#### 4. *The Cardinal Archbishop and the Irish Elections.*

One of the most remarkable, and not the most pleasant, incidents of the late elections, is what the Liberal and provincial papers called "the alliance between the Government and Cardinal Wiseman." The allegation was for the most part a mere party cry, used against the Government; and it has doubtless had its effect in adding to their unpopularity: but it has been taken up by persons of such high character, that it is disrespectful to them to say that, untrue though it might be, there was

no plausible reason for believing in it. We cannot bring ourselves to think that there might not have been more caution on the Cardinal's part, when his conduct has excited the displeasure of gentlemen who have the claims to our respect which are possessed by Mr. More O'Ferrall. On the hustings he professed his conviction, that adhesion to the Conservative party on the part of Catholics tended to overturn all the interests, and defeat the best hopes, of Ireland; and then he went on to say that "not only for the peace and real welfare of the country, but for the credit of the religion to which he belonged, he deeply and sincerely deplored that such a course had been adopted; and, if persevered in, it would end disastrously. He the more sincerely deplored it, if statements, which he had heard, were true, that the course had been *instigated by persons of high position*—persons who, *above all others*, should be the last to do any thing that would breed ill-feeling and ill-will among men." The newspapers which reported these words, considered them directed against the Cardinal Archbishop; and, as we have seen no other explanation of them, we cannot doubt that such is the case.

When unwarrantable proceedings are imputed to the highest dignitary of the English Church by Catholics of consideration, it is useless to complain of similar imputations on the part of the enemies both of Catholicism and Conservatism. What we have a right to complain of, or rather not to *complain* of (because it is not worth complaining of what is only one instance out of ten thousand wrongs of a similar kind which are the lot of the Catholics of England)—what we wish to protest against and deny is, the *motive* which has been alleged to account for the conduct of the Cardinal and others in supporting the Conservative Ministry. So strong an effort has been made, it is said, that it implies the presence of an unusual power to have caused it. That a newspaper, a long-established and able organ of Catholic and Irish principles, should have taken part with an Orange ministry, and avowed a Conservative policy, may well startle the English public, which has ever associated Catholics with Whigs and Destructives. That, for the first time since the Reform Bill, the Tories should have a majority in the Irish elec-

tions, is a phenomenon which needs to be accounted for. On the other hand, is it not obvious that the Pope must be looking about for political support amid the perils which at present environ him?—and why should he not give his orders to the English Cardinal to make overtures of alliance to a Conservative Ministry, who, like himself, have need of assistance? It is easy to make out a case on almost any subject. The Prince of Wales has been at Rome; the Pope has made the Queen a present, as the Cardinal himself confesses, and her Majesty has acknowledged it in an autograph letter. Moreover, it is no secret that in the highest quarters at Rome Lord Palmerston inspires no respect or confidence whatever; whereas the Conservative leaders, enemies though they be, are felt to be men of honour and of their word. And it might easily be made to appear, to prejudiced minds, that the Cardinal's progress through Ireland last autumn was part of a pre-arranged scheme, intended to pave the way for a grand manœuvre in the tactics of the Catholic body.

Nor was this all that has disquieted the English mind. The Cardinal had never been a Tory; how does he himself account for his change? His friends and others, who have felt or acted with him in his support of the Conservatives, have assigned a reason; and a weaker reason, it is said, could not have been put forward. Nothing is so little tolerated by the public as the pretence that any one acts on so impossible a motive as pure philanthropy; and a philanthropical reason was assigned by Catholic prelates and priests as their inducement for wishing a continuance of the Conservatives in power. "Every man has his price," said a celebrated statesman; had the Cardinal boldly avowed that he wished to advance his social position by means of his new friends, had he asked to be received at court, had he bargained for office or emolument in behalf of Catholic noblemen, lawyers, or Members of Parliament, his conduct would have excited no suspicion, every thing would have been above board and honest; but that a prince of the Church, that a member of the Sacred College, that one who bears the historic name of Cardinal, should care for the souls of the degraded and outcast, and should pretend that he was exerting himself so strenuously in the political arena, and

incurring the unpopularity of Derbyism, as well as the slur of tergiversation, merely for the sake of old women in workhouses, and criminals in gaols, this was too great a tax upon the credulity of the 19th century; and was to be accepted as true only when Louis Napoleon is credited as having crossed the Alps simply from a hatred of despotism, and at the agonising cry of Italy.

We are but drawing out in our own words what the opponents of Lord Derby have really suggested. Strange to say, men have been found who were *naïve* enough to put upon paper the ground of their suspicion. It was the statement of the editor of a provincial journal, whose argument has been so many times repeated up and down the country, as to show how exactly it expressed public opinion on the point to which he directed attention. A Catholic nobleman, he said, had gone about making promises to his co-religionists from Lord Derby, on condition of their supporting his government; and what ostensible promises forsooth? "To put the Catholics *into power*?—not at all; to make *magistrates* of the Catholics?—not at all; *but* to place Catholic gaol-chaplains in England upon the same footing as Catholic chaplains in Ireland." Who, indeed, *could* believe—who with a grave face could profess—that a Cardinal was able to care one jot about prisoners, or their spiritual consolation, or the low jobbing priests whose business it might happen to be to administer it? If his Eminence were telling the real reason for his political conversion, doubtless we should not have had to listen to an explanation so ludicrously insufficient; and the concealment of the price was the index of the secret articles of a treaty.

All this suspiciousness is as absurd as it is ignorant; at the same time, it is an evidence that our public patronage of Lord Derby has not turned out to his political advantage. We fear he must be saying, Deliver me from my friends. Catholics have brought on him a great deal of odium. The Conservative party must be every thing that is bigoted and retrograde, the world reflected, if Catholics can have canvassed for it *con amore*. Its foreign policy has in consequence been treated with great injustice. Lord Derby was thought to favour the Austrians because we favoured him; and Lord Malmesbury's sensible and out-spoken despatches,

published since the elections, have astonished those who thought that the Premier, at the price of Catholic votes, had made a bargain with the Vatican to go to war with France that Austria might retain her hold upon Italy.

Lord Derby, in his speech at the opening of the new Parliament, put the matter in its true light; and it is remarkable, that the account which he gives of the feeling of Catholics towards his ministry is identical with the avowal which some years since we heard made on the subject abroad, in a quarter to which we have already alluded. The Conservatives, it was said, are our enemies, but they will play us no petty underhand tricks; we can trust their word. Lord Derby said in the debate on the Address: "I know that, before the late dissolution, I was told by Conservative Roman Catholics that they were very glad to be able, without violating their religious or their political principles, to give a support to the present government which they had never been able to give to any Conservative government before. But, my lords, they based that support not upon any compact that has been entered into with them by her Majesty's Government, but on that which has been done in the face of the world, not for political considerations, unless you give that name to the obligation which we have as a government always felt under to do what was right. Subsequently to the dissolution, it was stated in a letter written by Cardinal Wiseman to a gentleman in Ireland, and extensively circulated, that Roman Catholic gentlemen had given the Government their support, but without any pledges on the part of Government, *because they found that as Roman Catholics they were treated with more frankness and in a more straightforward manner by the present than by any former government.* I do not think that is a support of which the Government on the one side, or the Roman Catholics on the other, have any reason to be ashamed. We acted as we have done towards the Roman Catholics in the discharge of our public duty, because we thought they were fairly entitled to be treated in the manner we have treated them. We shall pursue the same course. We shall give them whatever indulgence—or fair dealing, I should rather say—we think them legitimately entitled to;

but we shall not give them the slightest thing that can prejudice or impair the interests of that Church to which we belong, and which we think we are bound to support. If Roman Catholic gentlemen think themselves justified in giving their support to a government which *makes them no promises but that it shall deal them substantial justice*, I say that neither they nor we should be ashamed of that measure of support, such as it is, which they have given."

### 5. Policy of English Catholics towards Political Parties.

In thus professing to feel no difficulty at the Cardinal Archbishop's change of political views, we are not implying that we are the active *partisans* of those views, or are *urging them upon others*. We do not presume to criticise what he has done; but, for ourselves, looking at the thing in itself, we like neither Whig or Tory well enough to canvass in their interest. We are speaking only of the Catholic constituency; and, speaking of them, we express our belief that it is a mistake to attempt to form Catholics into a political party, and a greater to make Whig principles or Tory principles the basis of such a party's action, if there be a party. As to the latter of these points, so little do we care for mere politics in our representatives in Parliament, that we see no inconsistency in voting for two candidates who stood against each other, and whom others were plumping for, so that they both promised to be fair to Catholic interests. We do not say that mere political interests and principles, and points of social expedience, may not rightly interest a Catholic's vote; nor are we denying the possibility of a state of parties such, that absolute truth and right are on one side, and that the other cannot deliberately be advocated without an error or a crime; we only say, that if a man aims at serving Catholicism, and nothing short of it, by his vote in the year 1859, he may fairly vote for two men, one of them an anti-Establishment Independent, and the other a Laudian high-churchman, provided that they both, for instance, promise to do us justice in the matter of schools, army and navy, workhouses, prisons, and the like. But, if this be so, then it is an absurd

dity to talk of an alliance of Catholics with Conservatives, or Whigs, or Liberals, or Progressists; unless, and so long as, any one of these parties takes upon itself the championship of Catholic grievances, and the other parties combine to perpetuate them. And in this point of view we assent to an observation in the speeches of several members of Parliament, Mr. Sidney Herbert especially, who says, speaking of the influence of the Derby ministry on Catholic voters, that "he had no reason to complain of the course which the Government had taken as respected the public interest; and if they had broken up a system which had led to differences in Ireland of an interminable nature, they had conferred a great advantage. He had no objection to see Irish Roman Catholics sitting on the opposite benches, for *he had always considered it a great misfortune that every Irish Roman Catholic should feel bound to support the Liberal*, and every Protestant in Ireland should belong to the Conservative party; and any thing granted in a conciliatory spirit to the Irish Roman Catholics, without imputation of dishonour to the Government, was in its favour, being in itself wise policy."

Surely this is the language of common sense: Catholics in these countries are not all taken out of one class; they do not form one body naturally; how can you bring them into one body? and why should you expect them to have the opinions of any one set of public men? The Wesleyans, the Quakers, the Unitarians, for the most part belong to one class in society; it is natural that their political, social, and secular interests should be the same. It is not so with Catholics, for the very reason that their Church is Catholic. It gathers of every kind; it has specimens of every class in the community, of high and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned. The children of Whigs and of Tories, the families of high-church dignitaries, the heirs of great territorial possessions, professional men, high-born ladies, agriculture, trade, manufactures, the shopkeepers of towns, mechanics, peasants, the poor, the indigent,—they all meet together in our religious pale. How can we ever attempt to form one social body, one temporal interest, out of them? It is notorious to the world

that, in matter of fact, Catholics are broken up into parties: some men wonder at this, others are scandalised at it; but it takes place from the nature of the case. It cannot be otherwise. When a community is Catholic, every interest, every principle, finds its place there: every centre has its circumference; "birds of a feather flock together." But when it is Protestant, and Catholics are *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, the accidental yield of a barren soil, then there will exist among Catholics associations the most fantastic, and combinations the most incongruous, viewed in a secular aspect, as being all brought together by unity of faith in what is unearthly. Here, there will be a chaos of atoms, without the commanding archetypal minds to divide them off into sets and bring them into shape. There, we shall find original intellects, with the power of influence, at war with each other, because they can find no dependents to cluster around them, and to locate them at safe distances from each other. "Every thing is double," says a sacred writer: but this is not meant to apply to a small and sparse communion such as ours, in which it need not surprise us though every thing were odd, every thing wanted its fellow, correlatives were hunting for each other, and contraries were linked in indissoluble bonds.

Nor does this description do full justice to this peculiarity of the Catholicism of these islands. Each place, as well as each class, has its own characteristics; and the interests of the Church, which are the same every where, are worked out by different methods, according to the particular town or the particular county. In consequence, every place must take care of itself, and measures may be said to be good or bad according to the latitude. This is true to that extent, that we have heard sagacious men say, that even in Ireland, a Catholic country, the existing divergence of diocese from diocese was almost in the nature of things. The Archbishop of Dublin cannot, from tenderness to the souls of his flock, imitate the excursive movements of an Archbishop of the West; and political concord is rudely overmastered and shattered by ecclesiastical expedience. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same remark applies to England also.

How chimerical, then, is the attempt to form a sort of Catholic political union! We hold by what was spoken and published some years ago, though we cannot afford space for more than a few abridged sentences of the extended argument. "You see," the speaker said, "where your success lies, and how you are to secure it. If a battle is coming, stand on your own ground, not on the ground of others; take care of yourselves. This I would say, not only to you, but, if I had a right to do so, to the Catholics of England generally. *Let each stand on his own ground; let each approve himself to his own neighbourhood: if each is defended, the whole is secured. You are attacked on many sides. Do not look about for friends; trust no body of men. Your strength lies not in your number; you are enabled to mix with others while you are few, and you might be thrown back upon yourselves when you became many. It would be a terrible state of things, to be growing in material power, and to be growing also in a compulsory exclusiveness.*"

With these feelings strong and deep in our minds, we confess we desire as little as we expect that the Catholic constituency should be Whig, Tory, or Radical. It is our belief that, as things are, a more powerful influence is exerted upon our public men and upon the public mind, and, in consequence, more real advantage, when Catholic gentlemen try to serve their country in their own place, and follow out their own political convictions in their own way, than when they attempt to agree among themselves on some political creed, in which they cannot all take part without compromise or without the danger of inconsistency in the event. Accordingly we look with no sort of pleasure at all at the popular impression of the moment, which newspapers hostile to the Cardinal have created, that his Eminence in political matters represents English or Irish Catholics, or that he is the spokesman of any foreign authority, Cardinal Antonelli or Cardinal Barnabo, who could not possibly divine, nor would dream of deciding, what was best for Catholic interests in Dublin or Limerick, in Manchester, Birmingham, or Nottingham. On the other hand, it is a great gratification to any Catholic to find his own independent view of politics on

any occasion the same as those of the Cardinal; and no writer in the *Times* or the *Morning Post* shall deprive us of the honour of having our personal convictions confirmed by so high an authority, by attempting to get it believed that what has been our honest conclusion from premisses is a mere inspiration.

#### 6. *The Catholic University.*

If Lord Derby has been embarrassed by the cry which has been raised against the Cardinal, Catholic interests have suffered from it also. Perhaps it was simply impossible for a Conservative Ministry to grant a charter to the new University, when once the attention of the Orange faction was drawn to the negotiation. However, we have gained that which in the *Rambler* for May was laid down as the main point, *recognition* of the University as existing. The charter now is but a matter of time, provided only that the University and its rulers are true to themselves. We then said, and we now repeat, "The very fact of the deputation, and its admission to an audience, is the victory of the University. The present government may refuse the request, there may be delay and trouble in carrying the matter through, but it will be simply the University's fault and no one's else if it does not now get a charter." We will add, that we cannot complain though that internal energy and life, which we know to exist in the University body, should be tried. Nothing is done well which is simply done from without. A present struggle is the token and warrant of future independence.

The other act of justice which the Conservative Ministry had shown a disposition to exercise towards us has, since the dissolution, been urged upon the public with great effect at the meeting to which we shall now refer.

#### 7. *Meeting in behalf of the free exercise of the Catholic Religion in Gaols and Workhouses.*

This great meeting was held on Wednesday, June 8, in St. James's Hall, Piccadilly. It was held with the full and cordial approbation of all our Bishops, who, however, judged it best not to be present, and was attended by a great number of Catholic noblemen,

members of Parliament and others, without any distinction of political party, as well as by some of the principal clergy of the metropolis. The great hall was filled, and the platform crowded. Mr. Langdale was in the chair, and the resolutions were moved and seconded by Lord Stafford, Lord Herries, Lord Feilding, Lord Campden, the Master of Lovat, Hon. T. Stonor, Hon. I. F. Arundell, Mr. Monseil, M.P., Mr. Maguire, M.P., Mr. J. P. Hennessy, M.P., Col. Vaughan, Mr. R. Berkeley, Mr. Blundell, Mr. Acton, Mr. Ryley, Mr. H. Wilberforce, and Dr. Manning, who was the only ecclesiastic who took this formal part in the proceedings. The main object of the meeting is contained in the second resolution, which ran as follows :

“That a large number of her Majesty’s Catholic subjects, inmates of prisons and workhouses in England and Scotland, are at this time deprived of the full and free exercise of their religion, both as to religion and education, viz. : By defective and unfair registration in workhouses, by obstruction to the entrance and intercourse of the Catholic clergy with Catholic inmates, by strong inducements held out for the attendance of Catholics at Protestant services, by visits in private of Protestant chaplains, by the placing of Catholic children under Protestant teachers and in Protestant schools, by removing them from the legitimate influence of their pastors and friends, and by various other ways of management in detail.”

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

##### I. *Concluding Acts in the Negotiations for Peace upon the Ultimatum of Austria.*

Our record of foreign affairs in May carried down the course of negotiation between the contending powers to the *ultimatum* which Austria sent to the Sardinian Government,—that, unless the latter agreed in three days to disarm and disband the volunteer corps, she would declare war. This message was delivered April 23d, Easter Eve. It was delivered at a moment when Sardinia had consented to disarm, on condition of having a seat in the Congress; and when England had made a proposition, which had been accepted by France, Prussia, and Russia, to the effect that the Congress should be formed after the precedent of Laybach in 1821, into which plenipotentiaries from the Italian States were admitted; and that its meeting should be preceded by a general disarmament. France professed to make this concession as an extreme deference to the wishes of Queen Victoria; accompanying it, however, with the stipulation, that Sardinia, and not the other Italian States, should have the right of voting. Austria, however, seems to have received the English proposition with some feeling of indignation, and returned an immediate answer in

the negative. The reasons were stated in the official Vienna Gazette of the 23d. Sardinia was not one of the great powers, she was one out of various Italian States; yet she had for some time past, officiously and presumptuously, put herself forward as the representative of all Italy. Now she has the incredible assurance to wish a seat among the great powers in Congress assembled, and in that capacity. The precedent of Laybach would not sanction her presence there at all: Naples, at Laybach, asked the assistance of the great powers; did Sardinia do so now? The fact was, that Sardinia had for years been incessantly insulting and offending Austria, and the very first step in any negotiation was, that she should cease doing so, and, as the only and true guarantee of her ceasing, that she should disarm. Austria had said so all along; she said so now; she had said so in March; she had not waved the point even when she agreed to a general disarmament, as was evident from the letter of her minister to the Russian minister, M. de Balabine. Her consent to a general disarmament, as a condition of a Congress, was independent of her demand upon Sardinia to disarm, and subsequent to it. But when Sardinia made a seat in that Congress the condition of her own disarming, over and above the preten-

tiousness of doing so at all, she mixed up two transactions, which in the mind of Austria had ever been altogether distinct. Accordingly Austria could not listen to any such proposal, though England made it.

"Austria had supported during a series of years, with a patience which had no example in history, and which had generally been appreciated, the incessant attacks, the secret intrigues, and the most evident violations of treaties on the part of her weaker neighbour. To require, in addition to this, that the great Austrian Power should place itself on an equality with this state, was really an exaction which was rejected by every moral sentiment, and would be considered by all Europe as incompatible with the honour and dignity of the Austrian government."

She followed up this refusal by the *ultimatum* of which we have already spoken. Formal protests, earnest on the part of England, severe on the part of Russia, were at once returned to this refusal; Prussia contenting herself with expressing her regret, and throwing the consequences of the act upon Austria.

## 2. *Opinions of English Political Parties upon the Austrian Ultimatum.*

The surprise and annoyance of the English ministry were expressed in Lord Derby's speech at the Mansion-House dinner, on Easter Monday, April 25th. "One last effort," he said, "the Government had made to bring the various countries concerned to an understanding as to the terms on which they were to meet in Congress. It had failed; Austria had rejected the proposal. In consequence the Congress too had failed, and a united effort on the part of Europe was impossible: England could no longer afford to trifle with resultless negotiations. The ministry accordingly had reverted to their first effort of mediation, as a single power, between the belligerents, and had addressed both France and Austria a proposal to this effect, on one of two conditions, either of their disarmament, or of at least their inaction. He did not know what hope he could cherish of peace. He viewed with deep regret the fearful respon-

sibility which Austria had taken on herself; he had instructed the British minister at Vienna to deliver a formal protest against the step; and, while the progressist and propagandist spirit of Sardinia deprived her of the moral support of England, he could not in any way justify the criminal precipitation with which Austria had brought on herself consequences which no human foresight could determine. He should be unjust if he did not acknowledge how cordially and loyally the English ministry had been supported by Prussia throughout." After this exposition of his views on the conduct of Austria, Lord Derby went on to explain himself on a point in which his speech in parliament had been misunderstood. When he there spoke of an *armed neutrality*, as being the necessary position for England in the event of a continental war, he meant no more than an attitude of watchful observation; and that, not for the purpose of profiting by the misfortunes of others, but of defending and protecting our possessions, and securing our power of independent action according to events, and giving force to such mediation as those events might render possible.

These last remarks were called forth by some reflections of Lord John Russell on the hustings upon the warlike intentions of the Government; and from their historical importance, we record here both his and Mr. Bright's sentiments upon this point. Lord John Russell had said, a few hours before Lord Derby's speech, "If, instead of arming in the first place, and then referring matters to a Congress of foreign Powers, they had first had a Congress, who would have fairly talked the matter over, and thus brought to light the result of the different deliberations of the European Powers, that Congress would have seen what the grievances and complaints in Italy were, and whether those grievances might not be considered; nor until those interests were so considered should the Powers have brought their armies into the field." He continued, "It was hoped when our ambassador was in Paris, in 1856, that there would be some improvement in the mode in which the quarrels of the different Powers might be settled,

instead of rushing to arms. But in the present case they had not followed that course, the question of a Congress not being entertained till after the armies had been collected. It was difficult to say who was in the right. Austria showed herself determined to strike the first blow; but nothing could excuse France and Sardinia for going to arms. Lord Derby had said, that our position must be, to a certain extent, an armed neutrality. But there was a great difference between an armed neutrality and the country being in a state of efficient defence. By an armed neutrality a country signified that she meant to take part with one side or the other. The armed neutrality on the part of Russia was meant to be offensive to this country, and we sent Nelson to put an end to it. He thought our position ought to be one of fair and honest neutrality; that we should be prepared at all times for an attack, but we should not take part with either of these great Powers who were going to war. No doubt we had treaties, such as that for the neutrality of Belgium; and if an attempt were made to conquer that country, we must interfere; but without our running to her defence, she would doubtless under any circumstances remain in possession of her freedom."

Mr. Bright on the same day spoke as follows, at Birmingham:

"On the face of it the contest is to determine whether the despotism of Austria or of France shall exert the greatest influence in the Italian States. For us, for every man, such a contest must have intense interest. But we live in these islands surrounded by the salt water; we have no fear that any body from Italy, from Austria, or France, will make an assault on these shores. If they shall do so, the power which in past times has preserved these realms is competent still to defend them. What I ask you to beware of is this, lest your rulers of 1859 pursue the course which your rulers did in 1793. If you had not gone into war, then you would have had Parliamentary Reform thirty years earlier than you had it; you would never have had the Corn Laws. Your present expenses of seventy millions annually might have been

less than a quarter of that amount, and the great body of the working classes of England might have been in a position of independence and comfort and education. Now, then, what are we to do? Are we to have our minds distracted from the question of Parliamentary Reform? Are we to run away from this substantial chase, and pursue the phantom of military glory? I am committed irrevocably, as far as any influence I may possess, to the entire abstention of England from any intermeddling whatever in this war. I value the blood, I value the sweat, I value the comfort, I value the lives, and I value the homes and happiness of the people of this country; and never, never for one single moment, at the behest of power, or the call of popular frenzy and popular clamour, shall any man ever charge me with being accessory to the sacrifice of the happiness of the common people on the altar of sanguinary war."

### 3. *Termination of the Negotiations.*

A few words will suffice to relate what followed on the proposal of the English ministry to take up the mediation between the two empires at the point where it had been broken off, after Lord Cowley's return from Vienna, on the Russian proposition of a Congress. Austria accepted it, and delayed the declaration of war, which was to follow on the rejection by the Sardinian Government of her *ultimatum*; and countermanded the entrance of her armies into the Sardinian territory. France declined to accede to it, at least without a previous discussion; which, though commenced, was cut short by the military movements which, on her hesitation, were at once prosecuted by Austria.

### 4. *Attempt of France to gain the active Coöperation of England in the War.*

April 26. The French minister sent to the English Government to invite them to an alliance with France in view of the struggle which was commencing. Lord Malmesbury, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied on May 5th, in a long despatch, from which the following passages are extracts. First it speaks of Austria: "Her Majesty's Govern-

ment believe that it never was intended by Europe, when recognising the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom as a portion of the dominions of the house of Austria, that Austria should, as a consequence of that recognition, be at liberty to extend her moral and material sway over all other portions of the Peninsula. It was never intended that Austria should constantly and systematically interfere beyond her frontier; that she should at will influence the internal administration, and occupy by her armies the territories, of other Italian States, whose independence was recognised by the same treaties. It never was intended that the progress of freedom and of social improvement in the Italian States should be left to the control of Austria." Then of Sardinia: "By violating her treaties of extradition with Austria; by fostering deserters from her army; by rallying in Piedmont the disaffected spirits of Italy; by menacing speeches against the Austrian Government, and by ostentatious declarations that she was ready to do battle as the champion of Italy against the power and influence of Austria,—Sardinia invoked the storm, and is deeply responsible to the nations of Europe. Her Majesty's Government saw this dangerous policy with apprehensions, which have now been realised; and they cannot forbear remarking that the first and immediate effect of the war which it has caused has been the suspension of constitutional government in Sardinia itself." And then he declines the invitation: "Her Majesty's Government feel themselves precluded, by every consideration, from associating themselves with France in the present struggle. They believe that that struggle will be productive of misery and ruin to Italy; and, so far from accelerating the development of freedom in that country, will impose upon it a heavier burden of present ruin and future taxation. They feel that the war, on whatever principles it may be commenced, and whatever objects it may contemplate, will infallibly become a war of extreme political passions and opinions. They cannot but dread that the events in Italy may react on other nations, and that, at an early day, all Europe will be involved in the conflict."

It must be observed, that quite as forcible and still earlier was the decided refusal of the same Derby ministry to have any thing to do with the Austrian side of the dispute. "England would remain a neutral spectator of the contest," Lord Malmesbury informed the Austrian minister on January 12th, "and in no way would public opinion render it possible to assist Austria as against her own subjects."

##### 5. *Sardinian Manifestoes on the breaking-out of the War.*

On April 27th, the king of Sardinia, repudiating the summons contained in the Austrian ultimatum delivered on the 23d, addressed his troops by a Proclamation in the State Gazette. "Austria," he said, "which increases her arms on our frontiers, and threatens to invade our territory, because liberty here reigns with order, because not force but concord and affection between people and sovereign here rule the state, because the cries of suffering of oppressed Italy here find a hearing,—Austria dares to intimate to us, armed only in defence, that we are to lay down our arms and put ourselves in her power. The outrageous intimation called for a worthy reply. I have disdainfully rejected it.

"Soldiers! I announce this to you, certain that you will take to yourselves the outrage offered to your king,—to the nation. The announcement I give to you is the announcement of war. To arms, then, soldiers!"

After referring to their former war with Austria, and to their companionship with the French on the Tchernaya, he continued, "Advance, then, confident of victory, and adorn your banner with fresh laurels; that banner which, with its three colours, and with the chosen youth which, here assembled from all parts of Italy, are gathered together beneath it, points out to you that you have for your task the independence of Italy—that just and holy enterprise which will be your war-cry."

In another proclamation, addressed to his subjects and to the Italians, he spoke of Austria as not daring to submit her cause to the judgment of a European congress; of her breaking her promise given to Great Britain; of her assailing Piedmont because

Piedmont was not deaf to Italy's cry of anguish; and he added, that he had "no other ambition than to be the first soldier of Italian independence."

The Chamber of Deputies at Turin adopted without discussion projects of law investing the government, during the war, with absolute executive and legislative power, thus suspending the constitution, by a majority of 110 votes to 24, as was noticed by Lord Malmesbury above.

6. *Austrian Manifestoes and Explanations on the breaking-out of the War.*

(1) *Proclamations of the Emperor.*

On April 28th, the Emperor of Austria published a proclamation, addressed, "To my people." "I have ordered," he says in it, "my faithful and gallant army to put a stop to the hostile acts which for a series of years have been committed by the neighbouring state of Sardinia against the indisputable rights of my crown, and against the integrity of the realm placed by God under my care, which acts have lately attained the very highest point. By so doing I have fulfilled the painful but unavoidable duty of a sovereign. My conscience being at rest, I can look up to an omnipotent God, and patiently await His award. With confidence I leave my decision to the impartial judgment of contemporaneous and future generations. Of the approbation of my faithful subjects I am sure. More than ten years ago, the same enemy, violating international law and the usages of war, and without any offence being given, entered the Lombardo-Venetian territory with the intent to acquire possession of it. Although the enemy was twice totally defeated by my gallant army, and at the mercy of the victor, I behaved generously, and proposed a reconciliation. I did not appropriate to myself one inch of his territory; I encroached on no right which belongs to the crown of Sardinia as one of the members of the European family of nations. I insisted on no guarantees against the recurrence of similar events; the hand of peace, which I in all sincerity extended, and which was taken, appeared to me to be a sufficient guarantee. The blood which my army

shed for the honour and right of Austria I sacrificed on the altar of peace."

He then goes on to state, how Sardinia, after the peace, continued a perfidious agitation in Lombardy; how patient he had been; how his necessary precautions in Lombardy became a pretext for more open hostility; how he had accepted the mediation of the Congress, insisting, however, as a preliminary, on Sardinia's disarming; how she would not do so, except on terms which he could not accept; how he took a last step in directly calling on her to disarm, and to dismiss the Italian free corps; and how her refusal involved an appeal to arms. He proceeds:

"I have ordered my army to enter Sardinia. I am aware of the vast importance of the measure; and if ever my duties as a monarch weighed heavily on me, it is at this moment. War is the scourge of mankind. I see with sorrow that the lives and property of thousands of my subjects are imperilled, and deeply feel what a severe trial war is for my realm; which, being occupied with its internal development, greatly requires the continuance of peace. But the heart of the monarch must be silent at the command of honour and duty. On the frontiers is an armed enemy, who, in alliance with the revolutionary party, openly announces his intention to obtain possession of the dependencies of Austria in Italy. To support him, the ruler over France, who under futile pretexts interferes in the legally established relations of the Italian peninsula, has set his troops in movement; detachments of them have already crossed the frontiers of Sardinia. The crown which I received without spot or blemish from my forefathers has already seen trying times. The glorious history of our country gives evidence that Providence, when there is a foreshadowing that the greatest good of humanity is in danger of being overthrown in Europe, has frequently used the sword of Austria in order to dispel that shadow. We are again on the eve of such a period. The overthrow of the things that be is not only aimed at by factions, but by thrones. The sword which I have been forced to draw is sanctified, inasmuch as it is a defence of the honour and rights of

all peoples and states, and of all that is held most dear by humanity.

"To you, my people, whose devotion to the hereditary reigning family may serve as a model for all the nations of the earth, I now address myself. In the conflict which has commenced you will stand by me with your oft-proved fidelity and devotion. To your sons, whom I have taken into the ranks of the army, I their commander send my martial greeting. With pride you may regard them; for the eagle of Austria will, with their support, soar high.

"Our struggle is a just one, and we begin it with courage and confidence; we hope, however, that we shall not stand alone in it. The soil on which we have to do battle was made fruitful by the blood lost by our German brethren when they won those bulwarks which they have maintained up to the present day. There the crafty enemies of Germany have generally begun their game when they have wished to break her internal power. The feeling that such a danger is now imminent prevails in all parts of Germany, from the hut to the throne, from one frontier to the other. I speak as a sovereign member of the German Confederation when I call attention to the common danger, and recall to memory the glorious times in which Europe had to thank the general and fervent enthusiasm of Germany for its liberation. For God and fatherland!"

He had the day previous addressed the forces of his second army, under the command of Count Gyulai. "With confidence," he said, "I confide the rights of Austria to the best of hands, —to the hands of a tried and gallant army. Your fidelity and bravery, your exemplary discipline, the justice of your cause, and a glorious past, are the guarantees which you give me of your success. Soldiers of the second army, it is for you to secure victory to the spotless flag of Austria. Take with you into battle the blessing of God and the confidence of your Emperor."

(2) *Circular Despatch of the Austrian Government.*

On the 29th, Count Buol, the Austrian minister, sent the Emperor's Manifesto to his people to the diplo-

matic agents of the government, accompanying it with a despatch, of which the following are extracts:

"Our cabinet had accepted the last proposition of mediation of Great Britain; but our adversaries have not followed that example, and we have accordingly submitted to arms the defence of our cause.

"Austria has tranquilly supported a long series of offences from an enemy weaker than herself, because she knows that her high mission is to preserve, as long as possible, the peace of the world; because the Emperor and his people know and love the labours of a progressive pacific development, which leads to a higher degree of prosperity. But no man of just mind and of upright heart can now doubt the right which Austria has to make war on Piedmont.

"Piedmont has never sincerely accepted the treaty by which, ten years ago, she promised at Milan to live in peace and friendship with Austria. Twice beaten in war, —which had been caused by her mad pretensions,—and although she had been cruelly punished, that state still maintains her former views with a deplorable tenacity. The son of Charles Albert appears passionately to desire the day when the inheritance of his house, which had been restored to him in its integrity by the moderation and magnanimity of Austria, should be for the third time made the stake of a game disastrous to the world.

"The ambition of a dynasty whose vain pretensions, touching the future welfare of Italy, are neither justified by the nature nor by the history of that country, has not hesitated to form an unnatural alliance with revolution. Deaf to all warnings, it has surrounded itself with the malcontents of all the states of Italy; and the hopes of all the enemies of the legitimate governments of the Italian peninsula have found their chief support at Turin. A criminal abuse has been made of the national feelings of the Italian people. Endeavours have been made to keep up and encourage disturbances in Italy, in order that Piedmont might have a pretext for hypocritically deploring the state of Italy, and for assuming, in the eyes of shortsighted and senseless people, the part of liberator.

"To assist this rash undertaking an unbridled press every day endeavoured to carry beyond the frontiers of the neighbouring states a moral insurrection against the order of legitimate things. Out of love for those hollow dreams of the future, and in order to secure to herself support from abroad, Piedmont took part in a war, in which she had no concern, against a foreign power, and sacrificed her soldiers for a foreign object. She was also seen at the Conferences of Paris, with a presumption quite new in the annals of diplomacy, to criticise with effrontery the governments of Italy, her own country,—governments which had never offended her.

"But that nobody might believe that these wild desires and efforts were associated with the smallest sentiment in favour of the peaceful prosperity of Italy, the angry passions of Sardinia redoubled whenever any of the Sovereigns of Italy followed the inspirations of indulgence and conciliation.

"When their Imperial Majesties visited the Italian provinces, receiving the homage of their faithful subjects, and marking every step by conferring a host of benefits, the journals of Turin were allowed freely to advocate regicide.

"When the Emperor intrusted the administration of Lombardy and Venice to the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian his brother, no pains were spared at Turin to cause the Prince's noble intentions to be repaid with ingratitude.

"The Court of Turin, having once entered upon the path in which its only choice was either to follow the revolution or take the lead, could not but more and more lose the power and the will to observe the laws which regulate the relations of independent states. Under the most frivolous pretexts, Sardinia declares herself liberated from the obligations clearly imposed by treaties, as proved by the conventions with Austria and the Italian states, for the extradition of criminals and deserters. Her emissaries overrun the neighbouring states, exciting soldiers to disobey their chiefs; treading underfoot all the rules of military discipline, Piedmont admitted deserters into the ranks of her own army.

"Who, after this, can any longer doubt that that government regarded as the chief obstacle the rights which Austria derives from treaties, and accordingly sought to get rid of them by all the means of a dishonest policy? Europe, which sees in the respect of existing treaties the palladium of its repose, received with well-merited disfavour the declaration containing the assertion that Sardinia considered herself attacked by Austria, because Austria would not relinquish the exercise of the rights and duties conferred by treaties; because she maintained her right to keep a garrison in Piacenza,—a right guaranteed by the great powers of Europe; and because she presumed to form alliances with other Sovereigns of the Italian peninsula for the common defence of their legitimate interests. There remained but one other pretext, and that was alleged accordingly. The Cabinet of Turin declares that all remedies for the state of Italy would be merely palliatives, as long as the Austrian dominion extends over the Italian soil. This is an open attack on the territorial possessions of Austria. Such is, stripped of the tissue of falsehoods with which it was enveloped, the truth respecting the line of conduct which for ten years past the House of Savoy has followed, at the suggestion of unprincipled advisers.

"Austria is a conservative power, with whom religion, morality, and historical right are sacred. It knows how to estimate, to protect, and to weigh in the scales of equality what is noble and legitimate in the national spirit of countries. Her extensive dominions consist of different races, of different languages: the Emperor embraces them all in the same love; and their union under the sceptre of our august dynasty is advantageous to the whole of the great family of European nations; but the pretension of forming new states, according to the limits of nationalities, is the most dangerous of all Utopian schemes.

"To put forward such a pretension is to break with history; and to seek to carry it into execution in any point of Europe, is to shake to its foundations the firmly organised order of states, and to threaten the Continent with subversion and chaos. Europe feels this, and she attaches herself the

more firmly to the territorial divisions fixed by the Congress of Vienna at the close of an epoch of continental wars with as much regard as possible to historical conditions. There is not a power whose possessions are more legitimate than those in Italy, restored to the House of Hapsburg by the congress which reëstablished the kingdom of Sardinia, and made it the brilliant present of Genoa.

"Lombardy has been for centuries a fief of the empire of Germany: Venice was given to Austria in exchange for her giving up her Belgian provinces. Thus, therefore, what the Cabinet of Turin calls the true reason of the discontent of the inhabitants of Lombardo-Venetia—showing thereby itself the utter want of foundation of its other alleged grievances, namely, the domination of Austria on the Po and on the Adriatic—is a solid and unquestionable right in every respect, and one which the Austrian eagles will preserve from all attack. Those beautiful countries have prospered more rapidly than could have been hoped, after the long and painful years of revolution.

"Piedmont, therefore, does not trouble herself about populations which are suffering and oppressed; but she rather interrupts a regular state of things and the development of future prosperity.

"The revolution, so carefully kept alive in all the peninsula, has promptly followed the impulse given it. A military rising has taken place at Florence; it has compelled his Imperial Highness the Duke of Tuscany to leave his states. Insurrection reigns at Massa and Carrara, under the protection of Sardinia.

"But France, which for a long time past, we repeat, has shared that terrible moral responsibility,—France has hastened by acts to assume it altogether. The Government of the Emperor of the French caused, on the 26th of this month, his *chargé d'affaires* at Vienna to declare that he should consider the passage of the Ticino by the Austrian troops as a declaration of war against France. While we were still waiting at Vienna for the reply of Piedmont to the summons to disarm, France caused her troops to enter Sardinia by the land and sea frontiers, knowing well that

by so doing she placed in the balance the weight which would carry the last resolutions of the Court of Turin.

"And why, we ask, were the legitimate hopes of the friends of peace in Europe thus to be annihilated by a single blow? Because the time had arrived at which projects long meditated in silence have arrived at maturity; at which the second French empire desires to give substance to its ideas; at which the political state of Europe, based on right, is to be sacrificed to its illegitimate pretensions; at which the treaties which form the basis of public European power are to be replaced by the political wisdom which the power which rules at Paris has announced to the astonished world.

"The traditions of the first Napoleon are resumed. Such is the significance of the struggle on the eve of which Europe is placed.

"The Emperor Francis Joseph, the chief of our empire, although he deplores the evils which will be occasioned by the impending war, has confidently placed his just cause in the hands of Divine Providence. He has drawn the sword because guilty hands have attacked the dignity and honour of his crown; he will combat with the profound sentiment of his right."

## 7. *French Manifestoes and Explanations on the breaking-out of the War.*

### (1) *Speeches and Despatches of the French Government.*

On the 25th of April, Easter Monday, the legislature assured the Emperor of their support in rescuing Italy from Austrian domination. The ministry replied, on the 27th, that "the Emperor had been forced into war, in spite of the moderate tone of his negotiations, by the aggressive conduct of Austria; but that the war would certainly be limited to Italy, provided the other German powers comprehended that it was merely an Italian question, which concealed no plan of conquest, and could produce no revolutions."

On April 26th, as the despatch of Count Buol, extracted above, reminds us, the French Government notified to the Court of Vienna through their minister there, that if the Austrian

troops crossed the Piedmontese frontiers, France would regard such an invasion of an allied country equivalent to a declaration of war.

On April 27th, the French Government addressed a circular to their diplomatic agents in foreign courts, in explanation of their view of the position in which France now stood, in relation to Austria and the Italian question. Among other things, this despatch stated, that the abnormal condition of Italy, creating discontent and underhand agitation, tending to an inevitable crisis, and demanding a wise anticipation, was understood by England, Prussia, and Russia quite as well as by France. France, though taking her share in initiation and in action, nevertheless was only coöperating in a collective labour; nor could she depart from that attitude until an aggression took place against Piedmont on the part of Austria, which Austria, by solemnly repudiating in prospect, seemed to recognise as a provocation of such departure. Such was the case, that when England, with the assent of France, Prussia, and Russia, had just settled the conditions on which the collective action for the settlement of the question was to take place, Austria, to the astonishment and with the disapproval of the three mediating powers, suddenly committed herself to an act which was equivalent to a declaration of war. What they merely protested against, France, from her ancient traditions and geographical position, was imperiously called upon to resist in act. She had not exerted an interested influence in Italy for half a century; she had not aroused the remembrance of historical rivalries and struggles; she had but asked what treaties intended and the three powers wished,—that Italy should be independent. Austria, on the other hand, after disturbing the European balance of power by encroachments on the free action of the other Italian states, was now attempting to dictate to Piedmont,—Piedmont, who held the key of the Alps on the French frontier,—Piedmont, who was united to France by ancient remembrances, common origin, and a recent alliance of the sovereign houses. The Emperor Louis Napoleon was faithful to his first words on mounting the throne, that he was not animated by any personal ambition or

desire of conquest. He had already shown that moderation was the soul of his policy; and now he had positively no desire to separate himself from his allies. He entertained a firm hope that the British Government would continue that moral union which involved one common policy, which would confine the struggle to its present limits. Russia, as the French Government was perfectly convinced, would direct her efforts to the same end; and Prussia too, as her present impartial and conciliatory spirit showed. As to the other German powers, ordinarily so calm and self-possessed, France could only behold with sorrow an excitement which had come upon some of them; they ought to understand that they are not menaced by war, and that they might contribute much to circumscribe its duration and extent.

On April 29th, Count Walewski, on withdrawing the French *chargé d'affaires* from Vienna, wrote to him to the following effect: "The French Government has felt bound to apprise the Court of Vienna that its ultimatum, and the eventualities so clearly foreseen as its consequences, give rise, by the side of the general question, till then treated in common by the cabinets of Paris, Berlin, London, and St. Petersburg, to a question altogether French; for Sardinia lies at our very door, covers part of our frontiers, and forms the last obstacle to the extension of an influence which England, Prussia, and Russia, as well as ourselves, consider of a nature to compromise the equilibrium of Europe."

May 3. M. Fould, Minister of State, laid before the Senate a statement of the negotiations with the powers up to the time when Austria, separating her action from that of the other cabinets, took the resolution of addressing an ultimatum to Sardinia. "This communication was received with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* on which the president rose, and said that he interpreted these acclamations as an expression of loyalty and devotion. The war was nothing else than the response to an aggression; it was the consequence of a policy which had ever maintained a sympathy between France and Italy, so that the great events of the latter were considered

to belong to the former. The Emperor could not allow Turin, which is the key of the Alps, any more than Rome, which holds the keys of the Church by the hands of a holy and venerated Pontiff, to fall under the usurping yoke of an influence hostile to France. Italy must be restored to her nationality; not revolutionised, but liberated. That beautiful country, threatened with a master, would find a liberator."

May 13. In the Corps Législatif, Baron de Richemont, in bringing the report on the addition of 140,000 men to the army, said: "The object of the war is clearly defined, and the scene of the struggle is circumscribed. It is necessary to put an end in Italy to the ambition of a power which, by its perpetual encroachments, by the mistrust and the violence of its absolutism, and by the discontent and miseries which it strews in its path, has reached the point of at last exciting against her in the heart of the Italian people irreconcilable hatred and an exasperation so violent that a revolutionary explosion might at any moment take place, leading to the most serious consequences to Europe. Such an intolerable state of things must be put an end to, and Italy must be pacified by her independence being secured. But there is for France an interest more direct and more imperative,—that of maintaining the security of her frontiers by protecting Piedmont from the attacks of Austria. This twofold object, which the Emperor has proposed to us, we will energetically pursue: we will not hesitate, at any sacrifice, to place Italy in a normal situation; to guarantee our frontiers for ever; and thus to secure to our country, as well as to Europe, the benefits of a durable peace."

## (2) *Declaration of the Emperor Louis Napoleon.*

On the 3d of May, the French Emperor made the following communication to the Corps Législatif:

"Austria, by ordering the entry of her army into the territory of the King of Sardinia, our ally, has declared war against us. She thus violates treaty and justice, and menaces our frontiers. All the great powers have protested against this act of aggression, Piedmont having accepted the conditions

which ought to have insured peace. One asks, what can be the reason of this sudden invasion? It is because Austria has driven matters to such an extremity, that her dominion must either extend to the Alps, or Italy must be free to the shores of the Adriatic; for every corner of Italy which remains independent endangers the power of Austria. Hitherto moderation has been the rule of my conduct, but now energy becomes my first duty. France must now to arms; and must resolutely tell Europe, I wish not for conquest, but I am determined firmly to maintain my national and traditional policy. I observe treaties on condition that they are not violated against me. I respect the territory and the rights of neutral powers; but I boldly avow my sympathy with a people whose history is mingled with our own, and who now groans under foreign oppression. France has shown her hatred of anarchy. Her will was to give one power sufficient strength to reduce into subjection abettors of disorder and incorrigible members of old factions, who are incessantly seen concluding compacts with our enemies. But she has not for that purpose abandoned her civilising character. Her natural allies have always been those who desire the amelioration of the human race; and when she draws the sword, it is not to govern, but to free. The object, then, of this war is to restore Italy to herself, not to impose upon her a change of masters; and we shall then have upon our frontiers a friendly people, who will owe to us their independence. We do not enter Italy to foment disorder, or to disturb the power of the Holy Father, whom we replaced upon his throne; but to remove from him this foreign pressure, which burdens the whole peninsula, and to help to establish order there, based upon lawful, satisfied interests. In fine, then, we enter this classic ground, rendered illustrious by so many victories, to seek the footsteps of our fathers. God grant that we may be worthy of them! I am about to place myself at the head of the army. I leave to France the Empress and my son, seconded by the experience and enlightenment of the Emperor's last surviving brother. She will understand how to show herself worthy of the grandeur of her mission. I confide

them to the valour of the army which remains in France to keep watch upon our frontiers, and to guard our homes. I confide them to the patriotism of the National Guard. I confide them, in a word, to the entire people, who will encircle them with their affection and devotedness, of which I daily receive so many proofs. Courage, then, and union! Our country is again about to show the world that she has not degenerated. Providence will bless our efforts; for that cause is holy in the eyes of God which rests on justice, humanity, love of country, and independence."

#### 8. *Attitude of Russia.*

On April 26th, while the world was engaged in watching for the commencement of hostilities on the part of Austria against Piedmont, the British public was startled by the news that there was an alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Russia. Next, it was said, that there were two treaties: by the first, Russia bound herself, in the event of France entering into a war with Austria, to assist her by the coöperation of her fleets in the Baltic and Mediterranean, and to place an army of observation of not less than 50,000 men upon the Austrian frontier; by the second, she bound herself to declare war against Austria within fifteen days of her entering Piedmont. This alliance, it was further said, was ascertained to be existing at the time that Lord Cowley was at Vienna. As to the second of the two treaties, the event disproved it; but the report of the former was soon confirmed or accounted for by an announcement on the 29th, that a Russian army, 60,000 strong under General Luders, had crossed the Dnieper, and threatened the Galician frontier of Austria. On hearing these reports, the English Government applied for explanation to the Russian minister Prince Gortschakoff, and received for an answer his "personal guarantee as a man of honour" that, "though there might be a written engagement between France and Russia," nevertheless such arrangement "contained nothing which in the most distant way could be interpreted as constituting a hostile alliance against" England, as some newspapers worded it, against Eu-

rope, as others. Another account of this engagement came from the French minister; and it had been communicated to the English Government, as Mr. Disraeli said, "voluntarily, some time ago." It was to the effect, "that in case of a war between France and Austria, Russia would assemble an army of observation on her German frontier; and that she would do by the same right as England had to send a commanding fleet to the Mediterranean." Count Walewski further said, that "all allusions to Eastern questions had been specially avoided in the understanding with Russia," which was not "of a nature to affect in the slightest degree the interests of Great Britain." Furthermore, the Russian Government, upon the report getting into circulation, declared that "there was no treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two countries; but that, when all Europe was arming, Russia was meeting the emergency, and retained at this juncture perfect liberty of action."

This was in April. On June 7th, it was said by Lord Howden in the House of Lords, "that he had great reason to believe that, within the last three weeks, something had been concocted or consolidated on this subject which had or had not come to the knowledge of Government."

#### 9. *Attitude of Germany.*

No country has shown any desire for military action at this crisis but Germany; and Germany, from one end to the other, Protestant as well as Catholic, is in a state of excitement against the French, which presents a singular contrast to the dislike or disapprobation of war which prevails elsewhere. Even as early as the beginning of March there were longings among the German populations for the re-annexing Alsace and Lorraine to the fatherland. In May the war feeling showed a wonderful intensity. "You cannot imagine," says a German, writing from Germany, as the English papers quote him, "the frantic excitement which prevails. We in Saxony are always somewhat enthusiastic, but in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, all along the Rhine, there is but one voice,—the frantic desire to fight. Our existence is at stake.

My feelings against Louis Napoleon are mild, compared with those of others. 1813 is in every one's mouth. If Prussia spoke the faintest word, if Frankfort gave the order to move an army towards the Rhine, there would be but one shout of enthusiasm all through Germany. You never can feel what it is to have for a neighbour, at the head of forty millions, a man whose ambition is only equalled by his rascality."

A writer in the *Augsburg Gazette* cries out for an immediate march upon Paris. Louis Napoleon is the aggressor, the treaty-breaker, and his system a nightmare and a plague. Trieste belongs to the German Confederation, and its vessels have been captured by French cruisers. The French flag must be hauled down in the territory to the eastward of Luxemburg, Metz, Nancy, and Bâle. England is for us, in spite of Palmerston. Russia is so slow in moving, that she cannot oppose or harm us. Let us stamp out the flame. One single well-aimed blow will purify the air. What are we waiting for?

We are not surprised to be told by another writer, that the political excitement has reached such a height, that the rulers will soon be obliged either to direct their artillery against the French, or against their own subjects. Ems and Wiesbaden have given to all the French tradesmen and artisans orders to quit the country. The deputies at Baden have declared to the Grand Duke that all Germany must take part in the struggle. The popular feeling at Munich is one of exasperation against the government for its hesitation. What the Prussian Chambers feel on the subject will be mentioned presently.

However, the princes and the aristocracy of the various states do not seem at all behind the people. Many men of rank and standing have offered their services, as volunteers, to Austria; and many members of the reigning houses and of the first families are in her army. At an extraordinary sitting of the Diet, it was resolved to place the garrisons of all the federal fortresses on a war footing: Hanover made a motion, though she ultimately withdrew it, that a corps of observation should at once be placed on the Upper Rhine; and the King of

Bavaria is said to have distinctly declared that he will not remain neutral. Whatever variations there may be in the state of apprehension or the desire for immediate action in the several governments, they one and all seem to be actuated by that remarkable sentiment of "fatherland," which has been the growth of the peace.

#### 10. *Attitude of Prussia.*

To this sentiment, the Prussian Government is no stranger; though, to the great discontent of the rest of Germany and of the Prussian people, she is desirous of a position of neutrality or mediation. In the debate in the Prussian Chamber on May 12th, when the extraordinary supplies were voted, all the speakers were against Louis Napoleon, and in defence of their fatherland. One speaker complained of the lack of energy and patriotism in the government report. Austria might indeed be fighting for herself, not for Germany; but Austria formed a German nucleus; no Prussian could forget it. Frenchmen had no fear of God, love of truth, justice, or consistency; Germans had. Another danger existed in *Idées Napoléoniennes*, born in 1839. These ideas embraced Italy, the Rhine, England, and Russia. Lord Derby, in speaking of the aggression of Austria, was unparliamentary. Prussia would soon stand side by side with her on the battle-field. At the same time, he had no sympathy with the despotic acts of Austria in Italy, or her secret treaties. If France had concluded an alliance with Russia, it was Prussia's duty to arm to the teeth. Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland would stand by Prussia. The ghost of Chatham would rise to warn England. Another speaker thought that the whole of Germany ought to give their adhesion to the money vote; Prussia's calling was to defend the interests of Germany. Another declared that he had no sympathy with the French system of government. The man who had once broken faith could not restore it. When the time came, Prussia would draw her sword. Sardinia, in joining the revolution and calling in foreigners, had lost all claim to respect.

However, the position of Prussia is full of difficulty. She cannot, indeed, view with satisfaction the presence of

the French in Italy, and she may dread lest they should next make their appearance on the Rhine ; but she has contending interests,—one is, not to strengthen Austria, the other, to please Germany ; and when the way to please Germany is nothing else than to strengthen Austria, it is a very delicate matter to find the precise line by which, without aggrandising the imperial power, she may head and lead the fatherland. She claims to have the decision of the time for commencing military action. On the other hand the Austrian Government is said to be unwilling to grant the political initiation and military command which she asks, except at a price which she is unwilling to pay, viz. her engaging to defend the existing territorial state in Lombardy. She, on the contrary, promises Germany that not a German shall be touched without her resenting it, but she will not attack France till France attacks Germany. And in closing the Chambers on May 14th, the Prince-Regent declared : “ Prussia is determined to maintain the basis of European public right, and the balance of power in Europe. It is Prussia’s right and duty to stand up for the security, the protection, and the national interests of Germany. Prussia expects all the German confederate powers will stand firmly by her side in the fulfilment of that mission, and trusts that her readiness to defend the common fatherland will merit their confidence.”

Her negotiations with Austria were said in the middle of June to be approaching to a termination. Austria was said to have used the diplomacy of the smaller courts, which till now have been closely allied with Prussia, especially Anhalt and Turingen ; but without avail. Her influence was paramount in Hesse, Nassau, Darmstadt, and Brunswick. Hanover and Saxony showed a strong leaning to her. Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Oldenburg, though desirous of coming to an understanding with Prussia, so far leant to the sentiments of the southern states as to consider that the time would soon come for a decision. Further, the philo-Austrian princes declared that they would become the allies of Austria, with or without the consent of Prussia, and act altogether independent of the latter. But here, to their

no small amazement and consternation, that power informed them, through the official channel of diplomacy as well as the government organs of the press, that she would regard such a proceeding as a declaration of war. Moreover, the Prussian government instantly adopted measures that seem to menace the second-rate sovereigns with coercive proceedings in the event of their acting upon their threat. An army of 30,000 men has already posted itself on the northern frontier of Saxony. Another corps of 50,000 men is now marching to Erfurt to be near the central railway of Germany, so that Prussia might stop by a demonstration of military force the attempt of any of these princes to succour Austria by some rash act of hostility against France. An armed mediation seems to be her attitude. Such are the fragmentary, and perhaps incoherent, rumours which are all that, in the absence of state-papers, we are able to collect.

#### 11. *Attempt of Austria to gain Russia.*

Attempts have been made by Austria to move the court of St. Petersburg from the position which it has taken up, but apparently without success. Once or twice an impression prevailed in the diplomatic circles of Vienna, that Prince Windischgrätz, who was personally acceptable to the Czar, was leaving on a mission to St. Petersburg, with power to make concessions to the Russian Emperor. Yet he did not go; and the news was confirmed that Prince Gortschakoff had declared to Count Karolyi, whom the Austrians had sent to him, that Russia would observe neutrality only so long as the German Confederation abstained from the war; that the Russian court had numerous complaints to urge against the court of Vienna; that it did not mean to bind itself to any one, but to keep clear of European complications; as it had said once before, that for the moment events must speak, and that good relations could not be established between the two courts while Count Buol retained the portfolio of foreign affairs. Many days had not elapsed from the publication of these accounts, when the

news came that Count Buol had resigned office. Count Buol was a friend of the English alliance. It is said that he hoped that English influence would have availed to secure the neutrality of the Adriatic; that, failing in this object, and becoming responsible for the unlucky delay of the Austrian troops at the beginning of the war, he found his place untenable. It was prophesied by some that these proceedings were preludes to a reëstablishment of a good understanding between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, that is, of the Holy Alliance.

Nothing has yet justified this expectation. If the Russian journals are any index of the leaning of their government, it certainly is not in the direction of Austria. They make no hesitation in reproaching Austria for having seized as much of the Italian peninsula as ever she could lay hands upon, till that famous land has become the vassal of the House of Hapsburg; that she hates Piedmont for having successfully withstood her encroachments in her own case and for suggesting to the Tuscans, Romans, and the rest of the Italian peoples a similar resistance. She now refuses to yield one inch of her pretensions to Italy; she calls the question vital to her. She does so as relying upon the sympathies of Great Britain and the subserviency of Lower Germany. Yet she had most rashly rushed into war without the coöperation of any one great power, and though by very trifling concessions she might without war have secured the possession of her Italian provinces. She has been for a long while devoted to the maledictions of nations, which will receive their fulfilment in her defeat and humiliation.

## 12 *Attempt of Russia to calm Germany.*

Remarks such as the above are the expression of feeling; for the political view taken by Russia of the true position of Germany relatively to the war, we must consult the circular despatch of Prince Gortschakoff, dated May 27 (N.S.). It is too long, however, to allow of more than an abstract of it here. He writes thus:

"First, the British government had already informed the States of the

German Confederation that the latter had no *casus fœderis* to make war upon: and that, if they made war without one, and the war became generalised, England would observe a strict neutrality, and would not guarantee the German coasts from any attack. Next, France had solemnly declared that she entertained towards Germany no dangerous feeling of any kind, and that she was only animated by the most sincere desire of living on good terms with the Confederation. And thirdly, Prussia had put her army on a war footing, taking this step in defence, and to watch over the European equilibrium. Lastly, the principles and the assurances contained in those declarations were entirely in harmony with the views of Russia.

"In the Congress, which Russia proposed, Great Britain drew out the bases, and Austria extended them. Its fundamental idea prejudiced no interests; on the one hand it touched no existing Italian territorial arrangement, on the other it admitted results of an admissible character. Such was the state of things when, at the last moment, when all difficulties of detail were surmounted, the Court of Vienna suddenly broke off the negotiation, on the single ground that in a congress, in which Italian States were to be discussed, Italian States should not be represented.

"It must be avowed that the French Government honestly seconded the powers who were desirous of peace.

"War having commenced, Russia's remaining duty was to circumscribe its range.

"In concurrence with Great Britain, she saw with regret the excitement of some parts of Germany. From fear of unfounded dangers, they were creating real ones. Passion imperilled their own internal peace, and affronted France, who had solemnly disclaimed hostile intentions.

"If further guarantee was necessary than the word of France, it was to be found in the attitude of Prussia, armed for the integrity of Germany and the balance of power.

"While other powers had wished to localise the war, the line followed by some of the states of the German Confederation was to generalise it. Independent of the slight cast upon the guarantees offered to Germany by the

positive declarations of the French government, and by the force of circumstances, the German states thereby deviated from their fundamental basis, which was that of a combination purely and exclusively defensive. It was on this condition that the Confederation had a European existence by treaties to which Russia had been partner. Should it take hostile measures against France, it would set conjectural data above guarantees. Whatever were the issue of the existing complications, the Emperor was perfectly free in his action."

### 13. *Attempt of France to re-assure England.*

Lord Cowley, our ambassador at Paris, writes to Lord Malmesbury, May 12, to inform him of an important message, which the Emperor had left for him during his accidental absence, when he himself was about to leave Paris for the seat of war. The following are extracts of Lord Cowley's despatch.

"His majesty had written to Count Walewski, charging him to assure me that his majesty's intentions were to localise the war as much as possible, to respect the neutrality of Germany, to give no countenance to any attempts at revolution, more especially with regard to Turkey, whose possessions on the Adriatic would be scrupulously respected, and to confine his military operations to driving the Austrians out of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. His majesty further declared that he would ever be ready to treat for peace, when suitable conditions were offered to him.

"I did not conceal from Count Walewski my apprehensions that the Emperor's programme could not be carried out. It was not likely," I said, "that Austria would consent to dispossess herself of her Italian possessions, until after a series of reverses which might bring the French troops under the walls of Vienna. Under such circumstances, I hardly needed to add that the war would not remain localised, or a purely Austrian and Italian war. Then again, with respect to the Emperor's intention to give no countenance to revolutions, but little attention would be paid to that assurance, so long as Sardinia, the

friend and ally of France, was acting in a diametrically contrary spirit. Nobody would believe that France could not prevent this. However, the Emperor's declaration with regard to Turkey would be received with satisfaction by her Majesty's Government, and I trusted that the French Government would exert the influence which they possessed over the Russian and Sardinian Governments to induce them to abstain from provoking complications in the East.

"Count Walewski replied that he had great hopes that the war would not be of long duration, and that a few months would see the end of it.

"With respect to the observations which I had made respecting the proceedings of Sardinia, he said that he coincided in them entirely, and that he had had a long conversation on this subject with the Emperor previous to his Majesty's departure; and that, with his Majesty's authorisation, he had written to Turin to say that Sardinia must renounce all kind of isolated action, and must, moreover, abstain from giving any encouragement whatever to the revolutionary party in Italy.

"Alluding to what I said with regard to Turkey, he observed that he had received the most unequivocal assurances from the Russian Government of their desire to see the tranquillity of Turkey maintained. He felt sure, therefore, that revolutionary movement in the Ottoman dominions would receive no encouragement from Russia.

"With regard to France, he assured me that the Imperial Government was most anxious that no cause of umbrage should be given to her Majesty's Government on any question regarding Turkey. M. de Thouvenel [the French ambassador at Constantinople] would receive the most positive instructions to act in complete concert with Sir Henry Bulwer, to consult him on every question which might arise, and on no account to separate himself from him. He would take Athens in his way to Constantinople, with the exclusive object of impressing on the Greek Government the necessity of abstaining from all intrigues to excite rebellion among the Greek subjects of the Porte.

"I cannot doubt, from Count Wa-

lewski's tone and language, that it is the sincere wish of the Imperial Government to prevent any question arising which could in any way occasion difference with her Majesty's Government.

"I took this opportunity of calling his attention to the language reported to be held by certain of the French representatives abroad. They already began to talk," I said, "of the treaties of 1815 being at an end. Such proceedings," I observed, "were not calculated to inspire confidence in the Emperor's intentions, and must necessarily cause great alarm in Europe.

"Count Walewski expressed surprise at what I told him, as he had lately sent circular instructions inculcating the greatest soberness of language."

#### 14. *Public Opinion in England.*

The general feeling in England upon the breaking out of the war has been one of annoyance and disgust. Her people have been unable to take part with either side. Though Austria is, and has been, her natural ally, all parties concur in disliking the Austrian *régime*, condemning her encroachments in Italy, and abhorring her Italian policy. "It has been her attempt since 1815," said Lord John Russell in the House, on June 10, "to govern the whole of Italy, to make its sovereigns her viceroys, and to make its laws conform to her military law." Englishmen would be rejoiced, or relieved, at such a revision of the treaties of Vienna, with the consent of all parties, as would rid Italy of German domination. On the other hand, no one could deny that Lombardy and Venice were Austrian provinces by solemn treaties, which could not be violated without destroying the present European settlement, and which had actually imposed upon Austria the possession of a country which she had been very reluctant to accept. Moreover, she had accepted it from Europe in order that Europe might have a guarantee that Italy was secure from the invasion of France. At this moment, then, she was attacked in her Italian possessions by that very power, to resist whom in Italy those possessions were given to her in charge. It could not be denied that

Louis Napoleon's conduct was as unjust and insolent to Austria as his professions had been deceitful; but then Austria had been proud, obstinate, precipitate; and if this was all that had to be said on the subject, we suppose that the great mass of our people would have been out of humour, but would have been tolerably tranquil.

But it was impossible that considerations of a more practical and stimulating nature should long be away; and such have already made their appearance. A fanatical spirit, both in religion and politics, has made an appeal to the public in behalf of the French. Lord Shaftesbury has taken up Louis Napoleon, and has introduced him to Exeter Hall, as he had introduced Lord Palmerston before him, as a sort of elect champion destined to put down the Pope and the Catholic religion. Kossuth, on the other hand, has been attending public meetings in some of our great towns, recanting his hard words against the French Emperor, and making him the very Thalaba of the brood of Hapsburg and the avenger of Cæsarean Domdanielism. His philosophy and policy are summed up in one of his apophthegms at Manchester, not very religious, but flattering to the people whom he was addressing: "Let Austria be forsaken by England, and she will be forsaken by God."

Whatever influence these parallel efforts of very distinct interests in favour of the French Emperor might have had on the heart of England under other circumstances, at present there is a far more powerful principle in motion, and in an opposite direction,—the motive of personal and national security, which in its noblest form is patriotism. It has occurred to every one that the attack which Louis Napoleon has made on Austria might be as suddenly made on Great Britain; and if he has been able to make an Austrian war popular, it would be less difficult for him to recommend an English war to his subjects; and then the question rose at once, Are we in a condition to meet it? The hitherto irresistible force of the French armies is a great temptation to the sovereign possessing them, a temptation to themselves; in their strength and their consciousness of strength they

threaten no good to us. This led to the consideration of our home defences. We have thought of our firesides, of the beautiful face of our country, to which increase of years has but added grace and loveliness,—of our smiling hill and dale, and our ancestral parks and groves; and then again, of our metropolis, almost maritime, and our other great and prosperous towns, our docks, arsenals, and civil establishments. Statesmen have concealed this train of thought in the abstractions of diplomacy or politics, and have said that when great nations were at war, it was natural, becoming, and a duty, for neutral powers to arm in order that they may be respected; but it is obvious enough no one fears Austria, no one raises coast-guards, martello towers, or rifle corps against Austria: if, then, we are busy about these military matters, it must be in order to be safe against some other power or powers; and though Russia may be some such power, there is a certain power who has of late years been carefully augmenting her navy, and who has only last year ostentatiously shown us a wonderful harbour, the work of centuries, just now completed for the purposes of naval warfare, and just opposite our southern coast. And thus, in spite of Exeter Hall and Leicester Square, the national feeling has a greater jealousy of France than a hatred either of the Cæsar or the Pope.

What is said, what is believed, betray what is feared. Already there have been reports, which have attracted some attention, of two French war-steamer appearing outside Plymouth, and two others outside Falmouth. A schooner, too, of twelve guns, and a corvette of eighteen, were seen near the Eddystone lighthouse, in the run of the homeward-bound ships. Three French cruisers, too, have been watching the Irish coast from Cork to Cape Clear; and the newspapers, which mention these facts, are hard of belief that, after all, Austrian vessels are the prey which they are seeking. Moreover a statement appeared in the public prints, to the effect that the Russian and French governments had lately purchased Admiralty charts of all the British coasts to the value of above 1000*l.*, and that a similar order had just arrived from Spain, which included the coasts of India. It was

added, that no less than twenty-seven gun-boats of very light draft, besides vessels of larger size, were building in the Thames for the Spanish government; a government which has neither need nor money for such an armament, and which, in consequence, must be an agent, not a principal, in the transaction. As to the public prints generally, the French journals are severe upon England, and the English upon Louis Napoleon.

A deeper sentiment has lain at the bottom of these apprehensions. England is, after all, a monarchical and aristocratic country; and on this account, even putting aside the tie of kindred, she has a host of sympathies with Austria and Germany, which she cannot interchange with revolutionised, anarchical France. The leanings of the court are said, not unnaturally, to be German; and when Germany itself, ordinarily so phlegmatic and unexcitable, is in violent hostility to an un-English people, there is a twofold cause in operation, in spite of our desire to be neutral, for our bearing more patiently the bigotry of Austria than the ambition of her rival. Moreover, while no party among us has ever trusted Louis Napoleon, the great conservative body has actually distrusted him. In 1852 a panic spread among them that he was about to invade England, and that he had his men already shipped for our coasts. In 1854, when he was loyally engaged with us in the Russian war, the same feeling still smouldered in the breasts of country gentlemen and men of substance; and since the peace it has been ever getting more lively, if it has not yet burst out into a flame.

#### 15. *Position of the Emperor Louis Napoleon.*

Louis Napoleon, elevated to the imperial throne by the suffrages of the whole French population, and in the teeth of the Congress of Vienna, could not really take his place among the old monarchical families of Europe, and be a partner to their treaties. His position was necessarily antagonistic to them from the first, and he was accepted by them only as the least of two evils—as the alternative and the destroyer of red republicanism. He was one whose very tenure of power was an infraction of the treaties of

Vienna, and whose recognition was both a precedent and an instrument of their abrogation. The name of Napoleon embodied many grave political principles, and the fact of prohibiting his family from the soil of France embodied others also. If he did not at once carry out the principles which he represented, it was because he did not feel it to be expedient. He was unfettered by engagements of any kind; and could consult, according to the best of his ability, the interests of Europe in the year 1859, that is, so far as he had not bound himself by direct engagements to recognise the *status quo*.

Why he has changed his policy from one of peace to one of war, it is premature at this moment to attempt to determine. That he is in the hands of his army may be true, but he must have known his dependence on it at the time that he said, *L'Empire c'est la paix*. A persuasion has widely spread among all parties in England that, threatened with assassination by the Italian secret societies to which it is alleged he once belonged, and whose vengeance he invoked on admission in the event of his being unfaithful to their designs, he has had no alternative between loss of honour and life and the prosecution of Italian independence. No one can forget his publication of Orsini's testament in the *Moniteur*, in which a mention or suggestion was made, we forget in what terms, of the hopes which Italy had a right to place in the Emperor. From that time, it is said, the Austrian Government have considered war with the Bonaparte dynasty inevitable.

It is asserted at Vienna, according to a letter which has gone the round of the newspapers, that in 1830 Louis Napoleon and his brother were affiliated to the secret society of the Carbonari at Florence. The special Italian object of the Carbonari is the removal, at all hazards, of those Italian princes, ministers, police agents, and all other persons, who are averse to the union of Italy. With this view each Carbonaro takes a solemn oath of passive obedience to his superiors, who have the power to direct his dagger against all parties and persons indiscriminately, and even without the necessity

of giving any previous explanation. The oath of the Carbonari is irremissible, and implies for every renegade the certitude of being assassinated by the faithful. The two princes took an active part in the troubles of Romagna, from whence the Austrian letter-writer concludes that they seriously adhered to the tenets of the Carbonari; although he admits that Napoleon III. has for ever broken the ties that bound him to their revolutionary and secret society. The generous support afforded by him to the Pope, and many similar acts, evidently prove that if, during the time he could only be considered as a mere pretender to the throne, the successor of Napoleon I. thought proper to avail himself of the Carbonari, the sentiments he now professes must be most hostile to his former allies and associates. But the Carbonari are by no means disposed to liberate him from his vow. They still consider him as belonging to themselves; and they moreover believe that, if pressed, he will second their views, if not by his own free will, at least from the dread of a violent death, which they keep continually hovering over him. The attempt of Orsini and others against the life of the Emperor Napoleon III. was nothing more than the mere exercise of an acquired right, after numerous but vain remonstrances made by a Carbonari chief and his proselytes to a renegade brother. This horrible event modified the temper and habits of the Emperor to such an extent, as to admit no doubt of the dread he entertains for his dynasty hereafter in the event of the recurrence of similar events. The publishing of Orsini's will in the *Moniteur*, by order of Napoleon III., was equivalent to his saying to the Carbonari: "Suspend your attempts against my life; and let this act on my part be a pledge that I shall keep my engagements by contributing towards the emancipation of Italy." In this publication the Carbonari recognise a formal promise on the part of Napoleon III. to observe his oath, upon the condition that they cease to conspire against his life; or otherwise how explain the words of the *Unione* of Turin, the official organ of the Piedmontese Carbonari, when that paper observes: "Napoleon III.,

as Orsini's executor, must observe his oath; if he delayed in doing so, shells and daggers would accomplish their mission"? And does not the fact that the number of the *Unione* in which was published this awful warning, together with the official statement of the conditions implicitly accepted as compensation for this monstrous respite of the Carbonari, had freely circulated all through France,—does not this fact sufficiently justify the fears attributed to the Emperor in connection with their society?

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that he assigns a clear and intelligible reason for his present line of action in the various documents to which the quarrel with Austria has given rise. "Austria,"—as he represents to the court of London by his minister, April 26, — "not content with the position assigned to her in the North of Italy by the treaties of 1815, has wished to secure a preponderating influence in the whole Peninsula, and has forced its separate states into private engagements with her which endanger their independence. Sardinia alone has successfully resisted. Her cause is that of France, from her proximity to France; but it is the cause of Europe too, as much for the sake of the European equilibrium as of the treaties on which that equilibrium is based." Moreover it must be borne in mind, that in the celebrated pamphlet noticed in our number for May, he considers himself following the course of French policy which has been pursued since the days of Henry IV.; and it is remarkable, that this idea has been familiar to his mind, at least from the date of his captivity at Ham in 1844. From his prison he wrote as follows:

"To establish peace on a sound basis is a very different thing from keeping up a fictitious tranquillity for a few years. To do so, it is requisite to endeavour to bring about a cessation of hatred between nations, by favouring the tendencies and interests of each people; it is requisite to create an equitable equilibrium for each of the great powers; it is requisite, in a word, to follow the policy of Henri Quatre, and not the disastrous course pursued by the Stuarts and Louis Quinze. Open Sully's *Memoirs*, and see what were the great ideas of

the man who had pacified France and founded religious liberty. To establish on a solid basis the equilibrium of Europe, Henri Quatre thought it requisite that all the nations composing the great European family should be equal in power, and that no nation should be able to preponderate over another. He foresaw that for peoples, as for individuals, equality could alone be the source of justice. Henry IV. had brought round the greater part of Europe to his own views on this point; and when the dagger of the assassin brought his life to a termination, he was assembling a mighty army, composed of European contingents, having in view, not barren conquest, but universal peace, to attain which it was necessary to compel Spain (the house of Austria) to recognise the equality and independence of nations; and he would have established an areopagus, intended to decide by argument, and not by brute force, the quarrels between nations. Henri Quatre, had he lived, might have been named the Hero of Peace."

What is the most interesting point to Catholics is, the policy which the Emperor intends in future to pursue towards the Holy See. He has announced this policy in some of the state papers which have been given to the reader above; but, considering that he has the reputation of singular fixedness in his views (of which the quotation from the Ham letter is an instance), we think it important to set down the two principal professions on the subject which he has made on former occasions.

In August 1849, when President of the Republic, he wrote his famous letter to Edgar Ney, in which he said that the Republic had not sent an army into Italy to stifle liberty, but to regulate it, viz. by restoring to the Pontifical throne the Prince who first placed himself at the head of useful reforms; and that these reforms were, a general amnesty, secularisation of the administration, the Code Napoléon, and a liberal government, under the temporal power of the Pope.

In the Conference of Paris on the Peace in April 1856, the French Minister, M. Walewski, declared that France had a double motive to defer, together with Austria, to the request of the Pope for military assistance,

—as a Catholic and as a European power. The title of “eldest son of the Church,” of which the Sovereign of France is so proud, and the tranquillity of the Roman States, on which depends that of all Italy, and thereby the maintenance of order in Europe, claimed of the Emperor that service. On the other hand, he could not be blind to the abnormal condition of a power which, to maintain itself, requires the aid of foreign troops.

To these must be added his pamphlet of February last, in which he enters into the subject at great length. In one passage, apparently alluding to the case of the Jew boy Mortara, he speaks of canon law as being almost as immutable as dogma. “The laws of the Church,” he observes, “did not admit of discussion; they merited respect, and they ought to be considered as emanations of Divine wisdom: nevertheless civil society had its proper legislation as well as the religious polity.” It also observed that the absolutely clerical character of the Roman Government was *un contre-sens*, an active cause of discontent, an element of weakness, a permanent threat of revolution. For what more he has said in that pamphlet we must refer the reader to our May Number.

#### 16. *State of France.*

The French people are said to have been in the first instance averse to the war; but, after it had once begun, to have undergone a change of feeling, and now to take a warm interest in a contest which supplies the excitement of a game of chance, and rouses those keener sentiments of national honour and glory to which no people are more alive than the French. We shall not attempt to prove what is so very probable; but as to evidences of the fact, we may refer, as regards the country at large, to the success of the war-loan. The government proposed to raise twenty millions sterling; the appeal has been answered by subscriptions to the amount of ninety-two millions, upon which a sum of above nine millions is forthcoming as a deposit. Moreover, of the whole sum a sixth part is made up of shares of ten francs each, showing the popularity of the Government

with the working-classes. Speaking of these results, the Minister of Finance says, in his report to the Emperor, “Obtained under existing circumstances, and immediately after food, monetary, commercial, and political crises, which have disturbed the world, and caused the strongest positions to totter, they bring out in strong relief the solidity of our financial system, the wealth of our country, and her power and patriotism. They show to every eye the close union which exists between France and the Emperor, the entire confidence of the nation in the force and wisdom of the Sovereign who presides over its destinies, and the security inspired by the temporary power confided to the firmness and the exalted intelligence of the Empress Regent.”

For the state of feeling in Paris, we may refer to the scene which took place on Louis Napoleon's leaving the metropolis for the seat of war, on May 10. “Before the departure of the Emperor,” we are told, “Prince Jerome and all the members of the imperial family, the ministers of state, and many personal and particular friends of his Majesty, proceeded to the Tuileries, about four o'clock, to bid farewell to the Emperor and console the Empress. His Majesty, I was told by one present, preserved his usual calm and confident aspect, saying a kind word to all who approached.” When at length he left the palace, “the crowds, the cheering, the patriotic songs, broken by repeated cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* all gave the most effectual contradiction to the reports of the war being unpopular with the bulk of the people. All progress along the Rue de Rivoli, down which the *cortège* moved at a slow pace, was impossible. The crowd along the foot-paths was wedged so close together, that women had to be extricated in a fainting state. The windows of the tall houses in the Rue de Rivoli and the very roofs were black with human beings. The Emperor was seated in an open carriage with the Empress, the usual escort of Cent Gardes following and preceding. As it moved out of the gates of the Carrousel, there was a roar of voices, hats were tossed aloft in the air, handkerchiefs were waved, and women cried.

The Emperor looked surprised at the unusual warmth of his reception, and well he might. It was the grand spectacle of a population of a great city, moved by a feeling of sincere and genuine enthusiasm, giving vent to their feelings in their own rough and imposing manner. There was no display of troops. By the time the *cortège* had arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, this continued and unexpected ovation had produced the effect which such an imposing manifestation must produce upon the most inflexible. The Emperor ordered his guards to move out of the way, and the carriage was instantly hemmed round by the enthusiastic crowds. I am told by an eye-witness, that the stern unbending features of Louis Napoleon were quivering with emotion, while the Empress was weeping without any attempt at concealment. He put his hands out of the carriage; and it was a sight indeed to see these rough *ouvriers*, these barricade-makers of the Rue St. Antoine, bending over and kissing them, and shouting *Vive l'Empereur!* When the *cortège* resumed its march, a band of workmen stood between the imperial carriage and the Cent Gardes, and preceded it all the rest of the way, singing the *Chant du Départ* of the Girondins, and even the *Marseillaise*; to the sounds of which, with *Vive l'Empereur!* for a burden, the imperial party alighted, and Napoleon III. set forth on his journey to the army of Italy."

The middle class, as represented by the Paris tradesmen, and the clergy, are said to be indisposed to the war. As to the clergy, it would not be fair to select that most revered prelate the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons as their representative; but as it is the only pastoral which we happen to have seen, we quote the words of his Eminence. The Minister of Public Worship had requested "public prayers, beseeching the Almighty to vouchsafe the *success* of our arms and to protect France." The Archbishop responds thus: "Amid the grave circumstances in which France is placed, the first thought of the clergy is to turn towards God, who holds in His hands the hearts of kings, and who raises or *casts down empires* as He pleases. War, whatever may be the degree of glory to which it may raise

a nation, is always a *great scourge*. We cannot regard the misfortunes it occasions without *praying* Divine Providence to *abridge and put an end to them*. Accordingly, dear brethren, we shall extend towards heaven supplicating hands to implore its succour, and to *obtain a prompt and honourable peace*; and we shall repeat these words of the Minister of Public Instruction—"May God protect France and the Emperor!" In like manner, his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Bourges tells his clergy, "The Empire is peace. We must always be convinced of this great truth, even when war has become a painful necessity."

The Minister of Public Worship has also explained to the Bishops the necessity, or rather the unavoidableness, of the war. "The Italian question might have been solved peaceably," he said; "Austria assumes the terrible responsibility of events. Enlighten the clergy on the consequences of a now inevitable contest. The Emperor has thought on the subject in the presence of God; he will fail in nothing due either to religion or the country. He restored the Holy Father to the Vatican. It is his will that the Supreme Chief of the Church should be respected in all his rights as a temporal sovereign. He has saved France from demagoguery; he will not allow it in Italy. He thinks it best for Italy to establish the independence and liberty of its governments, and their non-interference with lawful social progress."

### 17. *State of Italy.*

First, we will set down a few details taken from the statistics of Italy, as given in the *Annuario* for 1858. The population of Italy amounts to 27,107,047 inhabitants. 19,913,304 souls are under Italian governments, and 7,193,743 obey foreign rule. Italy is one of the countries in which the largest cities and towns are to be found, nineteen of them having more than 50,000 inhabitants, and eight—Rome, Naples, Palermo, Venice, Florence, Milan, Genoa, and Turin—exceed 100,000. Almost all the population are Catholics. The births far exceed the deaths; the increase in the population is particularly remark-

able in Sicily and Tuscany, where it may double in seventy-three years. Italy alone has very nearly one-half as many bishoprics as there are in the whole of Europe; 256 out of 535. The regular and secular clergy of both sexes count in Italy 189,000, and they are, as compared with the numbers of the population, as 1 to 142. The clergy are more numerous in Sicily than in any other part of Italy, or perhaps in the world, the number of priests, monks, or nuns, being 33,266, or one out of sixty-nine inhabitants. There are nearly 300 journals published in Italy; of which number 117 are in the Sardinian States, which contain one-fifth of the total population. One of the principal branches of industry is the production of silk, and in ordinary years the value of that article is from 8,000,000*l.* to 9,000,000*l.* Lombardy alone, which is only the fifteenth part of Italy, produces one-third. Commerce is active; but business is said to be impeded by the high tariffs in many of the states, and by the lines of custom-houses. The mercantile marine of Italy is more numerous, in proportion to the extent of country, than that of any other nation in Europe, England excepted.

And next we set down some chief particulars, for we have not room for detail, of the treaties, so often alluded to in the diplomatic correspondence before the commencement of the war, which exist between Austria and the Italian States. By the treaty between Austria and Modena of 1847, the two powers bind themselves to lend each other help and assistance in the event of "an attack from without;" and the Emperor further promises to lend every military assistance necessary for the maintenance and reëstablishment of "tranquillity and legal order" in the interior of the states of the Duke of Modena. A similar treaty, *mutatis mutandis*, was concluded between Austria and Parma in February 1848. Austria has, by the treaty of Vienna, the right of placing garrisons at Ferrara and Comacchio. Austria and Tuscany agreed to combine to prevent the peace of Italy from being disturbed. The Emperor engaged to furnish at least 80,000 men of all arms for that purpose, and the Grand Duke 6000. By the treaty between Austria

and Naples of April 1815, it is stipulated in a secret article that "the king of the Two Sicilies shall not admit any changes which are incompatible either with monarchical institutions, or with the principles adopted by his Imperial Majesty for the internal *régime* of his Italian provinces."

As to the state of feeling of the Italian populations at the existing crisis, but one opinion prevails among the English public, which we have no means of saying is not founded on fact. There is in certain classes of the nation great discontent and restlessness, based on the feeling that Italy is behind the world in social and municipal respects. If they are educated, and employ their minds, they are either infidels, or at least speak with great disrespect of the ecclesiastical *régime*. They wish for revolution, if not for its own sake, at least as a necessary preliminary to reform and advance. Numbers of them are affiliated to secret societies. However, whatever their discontent, they are not equally desirous that the French should take the place of the Austrians, but they desire "Italy for the Italians." At the moment, however, the advantage of French intervention is present, and the danger future.

#### (1) Rome.

We shall learn the views of the Pontifical Government from a despatch of the English agent at Rome to Lord Malmesbury. He says, on March 15, "I called this morning on Cardinal Antonelli, and said, 'Your Eminence is already aware that Lord Cowley was sent to Vienna by her Majesty's Government, who earnestly desire the maintenance of peace in Europe, to ascertain whether the relations between France and Austria could be put on a better footing. Now her Majesty's Government consider three points essential to the maintenance of peace in Italy, the execution of which would, in their opinion, remove all pretexts for war. These points are:

"1. That Austria should bind herself not to attack Sardinia; and,

"2. That she should concert with France on the best and safest manner of evacuating the Pope's territory.'

"Here the Cardinal interrupted me,

and said, 'Austria can have no difficulty in agreeing to the first point, for she never had the slightest intention or desire to attack Sardinia. Respecting the second point she has no choice. I have, as you already know, addressed an official note to the ambassadors of France and Austria, in which I ask for the withdrawal of the troops of occupation in the name of the Pope; and I have requested they would do so in the course of the present year. Their place will be supplied by our own troops, and by a new battalion of riflemen which I am organising. Our army, when complete, is to consist of nearly 18,000 men.'

"I said, 'As your Eminence has anticipated Austria, and agreed to the first two points, I now come to the third—that Austria should advise and support reforms in the Papal States, on the basis she proposed in 1831 and 1857.'

"His Eminence said, 'We have our laws, and it is our duty to maintain and execute those laws. The promises made by the Pope at Gaeta will be strictly carried out. It is true that the municipal elections and certain administrative subdivisions in the Legations are not yet in force; and the cause of this delay must be sought in the past state of the country and the presence of foreign troops. Every thing, I repeat it, granted by the Pope at Gaeta will be executed as soon as our hands are free to act. The first step towards that end was taken, you know it, by our request for the withdrawal of the foreign garrison; the rest will follow gradually, according to the state of the country.'

It is said that the French Emperor has made his general at Rome responsible for the safety of the Pope, the Sacred College, and the diplomatic body. We are told, moreover, by the Archbishop of Dublin in his recent pastoral, that promises have been made the Holy Father of the most decided character that his states shall not be interfered with. It was not unnatural that the populace should show some signs of agitation, considering what events were in progress at Easter time; but the French general suppressed them. The French soldiers are said to have taken possession of S. Pietro in Montorio, which com-

mands the whole of Rome. Even Louis Napoleon cannot promise to control the political events which he has set in motion; else, as far as he is concerned, we do not see any reason to doubt he means to treat the Pope as becomes the eldest son of the Church. It is said that, when the French ambassador declared Louis Napoleon's intention to defend his person and rights, he turned to a crucifix, and said, "Monsieur le Duc, that is what I confide in." This is nothing else but the act of faith and hope under all circumstances; but, at least at the beginning of his reign, Pius had a considerable liking for the French, and probably has still.

Since this has been written, the public has had some distinct information of the relations subsisting between the Holy See and the French Government. On May 17 Cardinal Antonelli told the English Government Agent at Rome how much the Pope had been gratified by the "repeated assurances which his Holiness had received from France that no event in the future should interfere with the peace and quiet of Rome;" and we are informed by Lord Cowley that on the Duc de Grammont, the French ambassador at Rome, leaving the Holy City for Alessandria in the course of the same month, "he was the bearer of an autograph letter of the Pope to his Majesty, in which his Holiness repeated the assurances already given under another form to the French Government, that he considered himself safe under the protection of France, and had no intention of quitting Rome."

If the Pope has to fear France, he has also to complain of Austria. This latter power, with a view of meeting, as it would appear, the projected attack of the French fleet in the Adriatic, declared Ancona to be in a state of siege, extinguished the light in the lighthouse at the entrance of the harbour, and landed there a force of many thousand men, 6000 to 10,000, with 5000 tons of *matériel* of war, and provision for six months: 700 men were employed on making an entrenched camp. The Pope protested, the French remonstrated, and the Austrians were obliged to relinquish a course of proceeding which would have compromised the Pope's neutrality.

At this most awful moment, his Holiness has not been wanting to his apostolic mission, but has addressed an encyclical letter to all the Catholic Bishops, desiring them to order public prayers for peace, and attaching indulgences to their use.

## (2) *Lombardy.*

Sir J. Hudson, our Minister at Turin, writes to Lord Malmesbury in the beginning of January: "Seven years of bad wine crops, silk crops, and corn crops, with heavy taxation, have reduced the northern Italians to skin and bone. Any traveller must have remarked the rags of the peasant, the worn-out horses and carts, and the absence of gentlemen's equipages at the Corsos of Milan, Brescia, Verona, and Bologna. And the Sardinian Government know as well as I do, that if they cross the Ticino, they will find empty treasuries, a famished people, and, comparatively speaking, few resources."

## (3) *Tuscany and the Duchies.*

A revolution in Tuscany was one of the earliest and easiest events of the war, April 25. It took place before the manifestoes, and was done and over almost as soon as it was begun. There was a rising in the morning, and in the afternoon the Grand Duke was escorted by a guard of honour to the frontiers *en route* for Bologna. The army turned against him. Then the King of Sardinia was chosen Dictator; and, on his declining the responsibility for political reasons, matters went into confusion.

The revolution would seem to be popular, to judge by the relation of a Catholic who was passing from Rome northwards at the time. "At Viterbo," in the Roman States, he says, "the tricolor was partially displayed; but in the Tuscan dominions it burst upon us, high up on church-steeple and chimney-tops, out of windows and at door-ways, in forms of flowers stuck in the bonnet, in ribbons on the breast, and in bannerets from donkey-carts. The entire population have surrendered their men for the public service, feeling that it is Italy's hour."

Massa and Carrara have revolted from the Duke, and the King of Sar-

dinia has annexed them to his dominions.

Parma, after some vacillation, has declared for the allies; and the Duchess Regent has released the troops from their allegiance to her, and has left for Switzerland.

## (4) *Naples.*

The only event of importance in the Neapolitan dominions has been the death of the king, which took place on May 22. As far as information goes at present, the new king has ascended the throne without disturbance. It is said that the French asked for the occupation of three ports,—one in Sicily, two on the main land; the Neapolitan government answered that they were not in a condition to resist the French if they took them, but that it was against the rights of nations.

## (5) *Sardinia.*

As to Sardinia, it is a question whether the war and the policy of government are popular except in that active and influential portion of the nation which depends on the minister. The clergy, from the history of late years, the country people, from the sufferings which war inflicts on them, would seem to be opposed to it. Lord Normanby has said in the House of Lords that, while the taxation in the Duchy of Parma was only eight per cent, and that in Modena still less, the taxation in Sardinia was fifty-five per cent. Accordingly, allowing for exaggeration, we are not indisposed to acquiesce in the report given us by the *Times* correspondent on the feelings with which the Austrians were received by the Sardinian peasantry. Speaking of the rapid rise of the Sesia, he says that the loss which it would have occasioned the Austrians was prevented, owing to the voluntary exertions of the Piedmontese labourers. He continues, "This circumstance clearly proves how untrue are the statements made about the animosity of the Italians against the Austrians. I have myself been only three days in Piedmont on this occasion; but I have already ridden 140 miles, and stopped at nearly every village; and to an Englishman the natives would not conceal their feelings. I can assure you that their anger is all

against their own government, not for this war merely, but for the whole policy of overloading them with taxes, such as our exploded window-tax and a tax on carriages, for the purpose of keeping up an army beyond the wants of the country. I speak of the peasantry; the burghers and lawyers may think differently. When the Austrians arrived at a certain town, the inhabitants reproached them much for not coming a fortnight sooner. Expecting them, they said, they had made every excuse to delay providing their quota of the reserve of the army. The Piedmontese had carried off nearly all the horses and provisions from this part of the country. At Stroppiana they even carried off the women to work at Casale. The Austrians sent provisions for the starving inhabitants left there."

On the other hand, after the ill-success of the Austrian army, an Austrian officer accounted for it, in the report of his conversation given in the public prints, by saying, "During the whole campaign, the great difficulty which the Austrians have had to contend with, was want of intelligence of the movements of the allies. Neither money nor threats could induce the country people to divulge any thing. They never could make out where the chief force of the allies was. They had to feel their way, and go to and fro like blind men." Is it possible that the conduct of a portion of the Austrian soldiers in Piedmont might have caused a change of feeling?

### 18. *Alliances, Neutralities, and Armaments.*

The result of the universal commotion which the war has caused among the nations of Europe is this:

An understanding, not an alliance, exists between France and Russia, having reference, not to the East, but to Italy.

An alliance, at first announced as defensive, but now allowed to be offensive and defensive, exists between France and Sardinia.

It has been surmised that there is some kind of understanding between France and Spain. The troops of the two powers have been lately, or are now, engaged together in a military

expedition in Cochin China. Mention has been made above of gunboats for shallow waters building in English docks, ostensibly for Spain. The Spanish journals are talking of taking or purchasing Gibraltar. Portugal proposes to Spain an alliance with herself; Spain is said to have answered that the political connection between Portugal and England forbade it.

Here, however, there are contrary reports. It is said that the anti-French spirit of the country is rising to the surface rapidly. A paper in the French interest has suggested that the Pope ought to be brought for safety to the Balearic Islands; and that, in order to protect him, the islands might be intrusted to a French garrison. Now the French have always had a hankering after those islands; and since the conquest of Algeria their hankering has increased twenty-fold, because without those islands in their hands Algeria cannot be defended against a maritime power. This is well known in Spain, and the recommendation has been answered by a universal shout of indignation. Moreover the principal newspapers, those belonging to the *moderado* party, always known as the "French party," have now turned entirely Austrian.

There was a report, at the time when the existence of the Russo-French alliance was first spoken of, that Denmark had joined it. This was promptly denied on authority.

Some sort of alliance has been contemplated between Holland and Belgium. They were said to have agreed on raising a joint army, Belgium contributing the greater portion of it, and Holland providing a fleet.

The neutral powers are England, Spain, Portugal, Rome, Naples, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark.

Prussia and the German Confederation, Russia, and Turkey, have not yet taken their places in the European complication.

Much might be said on the armaments of the several states, but it is sufficient to say that the whole of Europe may be considered to be under arms.

As to Spain, in case of a war with France, the guerillas will form the main strength of that country. The regular army is said to be inefficient on

the score of armament. With respect to artillery, the Spanish foundries produce serviceable pieces, and are in a position to supply all the wants of the country. They are experimenting there just now on a new sort of rifled cannon. As to fortifications, the old walls of Cadiz are being looked to, and enormous Paixhans mounted thereon. The powerful and new fortifications of La Mola, in the Balearic Islands, are carried on with great activity. A small squadron is also preparing to cruise between the Balearic Islands and Italy.

The German preparations are as follows. Powerful armies are contemplated for the Rhine. Prussia is to provide for the defence of the lower part of the river, and the secondary states for that of the upper. Austria is to send twenty regiments of cavalry. The reserves in Prussia and Silesia have already joined their regiments; the Landwehr is to be called out when danger is imminent. All the federal fortresses have been put in a state of defence. A corps of 10,000 men defends the Diet at Frankfort. At Coblenz the outworks of the fortresses are prepared for attack, and provision for six months laid in. The horses for the artillery are purchased. Supplies for six months have also been sent to Luxemburg. Mayence has 27,000 men. Bavaria has from 80,000 to 100,000 ready to march. 170,000 men are spoken of for the army of observation; but from 300,000 to 400,000 men, or even 500,000, as the Germans say, are forthcoming.

One state seems to have made no extraordinary preparations, if its defenders and friends are to be believed. This state, strange to say, is France. When invited by the British Government to take her part in the general disarmament, she replied that she had never armed; an answer which we did not record in its proper place, because, though it is certain that she said that the business going on in her dockyards was merely the substitution of new material for that which the recent scientific inventions had superseded, we had not found any official report of the assertion as put forward in answer to an invitation to disarm. "As regards France," said a French paper high in imperial favour, "she has no occasion to dis-

arm, for the simple reason that she has no extraordinary armament. She has marched no troops to her frontiers; she has not even used her right to respond to the threats of Austria. It cannot be a question whether of reducing a single effective soldier from her army or of taking a single additional cannon into her arsenals. She can but make an engagement not to arm." In another number: "She is still on a peace footing. She has formed no camp; she has collected no army on her frontiers; she has not applied to the legislature for a war credit."

What makes this still more remarkable is a passage in one of Lord Malmesbury's despatches to Lord Cowley, dated January 10. "I am aware," he writes, "from a conversation which Lord Clarendon held lately at Compiègne with the Emperor, and which his Lordship repeated to me, that his Imperial Majesty has *long looked at the internal state of Italy with interest and anxiety*. It may be that he imagines that in *a war with Austria*, and having Sardinia for an ally, he *may play the important part of regenerator of Italy*."

#### 19. *Armed Neutrality of England.*

As to our own country, immense stores of ammunition have been conveyed to Corfu, Malta, and Gibraltar. Without interfering with the Channel fleet, the Malta squadron has been doubled. It is said to consist of thirteen sail of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels. The defences of Gibraltar having been considered behind the advance of military science, the old guns are replaced by large Armstrong guns.

A royal proclamation has been issued for receiving additional seamen. Upwards of 10,000 men presented themselves for enlistment in a very short time.

The Government has issued a circular, addressed to the Lord-Lieutenants of counties, on the subject of volunteer rifle and artillery corps. This measure has a reference to the danger of invasion. The conditions are to be such as the following: the oath of allegiance is to be taken; the corps to be liable to be called out; when under arms, military law to be

enforced; the members to receive pay; provision to be made for those who are disabled in active service, or their widows, if they are killed. Twenty-four days drill in the year. Members to find their own arms and equipments.

## 20. *Strength of the Armies in the Field.*

Under date of May 16, the *Times* correspondent, writing from Turin, supplies the following estimate:

At that date the Piedmontese, at a very liberal estimate, were 80,000 effective men, including 10,000 or 12,000 volunteers, and Garibaldi's 3,000. Another corps was in process of formation, which would probably amount to 3,000 more.

The general belief was, that at the date named there were 130,000 French in the Sardinian States. The French were still deficient in cavalry, artillery, and camp-equipage. At Lyons a tremendous siege-train was preparing against the Lombard fortresses. Thus the total of the allies in the middle of May was 210,000 men.

As to the Austrians, they might be considered 220,000, of which there were at Ancona 7,000, and Ferrara 4,000. At Venice 12,000 to 15,000. At Verona 6,000, Mantua 4,000, Peschiera 2,000, and Legnano 1,000—that is, 13,000 in the quadrangle fortresses. At Brescia, Milan, Bergamo, and Cremona, 20,000 to 25,000. At Piacenza 25,000, and at Pavia 5,000. In Piedmont somewhere about 130,000.

We may fitly add to the above an account of the German and non-German provinces of the Austrian Empire.

The population of the Empire is 37,000,000. It consists of the Italian provinces, 5,000,000; Hungary and its dependencies, 14,500,000; Poland, 5,000,000; and German provinces, 12,500,000.

The German provinces, of course, are the only portion of the Empire which forms part of the Confederation, and is placed under the guarantee of the federal compact. They are the Archduchy of Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Salzburg, the Tyrol, Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola, and some outlying territories, of which the most prominent is Trieste and its

vicinity. The non-German provinces are Galicia, the Bukovina, Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, a part of Istria, and Lombardy.

## 21. *First Movements and Plans of the Austrians.*

Field-Marshal Gyulai, in the first week of April, in the immediate prospect of crossing the Ticino, addressed his troops as follows:

"Soldiers,—His majesty the Emperor summons you under the colours to humble, for the third time, the pride of Piedmont, and to clear out the nest of fanatics and of subverters of the general tranquillity of Europe.

"Soldiers of every grade, advance against an enemy who has ever fled before you.

"Remember only Volta, Sommacampagna, Curtatone, Montanara, Rivoli, Santa Lucia, and, a year later, La Cava, Vigevano, Mortara, and, finally, Novara, where you dispersed and annihilated him.

"It is unnecessary to recommend to you discipline and courage; in the first you are unequalled in Europe, and in the second surpassed by none.

"Let your rallying cry be, 'Long live the Emperor and our good right!'"

The negotiations lasted through April; on the 23d was sent the famous *ultimatum*, which assigned the 26th for the commencement of the war, in the event of its being rejected.

Meanwhile the last effort of the English ministry delayed the passage of the Ticino till the 29th. The invading commander's plan is said to have been to strike a blow either at Turin or Novi.

The French were taken by surprise by the abrupt termination of the negotiations. They had not completed the preparations necessary for their artillery; and the pass of Mount Cenis, still encumbered with hard or melting snow, was impracticable for heavy carriages. It was apparently a race between French and Austrian, and the Austrian had the start.

But rains set in heavily on the 4th of May, and the whole plain within the Ticino, partly flooded by the full torrents pouring down from the Alps, and partly by the artificial means at

the disposal of the Sardinians, became impassable.

The rains continued for at least a month with little intermission. On the 15th a correspondent of the London papers writes, "The belligerent armies are camping, bivouacking, marching, and countermarching in slush and mud. The ground, already unfitted by the previous rains and inundations for active operations, must offer insuperable obstacles to the movements of any but the lightest artillery."

Another says, "The fields are utterly impassable, except for infantry; and even that arm could not move across country except by short and slow marches. Every field is bounded by a ditch full of water, with a hedge of trees about two feet apart on each side of it; and fully one fourth of the country is under water entirely."

A third letter states that the Austrian commanders had bitterly complained of the interference of the British diplomatists at the very last moment. Lord Malmesbury did serious injury to Austria by making on the 25th of April the proposition which was accepted by Count Buol and rejected by M. de Walewski. On the 26th of April Count Gyulai was to have crossed the Ticino: and his plan of operation was to send the one-half of his army in forced marches to Novi, in order to destroy the two railroads which there join; the other half was to advance towards Casale. As the weather was fine until the 4th of May, the Austrians would (had they crossed the Ticino on the appointed day) have had but little difficulty in making their way to Novi. In the evening of the 29th of April the advanced guard entered Sardinia, and an attempt was even then made to get to Novi.

## 22. *Position of the Sardo-French Forces.*

The Emperor Louis Napoleon left Paris on the 10th of May, leaving the Empress as regent; on his arrival at Genoa, he issued the following order of the day:

"To the Army of Italy.

"Soldiers,—I come to place myself at your head, to conduct you to the combat. We are about to second the struggles of a people now vindicating its independence, and to rescue it from

foreign oppression. This is a sacred cause, which has the sympathies of the civilised world. I need not stimulate your ardour. Every step will remind you of a victory.

"In the Via Sacra of ancient Rome, inscriptions were engraved upon the marble, reminding the people of their exalted deeds. It is the same to-day. In passing Mondovia, Marengo, Lodi, Castiglioni, Arcole, and Rivoli, you will, in the midst of those glorious recollections, be marching in another Via Sacra.

"Preserve that strict discipline which is the honour of the army here. Forget it not, there are no other enemies than those who fight against us in battle. Remain compact, abandon not your ranks to hasten forward. Beware of a great enthusiasm, which is the only thing I fear.

"The new *armes de précision* are dangerous only at a distance. They will not prevent the bayonet from being what it has hitherto been—the terrible weapon of the French infantry.

"Soldiers,—Let us all do our duty, and put our confidence in God. Our country expects much from you. From one end of France to the other the following words of happy augury re-echo, 'The new army of Italy will be worthy of her elder sister.'

"Given at Genoa, May 12, 1859."

The army had a double base of operation, Susa and Mount Cenis, and Genoa; the railroad through Turin and Alessandria connected the two. The Sardinian forces defended the line of the Dora Baltea from Ivrea to Chivasso in front of Turin, and the line of the Po from Casale to Valenga. The mass of the French army was collected about Alessandria, which was the head-quarters of Louis Napoleon; and stretched up to Valenga on the Po north, and to Casteggio eastward.

## 23. *Advance and Retreat of the Austrians.*

The Austrians, in the aggregate 100,000 strong, entering Piedmont in three columns, advanced as far as Vercelli, or even Biella, on the north of the Po, and Tortona on the south. They attempted to pursue their western march. From Vercelli runs the Sesia southwards into the Po; cross-

ing then the Sesia at Vercelli, they advanced to Trino, and even to Crescentino, opposite to Chivasso, and not far from the junction of the Dora Baltea with the Po. Then they fell back again. Where the Sesia joins the Po the latter river changes its course, and runs south, as if in continuation of the Sesia. There, too, a second body of the army attempted to cross; but the floods would not allow it.

Meanwhile a third Austrian corps of 25,000 men to the east had crossed the Po southwards, and took possession of Stradella. Failing in the attempt to advance westward, they fortified the line of the Sesia. In the direction of Novi and Genoa, and to the south of the Po, they had advanced, as we have said, as far as Tortona; then they retired to Voghera, then to Casteggio, in the direction of Pavia, towards Stradella on the Po, where they were in force. These various movements occupied the first three weeks of the campaign.

#### 24. *Engagement at Montebello.*

On *May 20*, the day three weeks after their entering Piedmont, the Austrians had a sharp engagement with the Sardo-French troops at Montebello, in the neighbourhood of Casteggio.

The French account is to the effect that the Austrians attacked the allies under Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers with 15,000 men, and after an obstinate fight of four or five hours, were repulsed by a French division under General Forey, with a loss of 2000, and 200 prisoners. The Piedmontese horse behaved with great gallantry. The Austrians crossed the river in their rear.

But the Austrians say that General Stadion sent out a reconnoitring party, to learn the strength and position of the enemy's right wing. Advancing towards Montebello, they met the French in great force, far greater than their own; and having effected their purpose of making the French develop their full force, made good their retreat.

#### 25. *Advance and Success of the Allies.*

*May 30, 31.* The Sardinians, after a desperate conflict, crossed the Sesia,

and established themselves at Palestro, on the left bank. On this the Emperor Louis Napoleon left Alessandria for Vercelli. And then he suddenly brought up his whole army, by means of the railroad, from the neighbourhood of Voghera and Casteggio, on the Austrian left, where the enemy had found it at the engagement of Montebello, to their extreme right; and crossing the Sesia where the Sardinians had crossed it, he advanced to Mortara and Novara, the Austrians hastily retreating before them.

#### 26. *Passage of the Ticino.*

*June 3.* The passage was effected by the French at Turbigo, the Austrians in vain opposing it from Buffalora.

#### 27. *Battle of Magenta.*

*The French Emperor's Account.—*

*June 4.* At 11:30 a great victory was won at the Bridge of Magenta; 5000 prisoners were taken, and 15,000 of the enemy were killed or wounded.

*June 5.* We have taken 7000 prisoners; at least 20,000 Austrians are *hors de combat*. We have captured three guns and two standards. Our loss is about 3000 men and one gun; 323 killed, 2165 wounded, 470 missing.

*Austrian Account.—June 5.* Early yesterday a hot fight began at Magenta. The conflict was maintained with varying fortune all night.

*June 18.* Official. There were 63 officers and 1302 men killed, 218 officers and 4130 soldiers wounded, 4000 soldiers missing.

#### 28. *Engagement at Marignano.*

*Turin, June 8.* Yesterday the allies won a fresh victory, driving the enemy from Marignano, where they had been entrenched.

The Austrians were 30,000 strong; they suffered a loss of 1500 killed and wounded and 1200 prisoners. The battle lasted nine hours. The French loss was 154 killed, 725 wounded, 64 missing.

*Vienna.* The Austrians at the battle of Marignano yielded only to the decidedly superior force of the enemy; and retired, unpursued, in perfect order.

29. *Hasty Retreat of the Austrians.*

*French Emperor's Telegram.*—June 6, 8 a.m. Milan is insurgent; the Austrians have evacuated the town and castle, leaving, in their precipitation, cannon and treasure of the army behind them. We are encumbered with prisoners, and have taken 12,000 Austrian muskets.

June 10. The Austrians have evacuated Pavia.

June 11. They have evacuated Piacenza, after blowing up the citadel and abandoning a great number of cannon and magazines full of provisions and ammunition. They have blown up the fortifications of Pizzighettone. They have retired from Lodi. The seat of government has been transferred to Mantua.

June 12. A part of the French army has passed the Adda without striking a blow. They are crossing the Oglio.

June 12. The Austrians have evacuated Ancona, Bologna, Ferrara. They have retired from the States of the Church.

June 13. The Austrians have evacuated Reggio, and are preparing to evacuate the rest of Modena.

30. *Change of Austrian Generalissimo.*

June 14. The official *Vienna Gazette* says, "The Emperor will forthwith assume the command-in-chief, and has ordered a new position for the army, which will be taken up in the best manner possible."

A council of war is said to have been held at Verona, and almost all the members expressed their disapproval of the dispositions of Count Gyulai on the 4th and 5th inst. The loudest railers are military men. General Count Schlick has taken the command of the second army, instead of General Gyulai.

31. *Risings of the Italians.*

Wherever the allied troops have shown themselves, the population of Lombardy has declared for them.

June 13. A deputation from Modena on the subject of annexation has arrived at Turin.

June 13. After the retreat of the Austrians from Bologna, the Cardinal Legate left the city, and Victor

Emmanuel was immediately proclaimed. The town is *en fête*.

June 15. The towns of Forli, Faenza, and Imola have proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king or dictator.

June 17. Rimini, Cesena, and Ravenna have pronounced for the national cause.

June 18. Perugia has pronounced, and the districts in the same neighbourhood on the right of the Tiber, and Citta di Castello on the left.

June 21. Fano, Urbino, Fossombrone, Sesi, and Ancona, have declared for the national cause.

32. *The Emperor Louis Napoleon's Proclamations from Milan.*(1) *To the People of Italy.*

"The fortunes of war bringing me into the capital of Lombardy, I come to tell you why I am here.

"When Austria made its unjust attack on Piedmont, I resolved to support my ally, the Sardinian king; the honour and interest of France made it a point of duty.

"Your foes (who are mine) have tried to lessen the universal sympathy all Europe felt in your cause by giving out that I only made war for personal ambition, or to aggrandise the French territory. If there are men who cannot understand the epoch they live in, I am not of that number.

"In a sound state of public opinion, at this time of day, men become greater by the moral influence they exert than by barren conquests. I seek with pride that moral influence, by contributing to render free the most beautiful land in Europe.

"Your welcome has proved that you fully understand me. I come not here with a pre-arranged plan to dispossess sovereigns, or to impose on you my will. My army will have two works to perform—fight your enemies and keep internal order. No obstacle shall be raised to the free manifestations of your legitimate wishes. Providence often favours nations, as it does individuals, by offering them the opportunity of sudden greatness; but it is on condition of their knowing how to avail themselves of it wisely. Earn, then, the boon now offered you. Your desire for independence, so long put forth, so often baffled, shall be real-

ised, if you show yourselves worthy of it. Unite, then, one and all, in one great object—the deliverance of your native land. Adopt military organisation; rally round the standard of King Victor Emmanuel, who has indicated to you so nobly the path of honour. Remember that without discipline there is no army; and, burning with the sacred fire of patriotism, be soldiers to-day, to become to-morrow free citizens of a great country.

“NAPOLEON.

“Given at Head-quarters, Milan, June 8, 1859.”

(2) *Proclamation to the Army of Italy.*

“Soldiers!—One month ago, relying confidently on the efforts of diplomacy, I still hoped for peace, when the sudden invasion of Piedmont by the Austrian troops called us under arms. We were not ready; men, horses, *matériel*, stores, were wanting; and we were compelled, in order to assist our allies, to debouch by small fractions beyond the Alps in presence of a formidable enemy long since prepared for the struggle.

“The danger was great; the energy of the nation and your own courage have supplied all deficiencies. France has found her olden virtues and has united for a single object, and in one sentiment she has shown the might of her resources and the strength of her patriotism. The operations commenced ten days ago, and the Piedmontese territory is already freed from its invaders.

“The allied army has been successful in four engagements and one decisive battle, which have opened the gates of the capital of Lombardy. You have put upwards of 35,000 Austrians *hors de combat*, taken 17 guns, 2 colours, 8,000 prisoners. But all is not over. There are more battles in store for us, more obstacles to overcome.

“I rely upon you. Courage, then, gallant soldiers of the army of Italy! From the heights of heaven your fathers proudly contemplate their children.

“NAPOLEON.

“From Head-quarters, Milan, June 8, 1859.”

33. *Proclamation of the King of Sardinia.*

The date would seem to be about June 8.

“People of Lombardy,—The victory of the arms of freedom leads me among you.

“Having regained your national rights, your votes confirm the union with my kingdom, which is founded on civil freedom.

“The temporary form of government which I give you to-day is required by the necessities of the war. Independence once secured, the mind will acquire composure, the soul virtue, and then will be founded a free and lasting government.

“People of Lombardy,—Those who dwell under the Alps have already made great sacrifices for our common country; our army, swelled with volunteers from your own and other provinces of Italy, has already given proofs of its valour, fighting victoriously for the national cause.

“The Emperor of the French, our generous ally, worthy of the name and genius of Napoleon, putting himself at the head of that great nation, wishes to make Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic.

“Not minding sacrifices, you will second these magnanimous designs on the field of battle. You will show yourselves worthy of the destinies to which Italy is now called, after centuries of suffering.”

A decree for the provisional organisation of Lombardy follows.

34. *Message of the King of Sardinia to the Pope.*

Victor Emmanuel, in answer to the deputation from Bologna, has stated that he disapproves every act which menaces the Pope's temporalities. He has also sent a message to Rome, conveying the same message to the Holy Father, and telling him that he has nothing to fear from the cause of Italian Independence.

# THE RAMBLER.

---

VOL. I. *New Series.* SEPTEMBER 1859.

---

PART III.

---

## THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE BONAPARTES.

BEFORE entering on the investigation of our subject, it may be as well to enumerate the materials for our knowledge of it. We have, so to say, two editions of the Bonapartist system of policy: one as moulded and stamped by Napoleon I.; the other under the signature of the present Emperor. The two editions vary; for the combinations of two different epochs could never be perfectly identical: in fact, the position of things under Napoleon III. had no real or deep analogy with the circumstances of France and Europe at the beginning of the career of Napoleon I. The situation of Europe obliged the first Napoleon to make his policy turn on a system of conquest; a changed state of things forced from his successor the declaration that his empire was peace, and made him aspire to be the Napoleon of Peace, as his uncle was the Napoleon of War,—to play the Solomon to his predecessor's David.

What, then, is the principle which, in spite of the altered situation, identifies the two empires? This is the capital point, only to be properly understood and rendered intelligible by first fathoming the personal genius and character of the great Napoleon. Napoleon the man is the key to Napoleon the emperor, who is not only the founder of the dynasty, but has also inoculated the present representative of his family with his dynastic theory and his political method. To obtain an insight into the system, we must first study the man.

And where are we to find the key to the personal character of Napoleon I.? If we trusted his public declarations and official acts, we might confound appearance with reality,

outside with inside, pretext with motive, and find ourselves duped and deluded. Though his acts had been as true to his thoughts as body to soul, yet even then the act need not express the whole thought, but might sometimes be a mere mask to conceal its real nature. This is still more the case with words: words have never been taken at par, as every where and always equivalent to thoughts. Without being false, without being grossly insincere, they may yet serve to conceal the thought. Talleyrand considered them the best means for disguising ideas. Napoleon was not like this; he was far too vehement a person to practise the cunning of a Louis XI. But he found it necessary to keep up appearances, and for this purpose to deceive France and the world.

The official papers, then, do not furnish the key to the man; and, for want of a personal knowledge, all the historians of the empire have failed to exhibit his system in its true light. Antagonists and admirers, opponents and partisans, have equally fallen short. Even Thiers, with all his erudition and his unrivalled knowledge of the state archives, treats this side of his subject very weakly. His excuse is easy; few of the memoirs of Napoleon's private life and undisguised conversation were then known; his correspondence with his brothers and relations was unpublished, nor is it yet completed. Neither the memoirs of Louis nor those of Lucien have emerged into light; those of Jerome, the only survivor of that generation, must remain in his cabinet till he dies: the youngest of the brothers, he had, after his separation from Miss Patterson, his American wife, fewer quarrels with Napoleon than the rest, for he alone bowed to the Emperor's will, and sacrificed his domestic happiness at his bidding. But we have the memoirs of King Joseph, and those of Prince Eugene, the Viceroy of Italy. Though not printed without omissions, they contain enough to unveil the character of Napoleon. Both to Joseph and to Eugene he exhibits himself in his personal, not in his official character. Though less intimate with Eugene than with Joseph,—for Eugene was more punctilious in obedience, and therefore more like a stranger, more a servant than a confidant,—yet Napoleon spoke openly enough to him whenever his passion boiled over, or the necessities of his service required it. To Joseph, however, he blurts out bluntly whatever comes into his head. Though never feeling quite sure of his eldest brother, and often excessively angry with him, yet he could not forget that Joseph had known him from a child, and could understand his half words, so that concealment and insincerity were impossible.

We have none of the correspondence of Napoleon with his brother-in-law Murat, or his sister the Queen of Naples, or any other of his sisters. He could not have had much confidence in Murat as a politician; but he was probably more open with the Queen. But, in spite of all deficiencies, the family memoirs which we have furnish abundant means for penetrating the secrets of Napoleon's character.

Besides the family memoirs, we have those of Roederer and Miot, two men who knew him well; and those of Thibaudeau, who knew him early. They had all observed the general developing into the consul, and had been close spectators of the consul bursting forth into the emperor. Roederer afterwards became the friend and confidant of Joseph, and thereby forfeited the friendship of Napoleon, who wanted Joseph's ministers to be under his own thumb. But previously to this Roederer's aid had been indispensable to enable him to become consul, and had been serviceable in advancing him to the empire. Roederer had, however, committed a grand mistake. He had plotted with Lucien and Joseph against Josephine, had tried to diminish the Beauharnais influence over Napoleon, and had attempted to get Hortense and Eugene out of the way. The effect of the plot was, that Napoleon summoned his brother Louis to Paris, and made him marry Hortense, and began to advance Eugene step by step till he made him Viceroy of Northern Italy. Lucien was never restored to favour, in spite of the devotion he had exhibited at St. Cloud, when the blow that overthrew the republic was struck. Joseph was disgraced for a time; but Roederer was never forgiven. Not that the aim of the plot was in itself contrary to Napoleon's wishes, but he would not allow his independence to be compromised by his brothers' interference. He would not let them hurry him; he abided his own time. Though he had determined on divorce before he was emperor, he would not let his brothers bring it about for their own interests, but counteracted them by means of Hortense and Eugene. Roederer did not understand this. After enduring first the anger and then the sarcasms of the Emperor, he followed Joseph to Naples. But he had observed Bonaparte as general and as consul, and had assisted at the birth of the empire. Napoleon had been unable to disguise himself in his presence; he had allowed his feelings to boil over before him, and Roederer had noted them.

Miot, like Roederer, was also a confidant and minister of Joseph. Napoleon was even less guarded in his presence than in Roederer's. With neither of them was his conversa-

tion properly dialogue, but rather a monologue addressed to himself. He would never have spoken to Fouché and Talleyrand as he spoke to them; they were listeners and learners, the others he felt instinctively to be spies, who imposed on him the necessity of complete self-restraint. Thibaudeau occupies an intermediate position; Napoleon was less natural before him than before Miot and Roederer, less constrained than with Fouché and Talleyrand. Thibaudeau's memoirs contain some significant revelations, even when compared with the confessions of Roederer and Miot, for Napoleon was not quite every inch a king, like Louis XIV. Louis XIV. never for a moment unbent; in his bedroom, in the boudoir, and in the council-chamber, he was always and equally magnificent and royal.

Further details may be gleaned from the memoirs of Bourienne, Napoleon's secretary, and from those of Marmont, who was a favourite of the Emperor, and who sometimes makes a shrewd observation. And the collection of the correspondence of General Bonaparte, of the first consul, and of the emperor, now being published by the French government, is rich in political documents, through which we may sometimes catch a glimpse of the man, though far more feebly than in his private letters.

If we set ourselves to read, mark, and digest these documents, a shape gradually glimmers into consistency that had hitherto been hidden behind the flash of arms, the restless whirl of administration, and the pomp of public demonstrations. Those who would understand the real marrow of the Bonapartist policy must make themselves familiar with this esoteric idea of the man.

The first thing to be done is to distinguish between the man and the manner,—between the person and the personification which he puts on. The man is the moral and intelligent substance; the manner or appearance is the mask, the stage-dress, of the man. Napoleon was ever in duplicate. There was the hero or real man, and there was the actor or artificial man, who impersonated the hero; the real man, such as he was to himself—the actor, such as he displayed himself to France; the real man was Bonaparte the general, the actor was the first consul and the Emperor Napoleon. But ever under the hero's mask there was the real hero. When Cæsar disguised himself as Roscius, the real person was not Roscius, but Cæsar. Talma, when he played Sylla in Jouy's tragedy, copied all Napoleon's attitudes to the life. But though the imitation of the outside was perfect, Talma could never for a moment comprehend the man. Ge-

neral Bonaparte was a greater man than the first consul, for he did not act a part. The first consul was greater than the emperor, for he only half acted. The emperor was still great, though he never put off his mask or his boots. He knew how to dazzle France; he had looked through and through the Revolution, and had taken a lesson from the Catos, the Brutuses, and the Cassiuses of the Republic. Its Roman ideal was very suggestive to his Italian nature.

For Napoleon in his very core was a true Italian of the grandest type, akin to those great men of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who founded the houses of Visconti, Scala, Sforza, and Medici. But he was built on a gigantic scale, and his views were higher and wider than theirs. His eyes were fixed on the Roman empire and on Julius Cæsar. His ideal, his aim, was a new Roman empire, ruling the destinies of the world, centred in France, and concentrated in his person. Such he was in his true Roman nature; but when he put on the Roman mask, he revived the legions and the eagles of the old empire, he dressed up a senate and tribunes, a prefect of his palace, and prefects of his empire. This was as thorough an affectation as the pompous magniloquence of Helvetius or Rousseau. But it masked a man of quite a different stamp. The Roman drapery with which he decked out his person, his army, his court, and his empire was not essential to his idea. He gave an energetic proof of this to the *corps législatif* after his return from Russia. He found them half in revolt; he spoke to them of his throne, his purple, and his spangles, and made them feel the nothingness of all this pomp and parade;—it was as if he had made them reach their fingers, and lay them on the greatness, the reality of the man. If he intoxicated his people and his army with his glitter, it was because his people and army were to be intoxicated with it. He would not let his court, his ministers, or his government adopt it; and, after his return from Elba, he laughed at his senators for wishing to dress themselves as peers. His parade was all for the masses, who had seen no grand sights since the fall of the old *régime*, and for them he organised his triumphant shows.

Here we see the duplicate; Napoleon was a real Cæsar for himself, a draped Cæsar for the army and masses. In the midst of his court he played a different part. There he reëstablished the etiquette of the Bourbons and the ceremonial of Louis XIV. This was meant to impose upon the *émigrés*, the Talleyrands, the Roederers, and the rich *bourgeoisie*, who had split with envy at the former court of *noblesse*, and were now proportionately proud of walking side by side with the

old nobles, and of enjoying titles, pensions, decorations, and honours. His victories and his patronage of literature were two more points of contact with Louis XIV. and the ancient *régime*; points equally intelligible to the old courtiers who had accepted places in his palace and to the *bourgeois* parvenus. He petted all the poets of the Revolution, except Lemercier, who was intractable; he proclaimed to the diplomacy of Europe that he was following the old traditions, and carrying on the policy of ancient France. In reality, his policy was entirely new, but it was his manifest interest to assume the mask of the great king in order to conceal the lineaments of the great Cæsar.

This was not all; as conqueror of Europe, and as emperor of an army, he had to satisfy the glory and the pretensions of his marshals, and to consolidate his system of conquest through them. Hence the third character in his performance—his impersonation of Charlemagne.

In the long-run, no great systems of conquest can be consolidated except by force of arms; armies must be maintained at the cost of great rewards to all ranks,—to generals, to captains, and to the rank and file. Each signal deed must be recompensed. At first honour suffices; as time goes on something more solid is requisite. Estates are confiscated from the conquered to enrich the victors. The conquerors sell them, and spend the money. To establish them in the conquered territory, a new tenure must be introduced. The estates distributed must be made fiefs, distinguished above the rest of the property of the country, and giving a preponderating power to the owners. Thus an order of men dependent on the conqueror will be established in the conquered state. But these estates must be held directly from the conqueror, and their owners must be the foreign vassals of his empire. Here is something like the feudal system of Charlemagne. When the Pope was invited to Paris, to place the mantle of Charlemagne on the shoulders of Napoleon, it was only a third disguise, full of significance for his army and for the countries he had conquered.

Such was the triple character of Napoleon: a Cæsar to his people and army; a Louis XIV. to the courtiers and diplomatists; and a Charlemagne, consecrated by the Pope, and surrounded with his vassals, to his tributaries.

In the personality of every man there is an absolute and a relative element. The absolute element is his positive power, his genius, his faculties. The relative element is the web of associations woven for him by the accidents of his birth and the circumstances of race, country, and family. He is

a child of the soil; from his cradle he assimilates the influences that surround him, and the fireside impressions that crowd upon him; these influences may narrow his circle, but they individualise his affections, and stamp a national character upon him. But take him away from home and country, and educate him outside the sphere of his fellow-citizens, he finds himself, as times go, no longer in contact with his country, but with his age. He becomes a child of the times. His angular individuality is rounded off by being steeped in the common opinions of an age; opinions not peculiar to one people but common to many, not national but European. The age of Napoleon's birth was of this kind; it was not patriotic, but cosmopolite; Europe of the eighteenth century was swayed by opinion, not by public spirit; by the opinion of the age, not by the public spirit of the different nationalities.

To form a correct idea of Napoleon the man, these three elements must be considered and combined—his personal genius or positive power; the influences of birth, country, and family; and the influence of the spirit of the age. We must examine how far he was ruled by these influences, and at what point their power over him ceased.

1. Personally nature had endowed Napoleon with a vast fund of force—a concentrated energy, intense passion, explosive feeling, all under the despotic dominion of his will. In the isolation of the military school he educated himself morally and intellectually; neither masters nor schoolfellows influenced him. That a youth's will should stand him in the stead of discipline is a rare sign of greatness. But his will, though practical and real, and exclusively directed to the strengthening of his character, proposed to itself no ideal, aimed at no end outside the sphere of its own nature. Napoleon would never be a hero of science, nor a martyr of opinion; his only real aim was his own personal strength, energy, and greatness.

In all this there was no vulgar, selfish pleasure-seeking. Riches, honours, advancement were nothing to him. His thirst for glory was Roman, and clear of vanity or brag. He cared not a fig for praise; if he tried to astonish or captivate, it was because he, perhaps unconsciously, wanted to domineer. Like some of the Italians of the Renaissance, he desired renown because he desired power. He tried to astonish and overawe mankind, because it was the way to fascinate them. This is the picture that Joseph gives us of his boyhood; he wished to be great because he wished to stand by himself; he did not care for any glory or greatness that

was to be shared with others. This ambitious direction of the will is characteristic of the intensest development of the Italian nature, as seen in the old Roman republic.

The ideal of Napoleon's young ambition, the aim of his early hopes, was personality in glory, glory for glory's sake, not for the mob, solitary grandeur, isolation from the rest of mankind: to be the object of the enthusiasm of the masses and of the respect of his servants; to be unique of his kind, the cynosure for the eyes of men, the man in whose bent brows the destinies of the world were written. He was not one of Helvetius' sham Romans, like the Girondins, nor one of Rousseau's, like the Jacobins. He had read Plutarch, but was no enthusiast for him; he had none of the Girondin rhetoric, or of the Jacobin fanaticism. He *was* naturally all that the others puffed and blew to transform themselves into by the guidance of the current literature. There was declamation enough in his youthful essays; but Machiavelli and Montesquieu had fixed his attention, and made him superior to the commonplace of big phrases. Though he might sip the teaching of Helvetius and Rousseau, he soon saw how utterly ignorant they were of the Rome whose panegyric they were pronouncing, how Utopian their visions, how impossible their men. Napoleon was Roman in his selfishness, in his individuality, in his asperity. The true Roman temperament was his by nature, he had no need to put himself in a fever to secure it. It was not by education; for he had no classical education, and was no classical Roman; it was in his blood; he was a Roman because he was a true Italian.

2. And here come in the influences of birth and country. Not that the true Italian belongs to this age any more than the true Roman; the modern Italian is usually a traditional and counterfeit classicist, a mere reminiscence. He tries to come out as a Roman after Machiavelli's prescription, but he fails. The Beccarias and the Filangieris were not of the antique stuff; born of Locke, modulated after the echo of the French Revolution, they were mere advocates or artists,—abominations to the young Napoleon. The truest examples of the Italians of the fifteenth century are to be found among the mountaineers of some of the nooks of Italy, especially the small proprietors of Abruzzi and Calabria, or among the monks, the best representatives of the people. These men would soon understand Machiavelli, if they could read him. Specimens of the same kind were under Napoleon's eyes in Corsica, where there might be found a remnant of the real Italian nature,—not only of the Italy of the Renaissance, but also of the violent, passionate, simple, energetic, audacious,

medieval, Guelphic and Ghibelline Italy, with its concentrated rather than ardent feelings, and its strong personal passions, such as were after Napoleon's own heart.

3. The influence of the age on Napoleon is not so readily seen. Nothing could be less modern than his genius, nothing more isolated. This was a great cause of his greatness and strength after he had got an army to support him: for Europe and France strove in vain to comprehend him, and failed to penetrate his meaning.

The era of his birth and education is already out of date to modern Europe. Though its after-taste lingers on the palates of the masses, who still relish the manna of what the Encyclopedists called its *lumières*, yet all minds of mark have shot ahead. Nobody now pins his faith upon Voltaire or Rousseau, Diderot or D'Alembert, Condorcet, Cabanis or Tracy, who arose one after the other to impress the stamp of their opinions on the principles of the Revolution. Deism, rationalism, materialism, social radicalism, scientific and intellectual radicalism, have proved as unsubstantial as Ixion's cloud beneath the scalpel of modern investigation and criticism. Christianity, unhappily, though she is every where recovering from the ruin of the eighteenth century, does not yet know how to make the most of this fact. Who now-a-days believes in the absolute goodness of human nature? Who thinks that all our vices, instead of having their roots in our hearts, are simply the products of our social institutions? Except some few socialists and communists, who now dreams of political Utopias? Who looks forward to the realisation of a terrestrial paradise? The bloody revolution of the eighteenth century proposed to itself the ideal of humanity, of goodness, of deistic philanthropy, and of industrial cosmopolitism. There were to be no more separate nations, for all men are brethren: the army was to be an armed propaganda, whose duty was to protect the press, the propaganda of peace:—such was the lesson gradually evolved by the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, by the Directory, and by the Tribunes, till Bonaparte came and gave the lie to the heap of illusions, to which neither the terrorism of the Convention nor the corruption of the Directory had opened men's eyes. This is, if not the single, the great lesson which Napoleon taught; and this proves how utter a stranger he was to his own age, and how insignificant will be his teaching to future times.

The ideal of a virtuous people regenerating itself beneath the dripping planks of the guillotine could have no attractions for young Bonaparte, whose mind was immersed in

visions of his own glory, and was fighting imaginary battles that were to raise him above Cæsar and Alexander,—such a man could have no liking for a cosmopolite philanthropy that would abolish war, fraternise all mankind, disband armies, reduce government to a minimum, replace political combinations by civil administration, and admit of no classes but labourers, artisans, manufacturers, and merchants, all under the direction of natural philosophers and chemists, who were to be charged with the administration of affairs. Napoleon's soul sickened at this *ideology*, as he happily nicknamed it.

Still the age had some influence on young Bonaparte, though not enough to make him a disciple of Rousseau or Condillac. Joseph's memoirs inform us that Napoleon once composed a romance of pure philanthropy, in which society was physicked with a soothing syrup, concocted in accordance with the ideas of the day. Yet even there we see the true Bonaparte at the bottom. His cosmopolite romance was not meant to write up cosmopolitism, but himself. He is his own hero; he is the centre of all political movement and organising action, the imaginary Crusoe of a political idyl. Joseph was deceived by it, but then Napoleon always laughed at the dash of sentimentalism in his character. But his great-uncle, to whose death-bed he was conducted, understood him better, and spoke of him as a *Uomone*,—something great, mighty, Cæsarean: he saw the eagle nestling in his breast and struggling in his brain; and the furrows that seamed his forehead appeared to the old man like the bars of a cage that the royal bird was striving to break.

Of all the brothers, Joseph and Louis alone seriously adopted the cosmopolite philanthropy of the age. Jerome had no ideality or ambition of any kind; but Lucien had a mind akin to Napoleon's, and proved himself capable of seconding his brother on two memorable occasions,—when he helped him to the first consulate at St. Cloud, and when he defended the throne of the Bonapartes at the fall of the second empire. At other times there was little affection between the two brothers; their ambitions crossed, and Lucien would never allow the emperor to domineer over him.

We must now consider the relations of Napoleon to the Revolution. Once in the territory of the republic, he soon began to show what he was made of. His astonishment was only equalled by his disdain when he saw Paris in the power of an insurrectionary mob; he scorned the throne that could not defend itself against so contemptible a foe,—a foe that could have no will of its own, no plan, no unity. Of all

human things, he considered a mob to be least human; it had no head, no heart; it was the most incompetent leader, the feeblest fighter. The man, he thought, was the chief who commands and the warrior who obeys. A mob was but an abortive blunder. The extent to which in after-life he carried this notion is notorious; any nation that revolted from him was at once a mob, a *foule*. The Calabrians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Russians, were, all and each, mobs. He exaggerated this idea till he lost sight of nationality, and could not conceive a subject people to be any thing but a recruiting-ground for his victorious armies. Though he had a high idea of the English, he never attained to the true idea of a nation; he never could comprehend it as a coherent whole of political and social powers, he could never look at it as more than a machine for war, or the subject-matter for administration and government. This fatal scorn of nationality, which ruined him at last, partly owed its beginnings to the disgust with which he saw that demented mob returning in brutal and insolent triumph from the destruction of the Bastille.

Yet, in spite of his Coriolanus-like scorn of the mob,—in spite of his inflexible despotic will;—in spite of his passion for race, which would have invented a pedigree, if he had possessed none of his own;—in spite of a feeling that would have made him, like the first Sforza, throw away his spade at the sight of a troop of horse, and clutch the sword that was to become a sceptre;—in spite of his contempt for triviality of thought or lowness of origin;—in spite of all this, Napoleon, the born anti-revolutionist, became a Jacobin, and to all appearance a sincere one.

He was no leveller by nature; but he soon discovered that the Girondins, with all their big words, did nothing; and of all contemptible things, next to the incoherence of an insurrectionary mob, mere talk was the worst. But among the Jacobins there were some who could act, and did act; action, however absurd, was something; it had some consequences, it was the road of ambition, the way to be great. Therefore he became a Jacobin provisionally, to set himself a-going. The phase was brief, and not very smooth. He attended some clubs, but always in his uniform, and he conducted himself with moderation. He soon found out that the Jacobins thought like a mob, and were subject to its epidemic agitations; but he fixed his eyes on one who was an exception to the rest,—the only one who could act, or speak, or hold his tongue, according to the occasion; the only one that still powdered his hair, dressed in the old fashion, refused

to exchange the language of the old court for that of the sans-culottes, and was systematically cold and inexorable. Maximilien Robespierre, one of the narrowest-minded of men, bilious rather than strong, was as far from being a mere declaimer as the times allowed, could pursue a definite object, could silence opponents, and could inspire a fanatical attachment. Napoleon acknowledged Robespierre to be *somebody*; a person and not a thing; and it was to his person and his policy,—not to his guillotine and his murders,—that he gave a temporary adhesion. Robespierre's brother made him governor of Toulon, and thus opened the door to his career.

Napoleon at Toulon was Jacobin; he appeared in the same character at Paris when the Directory employed him to sweep the counter-revolution from the streets; not that he loved the revolution, but he wished to use it. He had already determined to ruin the Directory when he was helping it to put down its enemies. Perhaps he was even then dreaming of yoking both the revolution and the counter-revolution to his chariot, knowing that there was no other hand to guide them, no one else that could make them run together. His Jacobinism was only a result of that fearless decision of character which afterwards conducted him to the empire.

We must now pass to another point, which concerns the great conqueror's personal genius, not the military or administrative genius which enabled him to regulate an empire or a camp with a view equally comprehensive. The moment he came upon the stage of the world, he began to discuss with Joseph, from whom he had no secrets, the question, whether he should be a Cæsar in the West, or an Alexander in the East? should he be Greek or Frank, Roman or Corsican? Oh, he could divide himself and go to buffets on the doubt! Would it be possible for him to discipline and unite revolutionary and counter-revolutionary France? Could he take the army of Italy as his starting-point? Could he change first Europe and then the world, and set it spinning on his fire-new French axle? or was it all a dream?

He was often in anxiety about his fortune; more than once he shifted his sails, and tried another tack. She had played him some dog-tricks; as yet he had grasped only the hem of her garment, he had not got hold of the hair of her head. He would quit France and go to Constantinople, discipline the Turkish army and raise the Ottoman hordes. Or he would throw himself on the East, set Islam in a blaze, and establish his power in the interior of Asia, or by the shores of the Red Sea. Such were the projects that flitted through his embittered brain. He would astonish the world,

or perish in the attempt. He had discovered, one might almost say created, the *dash* of the French soldier, only to see the army of Italy taken out of his hands by the suspicious Convention or the stupid Directory,—so he would throw himself into the arms of the Turk, whose pride might be inflamed by the magnificence of his destiny. It was a mere dream; but a dream that could only occur to a great mind, which can extract a practical view even from a chimera. An ambitious temperament like his can never, in modern Europe, be otherwise than chimerical; it is always abnormal, always in opposition to the reason of the age, always offensive to its civilisation, always injurious to its future. The revolution alone could make a Napoleon possible; not because he was a revolutionist, but because he could use the revolution as his instrument, and could make it contradict its own principles.

In the East all things are possible; the fatalism of the Coran invests every adventure with grandeur, and makes it practicable for the moment. Napoleon knew this. But what could he have done with the dull effete Turk? In spite of his fondness for them, how could he have united the Arabs, who have no more cohesion than the sands of their own deserts?

He solved these perplexities by dragging the unwilling Directory into the Egyptian expedition. Thanks to Josephine's influence over Barras, he was left to do as he liked. His designs were furthered by Talleyrand and Roederer, and the other ambitious men who had one foot in the revolution and the other in the counter-revolution, and were ready for any change save the return of the Bourbons, of whose forgiveness they despaired. The Egyptian expedition was an isthmus between two continents; it put, for the time, a two-edged sword into his hands. He might take his choice between Cæsar and the West, and Alexander and the East.

But even as general of the army of Egypt he was not yet ripe for his destiny. He was playing for the world, and the odds were still against him. He had an army, it is true; but the stroke of a red-tapist's pen at Paris might any day deprive him of it. He had no hold on the nation, no chance offered of seizing the supreme power. But when he had once conceived the idea of his return from Egypt, it was another affair. He soon penetrated the ins-and-outs of the situation; he made cat's-paws of those who wanted to trade on his glory; he took the measure of Talleyrand, Roederer, Thibaudeau, Fouché, and Sieyès; he counted on Joseph and Lucien, not without some doubt and hesitation; but he let them see that his personal greatness was the only soil in

which their ambition could take root and thrive ; that unless they were grafted on him, they would soon wither away.

Discounting a few oscillations, from this moment he may be said to have calculated all contingencies, and made all his combinations. Though not always master of his passions, it needed a sharp eye to pierce them ; his brothers alone could penetrate him. Henceforth his destiny was determined, and he kept it in his own hands. He would neither be driven nor led. He would be nobody's tool. He would take his own time, and would not hurry himself by a single minute for any one ; he took steps to secure his brothers' obedience, and pre-arranged the disgrace of Lucien. His brothers should be like members of his own body, but only on conditions. He would raise them to greatness, but they should be what he chose to make them and nothing else. How unnatural it was in them to rebel against him, how wrong of Lucien to understand him too well, of Joseph to understand him so ill ! He allowed them to see through his designs, but he required them to merge their personality in him. His brothers were the most essential feature of his political system, but they by no means answered his expectations. His complaints of them were bitter. Why could not Joseph and Lucien forget themselves, and remember nobody but Napoleon ? Were they not limbs of his body, parts of his very being ?

The fault that Napoleon always found with his brothers was, that they did not make themselves what he wished ; did not think as he thought, feel as he felt, nor devote themselves soul and body to his interests. He wanted them to anticipate his desires, and to obey before he had issued the order. He set Eugene Beauharnais before them as a model of filial attachment, and Hortense as a type of devotion. His policy was a family system, like the Arab sheick's, with his nucleus of sons and brothers in the midst of his circle of liegemen. He loved all his relations, but with a selfish love, as the limbs of his own body ; he suffered when they were hurt, and sympathised truly with their sorrows. But he sneered at their foolish amusements, when they seemed to forget their Bonaparte blood ; thus he made himself rather feared than sincerely beloved in his family. The forest-king was condemned to solitude, even while reposing majestically by the side of his lioness, or while gamboling with his cubs.

Italian as he was, he had not the harmony and completeness of the old Italian character. He could never attain to the clearness of vision, to the perspicacity and calmness which distinguished Cæsar. He was not as logical with himself as

he should have been. This defect, in a character of such energy, explains the worst instances of his rashness, his rage, and his indomitable rather than insatiable ambition. He belonged to the middle ages rather than to that classical antiquity whose life was simple, homogeneous; which aimed at unity of character, and harmony of the passions, ideas, and sentiments; which directed, but never thwarted nature,—unlike Christianity, which is a battle against the passions. Moreover, the social system of the Greeks and Romans was not complicated with the admixture of foreign nationalities. It was all changed after the Celts, Germans, and Slaves had established themselves in various parts of Greece and of the Empire. Strange languages, barbarous manners, new ideas, foreign feelings, leavened the old civilisation. Christianity came in, and set Greek and Roman, Celt, German, and Slave to combat the old man each in his own person. The roaring loom of time was weaving the web of a new world, and from this tangled coil the medieval nations of Europe had their birth. They were people of energetic passions energetically restrained; men ever militant, striving to model their life on the ideal of another world. Thus the simplicity and unity of the classical ideal stands in direct contrast with that of the middle ages, especially as developed among the Latin-speaking nations, where the contending civilisations were brought more closely together. If the Italians preserved the largest share of the classical spirit, they also inherited the greatest proportion of medieval passion. Napoleon was a living example of this well-nigh extinct species. His reason, his passion, and his imagination, were not in equilibrium.

Nor were the times apt to restore the balance. The eighteenth century presented a thick jungle of opinions, which, if they sent out vigorous suckers, also covered the ground with dead leaves. Aristocracy in decomposition; democracy developing; Christianity retreating; Deism advancing, but sapped by scepticism; materialism dogmatising atheism; the literature of Louis XIV. going out of date, that of Louis XV. setting the fashion; the school of D'Alembert giving birth to the Academy of Sciences, and the Academy changing into an *Institut* of *savants* leavened with Condorcet's double ambition of ruling the state, and of leading the intellect of mankind. All this was jumbled together in men's minds with reminiscences of classical antiquity and relics of Epicureanism, during Napoleon's youth and at his first start in life. Under such circumstances, we could not expect from his temperament either the harmony of a Cæsar or the unity of

an Alexander ; much less could we reasonably look for those higher qualities which distinguished Charlemagne,—magnanimous and sublime simplicity and unswerving rectitude.

His education was equally at fault. Alexander, the scholar of Aristotle, had been formed by a great mind on great models. Cæsar, as an Epicurean, kept his philosophy to himself, without pretending to apply it to the world. Napoleon had made no solid studies except in mathematics, had formed no real judgment but for the exact sciences, and really liked nothing but natural history. The rest of his education was a dead letter ; but he had not Cæsar's liberality ; he could only regard literature as a political engine, or at best a decoration for his throne ; he was beneath his times in all the essential elements of intellectual culture ; hence he invariably failed in his attempts to found an Imperial University, and to impose it as a model upon the learning and education of Europe.

The secret of his ascendancy over men was, that his wonderful intellect could flash light on his whole horizon at a glance, could seize on all circumstances, all accidents, all changes, however unexpected ; no variation of the political atmosphere found him unprepared. He was never off his guard, for a thousand ways and means opened before him on the instant, and in any emergency he soon regained his balance. His horizon may not have been as wide as Cæsar's or Alexander's, but it was wide enough. If he had not Alexander's encyclopedic knowledge of the world, or Cæsar's unprejudiced freedom of mind, he probably excelled them both in rapidity of view. An instantaneous inspiration flashed across him when the most unexpected events seemed to be conspiring against his star. His superiority was in the sphere of the *unexpected*, much more than in that of reflection and deliberation. If his genius sometimes played him false, it was only in his decline, and after he had grossly misused his fortune. The resources of his imagination and his judgment were most abundant when the situation seemed most desperate, even though he had become involved by his own fault. And yet, when danger thickened around him, when he tempted his fortune and risked his capital like a gambler, there was always a possibility that his resources might fail under the very encumbrance of their wealth.

Whenever he felt it necessary to clear his ideas, he spoke out to some of the hard heads that surrounded him,—not to ask their advice, but to disentangle his thoughts, and fix his conceptions ; or else to transplant his seedling ideas into other men's minds, to be there cultivated and perfected.

Knowing nothing of legislation or of civil affairs, he got competent men to talk of them, appropriated their notions, stamped them in the mint of his own brain, and uttered them as his own coinage,—not always with complete success, for he was in too great a hurry; as soon as he had a glimpse of a thing, he fancied he had already mastered it, and thus his readiness and decision sometimes betrayed him.

But in spite of the encumbrances of his mental opulence, of his intemperate passion, and of his impatient rapidity, he was a born ruler of men. He did not persuade their reason or win their affections, but he knocked them down—he dumfounded them with wonder and amazement. His action was neither social nor intellectual, but imperial and administrative; and if he sowed a whole harvest of future difficulties, he reaped in his day the most absolute obedience without exciting outside his army the least true enthusiasm for his cause. What enthusiasm could there be for a man whose sole cause was his own person? His ascendancy was simply personal. Nothing could be more diametrically opposed to the aspirations and ideas of his epoch than were his principles; he subdued men, therefore, without converting them, he ruled them without gaining their affections. He would have given the world to be beloved; it was a bitter grief to him that he could not reach the hearts and minds of those of whose lives and fortunes he disposed. But how could a man who represented no principle, who was only the organ of his own cause, win the minds of mankind?

He revenged himself on mankind by despising them; and his contempt for them was fatal to him. Not but that he could appraise individuals at their true worth, as soldiers, men of science, or administrators; not but that he could flatter them, caress them, and exalt each of them in his own sphere. But the few men that resisted him he hated, and the rest he despised, perhaps for their unctuous obsequiousness. The Spanish war was the first thing that traversed the march of his designs. He bellowed for the truth, but detested those who told it; for he required the very stars in their courses to fight for his plans, and to favour his interests, and he loudly gave the lie to facts when they crossed his projects. Yet he complained bitterly of the truth being kept from him, of people not wanting him to know it, and of Joseph and Roederer, and the rest of his ministers, being too great fools to see it. He had done the same thing before the Spanish war, while Joseph was at Naples. At one time he wanted Corfu and Sicily; at another, when Marmont was in Illyria, he wanted to have a direct influence in Bosnia,

through an alliance with the Pasha, and a finger in the affairs of Albania and the Sclavonic provinces of Turkey,—for he entertained ulterior views in regard to the Albanians and the Bosniacs, who now seemed to him of better blood than the muddle-headed Turks. All the time that he was master of the Adriatic he kept his eyes on Syria and Egypt. But how was he to manage England? No matter—Joseph and his admirals must be made responsible for the English fleet. He would not see what only a fool could have failed to see. Not that he was a fool, but this was his way of whipping the sea, like Xerxes, and of exhibiting his anger against the fatality which would not yield to his star. Joseph, or one of his naval officers, was almost always the unhappy whipping-post.

He heard a voice within him, which spoke louder than all the facts in the world. Though the West opened her arms to him, while the East was closing to him, yet it was for the East that his ambition yearned. There he might hit England a heavier blow than the continental blockade had proved to be,—if he could but enlist Russia without paying her with Constantinople; if he could secure Corfu and Sicily and the port of Cattaro, and establish his influence in Bosnia. It was with this idea that he employed so many agents like Badia throughout the East, especially in Arabia;—men who depended on him alone, over whose minds he had ensured a personal sway, and whose enthusiasm he had enlisted on his side. As emperor, he never lost sight of one of the projects that had flitted through his brain in Italy and in Egypt. Once master of the Mediterranean, he would infallibly become, as he thought, master of the world. His anger with Marmont and his resentment at Joseph's deplorable carelessness and stupidity, were but stalking-horses to cover his disappointment.

His impatience of fortune and his contempt for men were twin sentiments, which waxed as his chances of securing the Mediterranean waned. No good could come of them. A divine Nemesis dogs those who so scornfully slight the creatures of God. He in whose eyes the Calabrian patriots, the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Russians, were mere mobs, who could designate the great Baron Stein as *le nommé Stein*, and could officially treat men of the calibre of Fichte, Frederic Schlegel, and Görres, as so much mud, had small right to whine over the treachery of destiny and the fickleness of friends, when his own hour was come.

There was really but little reason why men should have been faithful to him; the armies that he had drawn from

revolutionised France, and the police which he had organised in the empire, were only the pedestal for his greatness, and had been systematically administered for his own purposes. It was mere policy to spare the finances of France as much as possible, to quarter his armies upon Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany, or Russia, and to consolidate French power in the conquered countries by rewarding his soldiers with grants of land. Yet he had a real love for the French; and in return the masses of the French people were devoted to him, though they understood him not. The leaders of the Revolution served him, because he seemed the only possible barrier to the return of the old *régime*. The *émigrés*, who had accepted places in his court, looked upon him as the most effectual barrier against revolution. The *Institut* was interested in his cause, because he had made some of its most celebrated members into senators; the great body of writers accepted pensions from him. It was a most mortifying fact that he could get no hold of their minds; his censorship of the press, and his *Bureau de l'Esprit publique*, a department of his state police, were a poor compensation. His army was interested in him, for he spared the blood of his own soldiers, and was only prodigal of the lives of his auxiliaries;\* while, on the other hand, he always sent his guard into the battle at the decisive moment; greedy of honour for them, he grudged to share it with others, and thus kept them always at the boiling-point of glory.

He never spoke disrespectfully of the French; never respectfully of the Italians, the Spaniards, or the Portuguese. The Germans were ridiculously clumsy stick-in-the-muds, the Russians were slaves. The Poles, as allies of the French, were passable; the English Parliament was respectable, though odious, as the great obstacle to his designs. The Dalmatians, Croats, Albanians, Bosniacs, and Arabs, were hopeful young military races, with whom great things might be done in the East. The rest of mankind was only food for powder.

He loved the French peasants,—and with reason; it was of their sinew and muscle that his chariot of victory was compacted. He admired the French artisan for his ready wit, his good-will, and his handy versatility. He was proud

\* Thiers tells us (*Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, tom. xvi. p. 69), that Napoleon said to Metternich at Dresden, “‘J’ai perdu, cela est vrai, deux cent mille hommes en Russie; il y avait dans ce nombre cent mille soldats français des meilleurs; ceux-là je les regrette,—oui, je les regrette vivement. Quant aux autres, c’étaient des Italiens, des Polonais, et principalement des Allemands.’” A ces paroles Napoléon ajouta un geste qui signifiait que cette dernière perte le touchait peu.”

of his engineers, who made roads and constructed fortresses for him on the salient points of the conquered countries. It cannot be said that he was quite unfeeling; he loved his family and the French. But these two affections were only subordinate parts of his selfish ambition,—that dominant passion, which, like the rod of Moses, swallowed up every thing else.

His political system depended on the instruments he was obliged to employ. He succeeded in calling an army into existence. He had no success in creating a body of administrators inspired with his views and desires. The auditors of the Council of State, which he meant for a seminary of ministers, were men of the age, and could devote themselves to his service; but they could never identify themselves with his views, for the simple reason that they never knew what they were. The secret both of the strength and weakness of Napoleon's system lay in this. There was a subtle and perpetual antagonism between his personal views and the real destinies of Europe, as determined by the religious, moral, social, scientific, and intellectual antecedents of its civilisation. The only sympathy that Napoleon naturally had was with science; he was especially hostile to all movement of free thought, to every intellectual development which he could not guide and shape at his pleasure. The Revolution had put mighty instruments into his hands—the army, the *Institut*, and a centralised administration, conducted by men who had been aggrandised by the Revolution, and were personally interested in the maintenance of his power. But Christendom is not like Islam; fatalists submit soul and body to a conqueror, not so Christians. If Napoleon could have created a duplicate of himself, and made him Pope, he might have appropriated the faith of Southern Europe. But that was impossible; and his system remained irreconcilable with the free progress of philosophy, jurisprudence, and history.

This was the weakness of his career; he was condemned to be the phoenix of his race, the sole specimen of his species; and his system was but the function of his person; it had no independent vitality or value. It grew out of no past, embodied no present, and consequently could lead to no future. He represented neither the ideas of an age, nor the spirit of a nation; his ideas and his spirit were his own. He was a wonderfully great man, but his greatness was purely personal. But this was not enough for his ambition. Though he was neither the historical representative of a nationality, nor the intellectual representative of an age, but only the outward and visible sign of his own inward ambition and

terrible will, he yet wished to perpetuate himself to future generations, to annex Europe to his person, and to brand it with his name. He wished to survive in the structure of European society, like the Pharaohs in their pyramids. All its institutions were to receive the impress of his mind, and to be moulded by his personal character. This was his one gigantic mistake, and he was the first to awake from its brief illusions, and to experience its lasting disappointment.

But though others failed to comprehend his policy, it was clear enough to himself. When he reëstablished the style of Louis XIV., with its stiff etiquette and ceremonial; when he pretended to follow the direction of Talleyrand, and to adopt his forms of diplomacy; when he made a show of consulting Roederer because he had seen the old *régime*, took M. de Narbonne into his service, and employed Caulaincourt, his object was to impose, not upon the revolutionised French nation, but upon the *salons* of Paris, which were on one hand a relic of the old *régime*, and on the other the traditionary representatives of the philosophic *salons* of the eighteenth century, and upon the diplomatic and aristocratic world at Vienna and Berlin, and especially at St. Petersburg. Hence the extreme importance which he seemed to attach to the Parisian theatres; hence his ambition of having the best orchestra, the most fashionable opera, the most brilliant music, in Europe, and of amusing foreign society with the court-circular of the Tuileries, with the plays of the *Théâtre français*, and with the news of literature and art. He wished his brothers to echo this note at their capitals, Naples and Madrid; he wished the same *fêtes* and spectacles to be given at Milan, the Hague, and Cassel; so that men might every where see in the new empire the revival of the state maxims, the diplomacy, and the policy of Louis XIV.

Not that Louis and Napoleon had much in common. Louis XIV. had renounced the system of Philippe le Bel, so unfortunately revived by Francis I. He did not aspire to be Cæsar, or to restore to the throne of France the sovereignty of Germany and Italy. On the contrary, he explicitly recognised the rank of the emperor, and his priority even to the king of France; his pride respected the imperial dignity, even while his ambition was pulling down the emperor. His policy was that of Richelieu and Mazarin—to weaken the emperor in Germany and Italy by making the German and Italian princes dependent on his purse, as he had already subsidised the Stuarts and the great personages of Sweden, Hungary, and Poland. He wished to make the house of Bourbon practically the strongest in Europe; but, except in the case

of Spain, he never tried to graft the thrones of Europe on to the Bourbon stock. He limited his conquests to the interior of France; he got rid of the Austro-Spanish influence; he took possession of Alsace, and provided for the acquisition of Lorraine. But he never desired to seize the Austrian Low Countries; his aspirations were bounded by what was possible and reasonable for a king of France to desire. Though his pride united Europe against him, he had never thought of partitioning Europe.

Whatever he might say to the courts of Europe, clearly Louis XIV. was not Napoleon's model. All the times, during his long wars, that he was obliged to drain a fresh army from the generous soil of France, his manifestoes to the people never mentioned Louis XIV., whose memory had been eclipsed by the Revolution; but he talked of the *perfid*e *Albion*, that desired to ruin French ports and French commerce, and to deprive France of the Rhine, her natural frontier, which the Revolution had secured to her; he spoke of England, which had robbed France of her colonies, stifled her industry, raised coalitions, and armed Europe against her; which would never be still, never feel secure, till France was ruined, invaded, and dismembered. England had forced him to annex Holland, Westphalia, and the mouths of the Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe; had obliged him to invade Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Russia, and to occupy Rome. For his own part, he would have given peace to the world, if England had not forced upon him the system of conquests. Moreover, he proclaimed that the French had a mission of civilisation to feudal, medieval, barbarous Europe: the European nations wanted enlightenment; they longed for a liberator to bestow on them civil equality, and to give them codes and laws. They stretched out their fettered hands to France to deliver them from their oppressors. Such was his constant language to the French people.

Compare this with his letters to Joseph, where we may trace his real undisguised thoughts. There we do not find a word about the policy of Louis XIV., not a letter about *perfid*e *Albion*, not a line about civilisation and enlightenment; but much about the feudal system which he was founding in all the conquered countries for the benefit of the French army. Nothing can be more monotonous than his reflections upon his destiny: his policy was only a strategic game for the benefit of his ambition. The only question he ever asked was; "In this or that given circumstance, how am I to preserve my balance? how can I turn it to my own advantage? What sunken rocks are there in the way? What do my in-

terests require?" His science is that of a tactitian, of a chess-player. It may have been the system of Cæsar, Sforza, or Borgia; it was not the original inspiration of a Charlemagne, nor the political prudence of Henri IV, Richelieu, Mazarin, or Louis XIV., still less did it resemble the propagandism of the Revolution. It bore some slight resemblance to the system of Philippe le Bel and the successors of Louis XI. But it was a different game.

What he really said to himself, when he aspired to be the great man of the age, the one world-enthraling figure, was of this kind: "I have nothing in common with the Revolution; I am no ideologist like Condorcet, no cosmopolite like La Fayette, no democrat like the men of the Convention, neither am I a simple *parvenu* like the members of the Directory. It is not my ambition to realise an idea, a sentiment, or a constitution, religious, civil, or political. My object is the world, because I feel I have within me stuff enough to fill the world, to mould it to my will, and to stamp it with my ideas. There is nothing vulgar in my aim, for my genius raises me above the rest of men. By sovereignty of nature and by right of conquest, I am the constituent principle of the future; my successors will only have to follow my steps in order to remain masters of the world. All the monarchs, all the old aristocracies, of Europe are bitterly hostile to me; I have strangled the Revolution in my grip, and I must create a new aristocracy out of my army. The Bourbons have been ejected from France; I must clear them out of Europe. My family shall reign in Italy and Spain; all its members shall feel the reverberation of my fortune. Him that resists, I will crush, as I did Lucien; list or loth, they shall all enter into the combinations of my policy."

So, after establishing his sisters in Italy, Napoleon sought alliances for the Beauharnais family in Germany. At one stroke he called into being two confederations: the Helvetic, to assist him in his anti-Austrian policy; and the Confederation of the Rhine, to help him in his plans upon Prussia and Austria. His marriage with Marie-Louise was much more a social than a political affair. Politically, its only meaning could be to create a counterpoise to Russia by the gradual extension of Austria in Eastern Europe at her expense. But this was never seriously meant; for he was, at the same time, trying to direct Russia against the Persians, and thus to get her out of Central Europe, but without ceding to her either Wallachia or Constantinople. In fact, his unsleeping jealousy prevented his ever adopting any solution with hearty and entire honesty. For while he was scheming the dismember-

ment of Turkey in favour of Austria, and the extension of Russian preponderance over the Caucasus, Armenia, and Persia, he was frustrating both these plans by his missions to Teheran and Constantinople. Napoleon allowed Alexander to imagine that he was to share the world with him, and encouraged Francis in the illusion that, as his son-in-law, he would help him to Moldavia and Servia. But the strengthening of any great power external to his own would always have been intolerable to him.

If it had been possible, his real wish was to ruin the two houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern; but in the teeth of the popular excitement the labour was too herculean even for him. More than once he meditated the destruction of Prussia; but he never dared execute his design while Russia was powerful. Nor could he in prudence attempt to annihilate the Austrian empire while its incoherent parts retained such energetic vitality. He found the two confederations especially useful in helping him to erase the traditions of ancient Germany; for he soon found that victories will not accomplish every thing.

Napoleon's jealousy of every real power, however insignificant, was a morbid passion that betrayed him into the worst mistakes. A new kingdom of Poland, in the hands of one of his lieutenants, would have been an ample protection for Western Europe against Russia. But he chose to penetrate into the heart of Russia chiefly because he was jealous of Poland. If he had spared his army, instead of spending it on that Quixotic adventure, he might have continued to rule Europe for years. He might have satisfied the maw of one of his marshals with Northern Germany. The grand-duchy of Mecklenburg was clearly cut out for Davoust. Prussia, separated by Poland from Russia, would have been checkmated by his kingdom of Westphalia. Such an unstable equilibrium of antagonistic forces was too violent and unnatural to last long; but it might have lasted his time, if he had been content to organise what he had overcome. But his visions were boundless; and his hot-house policy could only abide the hasty growth of forced vegetation.

Though he created a kind of feudal France in the conquered countries, where he formed great fiefs for his marshals, and endowed whole corps of his army with estates, in France itself such a thing would not have been borne. The uttermost that he could have done would have been to decree the inalienability of the estate connected with the title, though even this was contrary to the principles of his code. But out of France there was no difficulty, but every facility; it flattered

the pride of his soldiers, and riveted the chains of a population which might be tempted to rebellion—for they were always foreigners in his eyes: he never identified Italy or the German provinces of his empire with France proper, though he had brought them within the sphere of his administration and his codes.

The introduction of senatorial titles into France was due to the greenness of the revolutionary levellers, who were lunatics enough to fill their mouths with the official titles of the Roman republic. After having senators, tribunes, and consuls, it was no great stretch to disguise some of them as dukes, marquises, and counts. At bottom the revolutionary classes of Frenchmen were crazy for titles—all except a few savages of Jacobins, a few ideologists, who nevertheless consented to be ennobled, and a few Americanising democratic radicals. He made wonderful play with these baubles, and limed with them the very men who had been most furious with the old *noblesse* for barring against them the avenue of the court, the army, the navy, and the diplomatic corps, and for making them put up with a hundred humiliations.

Unlike all the rest, the peasants and artisans asked for nothing, and had no other ambition than to serve him disinterestedly, devotedly, fanatically. He was their hero, their darling; they never abandoned him,—not even when he had bled them to death. In his eyes they were the real French people, the national power. He had always a kind word for them: never had they been so petted since the days of Henri IV. Different as Napoleon and Henri were, the one all French, the other all Italian, they were both true soldiers: Henri laughed and joked with his people; Napoleon slapped their faces, or pulled their ears, in genial horse-play. He told them that at the bottom of each of his brave soldiers' knapsacks there was the baton of a marshal of France. His generals all cooled as his wars lengthened; but for his lieutenants and captains his wars were never long enough, and his soldiers never murmured at any thing their emperor did.\*

His passion for chemistry led him to take the greatest interest in the fabrics which owe so much to that science. He founded the manufacturing interest, which, with the profession of arms, was the only social development for which he really cared. He respected men of science and manufacturers because he esteemed their calling.

\* In 1813 three marshals asked to be relieved of their command—Macdonald, Oudinot, and Ney. The latter wrote to Berthier: "*Le moral des généraux, et en général des officiers, est singulièrement ébranlé: commander ainsi n'est commander qu'à demi, et j'aimerais mieux être grenadier.*"

He instituted the auditor's office in his council of state to be an apprenticeship for his prefects. They were chosen with his usual penetration, and in process of time France and her dependencies were filled with ambitious and devoted partisans of the imperial despotism. On the other hand, the pupils of the Polytechnic School, from which his corps of engineers were supplied, instructed as they were by ideologues, or men of Condorcet's school, always longed for a military and scientific republic. The engineers were so necessary to Napoleon, that he never dared either turn away or change the masters, so the school always remained a hotbed of republicanism.

History, theology, and jurisprudence, had no place in his system. History could only be tolerated when cut down to a panegyric of his absolutism; he would allow some few educated men to read Machiavelli and Montesquieu (not the *Spirit of Laws*, but the *Greatness and Decay of the Romans*), from which he said a breviary of princes might be compiled. Tacitus was only a calumnious liar. Napoleon knew nothing of the marrow of history. He was utterly indifferent to all pictures of manners, and to all that did not relate to ambition, power, command. He considered that theology only raised futile and insoluble questions, which in turn called up metaphysical questions, a hundred times more futile and insoluble, and dangerous to boot. Priests were useful to preach up the religious duty of submission to Cæsar; but if they were not watched, they would want to rule Cæsar themselves. All philosophy turned to ideology, and all ideology to republicanism. He patronised Bonald, who was then tutor to the present Emperor, not because he admired his talents, but because Bonald supported absolutism, and attacked the ideologists. But he would not allow a regular controversy between Bonald and Tracy; the combatants were ordered to confine themselves to allusions, to a skirmish of outposts, without venturing a battle.

Lawyers he detested as a swarm of small demagogues. They never played any part in his empire. Under him all the higher spheres of thought in France collapsed; but he evoked a passionate enthusiasm for conquest and dominion. He wanted to see her mistress of Europe.

When Napoleon, as first consul, had to give a constitution to his future empire, he was encumbered with the Directory, and all the antecedents of the Revolution, as well as with the carcasses of the still-born constitutions, honeycombed with a preposterous and impure clubbism. But there still survived two great tendencies; one, that of the constituent, represented by Siéyès, Talleyrand, and Roederer, and by Thibaudeau and

Merlin of Douai, who had both belonged to the Convention. These maintained the principles of the *droit coutumier*, or common law of the old *régime*. The other was the southern school of Roman or statute lawyers, systematic opponents of the common law. Among these were Cambacérès, Portalis, Siméon, and others, all monarchists, all friends of codification, and all men of much greater judicial than administrative ability. The atheistic *savants* of the *Institut*, with Cabanis at their head, wanted a scientific republic; the others wanted a throne with any body but a Bourbon to sit in it, supported by the middle classes that had been called into existence by the various revolutionary governments. Monarchical opinions found a home in the Council of Ancients, which afterwards developed into the Senate: while republicanism muttered in the *tribunat*, which the irony of fortune converted into the mute *corps législatif* of the empire.

Napoleon cared little for the name of things, or for their outside shell. He came to a perfect understanding with Talleyrand, Roederer, and Cambacérès, made advances to Merlin of Douai, and consulted Portalis and Siméon. To counteract the opposition of the *tribunat*, he found it necessary to make use of the shallow but solid-seeming doctrinalism of Siéyès. It was between this man and the first consul that the subtle and slow game of the evolution of the constitutions of the empire was played. It is curious to note Napoleon's address in trading upon the starched pedantry of his colleague, the impetuosity and hasty sallies of the one, and the snail's pace and suspicious drawing-in of horns of the other, and their reconciliation by the united efforts of Talleyrand and Roederer. The offspring of these labours of the two consuls was that embryo constitution, which the Emperor completed by giving it a senate, important but impotent, and a highly-paid *corps législatif*, taken from the highest classes of the landed proprietors, but never intended to say any thing. Yet it was this *corps* that first showed signs of impatience shortly before the fall of the empire. The senate never woke up till the empire was defunct, and then only to ensure its own safety by proclaiming a new *régime*.

The imperial crown was sanctioned by a strange combination of election and consecration. Napoleon wished to derive his rights from the people abdicating their sovereignty in his favour. His consecration was to detach him from the people that had elected him. Democracy or the republic, and theocracy or the priesthood, were to combine for a moment, and then resign all their rights to him, and become his very obedient slaves. After this was done, the *émigrés* came back

with all their old titles, and a new *noblesse* was selected from the ranks of the Revolution; among these new aristocrats figured some of the most blatant patriots—Carnot, Grégoire, Lajuinai, and Tracy. This attempt to reconcile old France with the new could only succeed by eliminating the most essential characteristics of each.

As a fatalist Napoleon sympathised more with the teaching of Mahomet than with that of the Gospel. He felt that he carried within him his own and the world's destiny. This brought him into contact with the Chaldaic superstition which had been current in Europe in connection with the fortune of the Roman Cæsars, and had reappeared in the Arabian astrology of the middle ages, and in Italy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, under the sway of the Visconti, the Sforze, and the other brigand chiefs. Catherine de' Medici introduced astrology into France, but it soon died out. Wallenstein was a fatalist, but of a different stamp. The only dreamy part of Napoleon's mind was that which brooded on his destiny, and which felt so powerful an attraction towards the Arabs and the East. His fatalism prevented his being an atheist. He believed in two orders, that of nature and that of will; he believed in the power which inspired him, and in his own genius. With these ideas he could neither be ideologist nor atheist, could not form the world out of a fortuitous concourse of atoms, nor the human soul out of a fortuitous aggregation of impressions and feelings. He was no Protestant; for he did not admit the principle of private judgment, nor allow each man to have his own opinions or his own religion. He was no rationalist; the power of the forms of the understanding, and transcendental thought abstracted from phenomena, seemed to him the essence of sophistry. He was disgusted with the vulgar deism, and its universal philanthropy and vague sentimentality, and called it a childish folly. He respected Catholicity as a great social power, and a mighty union of hearts and minds; as an Italian, he habitually paid an external reverence to the Church and her ceremonies; but he was not a believer, and the Christian faith was always quite alien from his habits of thought.

Regarding the philosophy of the eighteenth century as republican, he determined to wean the people from its influence, and to make the peasant at once catholic and imperial—catholic because imperial, and imperial because catholic. This was the task which he set the clergy of France and Italy to perform. And he had himself consecrated emperor, because he thought he should influence the Catholic populations of Europe through the Pope.

By his concordat he proposed to assimilate the constitution of the French church to his administrative system. The Bishops were ecclesiastical prefects, the curés sub-prefects, the chapters were the councils of the prefecture, the Cardinals were the senate,—but all without *esprit de corps*, without ecclesiastical liberty, all depending upon him as a mere emanation of his power. There were to be no synods, no councils, but all church affairs were to pass through the office of his minister *des cultes*. If he did not favour the pretensions of lawyers to meddle with clerical matters, it was because he did not wish his tribunals to retain the spirit of the old *parlemens*. It was not his wish to tease the clergy, but to keep them in order.

He quarrelled with the Pope only when the Pontiff refused to be his tool against Catholic Austria and Protestant England. Like Philip the Fair, he had fancied that the Pope ought to be his decided partisan, his most faithful ally. He wanted him to be like one of his brothers,—devoted heart and soul to his wishes, his ideas, and his interests. At St. Helena Napoleon bitterly regretted his brutality to Pius VII., and recommended in his will that some members of his family should always be settled at Rome and intermarry with the great Roman families, so that there might always be Cardinals, and some day perhaps a Pope, of his blood. He wanted also the Pope's influence to counteract Russia in the East, and to exorcise the criticising spirit of the German theologians of the Protestant provinces of his empire. It was not religion that prompted this policy, but his idea of the natural aptitude of the Church to be an engine for his political designs, an opponent of the liberty of science, and a state machine for the performance of public functions, and for maintaining a spirit of religious submission in the ranks of the people.

Education fared no better than religion. There was the *Ecole Polytechnique*, with St. Cyr and the other military colleges, for his officers; the Office of Auditors of the Council of State was the seminary of his high functionaries; the University was destined to educate and mould the bar, the staff of professors for the lycées and colleges, and the gentry. Its organisation was such that he could direct education just as he directed his police or his custom-house. It became a mere branch of government. He allowed the University to teach the codes and their principles, and the Roman law, so far as it was consistent with his imperial constitutions. He did not permit it to teach the history or the philosophy of law, or comparative legislation, or canon law, or feudal or

communal law ;—nothing, in short, which might lead to a philosophical investigation of the history of domestic, social, civil, and political life. It offered only bare facts, and behind these facts the Byzantine doctrine of the absolute power of the state over the individualised atoms of the social body, who were supposed to be represented by his administration, as they were politically directed by the government.

This implied an official state-philosophy, a state-religion, and a state-history, made to fit the state-policy ; the Roman historians, especially Tacitus, were mutilated. The principles of Louis XIV. were officially inculcated ; the great authority of Bossuet was abused to support a system of pure monarchy in which the Church submits to the state, while the state pretends to guarantee her independence. Only books authorised by the University were permitted ; there were directories for the professors, and manuals for the scholars. The professor was allowed no choice either in the manner or the matter of his teaching ;—it was a uniform, rigid, absolute method, like a soldier's drill.

All the independent universities in every conquered province were abolished and broken into fragments, and their component parts distributed over the country as independent schools of law or medicine ; all the elements of education were isolated. Cuvier was employed to carry this into effect in Holland and Germany. The Emperor's only object was to give men a special professional training, to form persons whose trade should be medicine or science, and at the same time to kill theologians and philosophers in the bud, and to spill at once all germens of historians and jurists. The exact sciences alone were privileged. The *Institut*, a corporation of scientific mathematicians, naturalists, chemists, anatomists, geologists, mineralogists, astronomers, botanists, and zoologists, was in such high favour as to be exempted from the inspection of the University, and always to prove the high road to fortune.

With such views of education, we cannot expect much from the Emperor's patronage of literature. The classics of all nations belong to its great epochs, but they always have at their roots a real theology, a great philosophy, a grand historical and political spirit, or a deep study of the religious, social, and political laws of a period or nation. The age of Pericles was also that of Socrates ; Aristotle and Alexander flourished together. The age of Augustus takes in Virgil and Horace, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, and even Lucretius. Dante and St. Thomas were contemporaries ; so were Shakespeare and Bacon, Mariana and Cervantes ; Pascal and Des-

cartes, Bossuet and Fenelon, Corneille and Racine, illustrate one epoch. Miserable as was the French philosophy of the eighteenth century, there was something independent and manly about Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire. But an official rhetorical literature, servilely dependent on the patron's purse—a posthumous literature like that of Alexandria and Antioch, or that of Rome after Tacitus; a Byzantine literature, with its pert conceits and fulsome phrases;—what wretched stuff! Now of all this pretentious twaddle we do not hesitate to affirm that the whole paid and patronised literature of the reign of the great Napoleon was incomparably the most insignificant and the most paltry.

All the men of real talent were in opposition. Lemercier was in irretrievable disgrace. Reynouard's *Templars* was an attack on Philip the Fair, and by implication on the Emperor. Ducis was an obstinate legitimist, or he would have been paid for his *Abufar*. Chateaubriand was often in disgrace. Montlosier's book *De la Monarchie Française*, though it suggested his foreign feudal schemes to the Emperor, never obtained his imprimatur. He would not permit Bonald to undertake any great work; and in spite of his pretended esteem for De Maistre, he would never, if he could have helped it, have suffered him to publish any one of his books.

Literature, like *fêtes*, was to his mind only useful in distracting the rich idle classes, and giving them something else than the government to criticise. The great nobles of Russia were mightily amused with the Abbé Geoffroy's criticisms of Voltaire, and Etienne's replies. All novels except those of Madame de Staël might wander at their own sweet will through the *salons* of Paris, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. The government would industriously blow up the embers of a literary quarrel at the very moment that it was engaging in the most perilous undertakings. It pretended to be thinking of nothing but Anacreon, Malec Adel, Taglioni, and prima donnas, while it was really preparing to deluge Europe with blood. The direction of all this belonged to the police functionary who was charged with the administration of the *esprit public*.

The newspaper department of literature fared the worst. Journalism had been an incendiary power in the Revolution, and the daily papers had acquired considerable ability. The emperor smothered them all. Fouché scraped together some old Jacobins and *émigrés*, and emptied them pell-mell into the bureau of the official press. The *Moniteur* was the result; but even this was too much for Napoleon's thin skin. He could not bear to be pointed at; a wasp drove the lion

mad. He detested any thing like liberty of thought or frank expression. He abominated Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant; but the journal published by Peltier and the *émigrés* in London made him furious; the English government could not legally suppress it; and this "refusal of justice" on our part partly led to his premature rupture with this country.

Not all monarchs have been so narrow-minded; Charles II., Frederic II., and Joseph II. laughed at libels; Frederic even posted them up at his palace-gates. But then they had nothing to fear from lampoons. Napoleon, on the contrary, was a great parvenu; it was every thing to him to be respected and dreaded. The French is a sneering, ironical nation; it was of the last importance to him that their enthusiasm for the founder of their new dynasty should not be neutralised by jokes and epigrams. He had his ear at the keyholes of their salons, and knew how they railed at his parvenu court, and jeered at his struggles to restore the etiquette of Louis XIV. This was tolerated, because it was mere talk; it was not printed or read by foreigners: but he made all foreign governments responsible for harbouring his detractors; he shot Palm, the bookseller, at Erlangen; drove Gentz from Prussia; and pursued Arndt through all the states of Germany.

Such a lively, intelligent people as the French must have some mental occupation. Napoleon ordered the papers to amuse them with theatrical criticism. The officers of the army of Spain felt dull in their winter-quarters, and asked for news. This was a terrible difficulty for the emperor. He gave Joseph the strictest injunctions to let nothing come to their ears except as filtered through the *Moniteur*, and other Paris papers. More than once Joseph was scolded outrageously for not obeying this injunction. Napoleon considered all journalists to be wretched intriguers. After moving heaven and earth to crush men like Fichte and Schlegel, and failing, he would solace himself by applying such epithets to them. It was one of his weak points that his judgment followed no law or measure when he was angry.

But to return to his personal characteristics. He was certainly one of the most astonishing men that ever burst upon the world. Great men, like Wellington, Stein, Görres, or William Humboldt, however hostile to his person, have never spoken disparagingly of him. We may pardon his weaker foes if they exhaled their resentment in abuse. But at the same time his apologists are unreadable. Bignon, the least wanting of them in judgment, is a flattering, purblind

fop. Thiers understood him as general and administrator, but not as man. We must discount the ill-humour of the *Memorials of St. Helena*. The amanuensis, who wrote at his dictation, admired him as an archangel, but had no conception of his depth. The man's incapacity was a positive premium upon fanfaronade. Napoleon's screaming irony, his sardonic mockery, his angry convulsive laughter, his utter weariness of the empty-headed noodles who surrounded him,—who had no intellects that he could converse with, who understood neither men nor things, and who could echo his words, but could not answer him,—all this may sadden the historian, but can give him no real insight into the man. Those who want to know the real genius of the captive of St. Helena, must not look at the pages of Las Cases or Gourgaud, but at that political testament which he sent to his eldest brother, and which has been published in the memoirs of Joseph.

It is a voice from the tomb; Napoleon spreads his hands over the future, as if to claim it for his own; and traces out the line of conduct which he bids his family pursue. He speaks not like Napoleon the emperor, but like Bonaparte the general; he broods over the time when his career was all before him, and when he held in his hands the destinies of the world. He has lost an empire, but he will teach his family how to win it back, and how to avoid the most crying mistakes of his passionate ambition. The revolution of February and the 2d of December have abundantly justified his foresight, and have proved that a great man, though isolated in space, and in time stationed on the debatable ground that divides a past in ruins from a future as yet without consistence, can, by the mere force of his personal character and his indomitable will, always master the complications of events, even in spite of the current of ideas; provided only that manners are in a state of transition, and opinions unfixed. The experience of his life had taught him this lesson, and he repeats it to us from his tomb.

France first occupies his attention. Without absolutely predicting the revolution of July, he evidently foresaw it; for he provides against it, and calculates its chances. He had not driven the French so long without learning all their paces, their passions, and their prejudices. He had felt the pulse of the people, and knew how high the Bonaparte blood would rise in their veins. He was sure that he had not engraved his name in vain on the brazen tablets of history. He knew that deeds and not words, victories and not harangues,

keep the imagination of the masses vibrating. It is a truth as old as history.

He knew, then, that for two or three generations Bonapartism would always have a chance. This was the cornerstone of his calculations. And he knew where there was no chance; he knew how completely his memory had vanished from the minds of his own servants, who had now become legitimists or liberals, or were ready to turn Orleanists. But he knew also the arrogance of the *émigrés*; the aggressive spirit of the clergy; the surliness of the peasantry, who had purchased the national property; the envy and hatred of the lawyers; the discontent of the small *bourgeoisie*; the leaning of the higher *bourgeoisie* towards the house of Orleans, and the facilities of attaching all the middle classes to the same family. He knew Talleyrand's intrigues; the hostility of Foy, and the generals of Moreau's army; the chicanery of Dupin and the bar; the vanity and ambition of Laffitte; the conspiracies of Lafayette; the republicanism of the Polytechnic School; the youthful ardour of the colleges; the burrowing of the secret societies; the relations of the *sous-officiers* with the Carbonari. The sum of all these elements of his calculation was, the probable fall of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

Then he counted on his fingers the chances against the Orleans family,—its bad odour in the nostrils of the European monarchies; the rivalry and jealousy of the winners; the hostility of Lafayette's party, and internal divisions; the discontent of the masses, and the perpetual possibility, not to say probability, of a revolution.

In the steps which he recommended in case of the failure of these calculations, he showed the same wonderful sagacity which characterised his prediction of the fall of the two branches of the Bourbon family. The provisional residence of the Bonapartes, while out of France, was to be either in Switzerland or in Italy; if in Italy, then either in Florence, or, still better, in Rome. He did not foresee the Swiss revolution of 1830, and so supposed that the aristocracy of Berne would remain in power. Some of the Bonapartes were to intermarry with these old families, and thus acquire a domicile in Berne; riding securely in their Swiss anchorage, they might watch for any opening to influence the French army and people, either from the frontiers of Switzerland, or from Baden, where the grand-duchess, Stephanie Beauharnais, would be their friend. Queen Hortense followed this programme literally in the youth of Louis Napoleon, till the Swiss revolution made the part relating to Berne waste-paper.

Napoleon expected nothing from Germany, where he thought his family would find no sympathy. He had no hopes that Austria would play off his son against the Bourbons; for she would never adopt revolutionary measures to disturb her population, and to jeopardise her rule in Italy.

If, contrary to his expectations, France afforded no opening, he advised his family by all means to establish themselves at Rome, to intermarry with the great families of Rome, Naples, and Tuscany (as they have done), to acquire partisans in the cardinalitial houses, to consecrate some of the Bonapartes to the ecclesiastical state, to get some of them made cardinals, and to keep their eyes open to the chances of electing a Pope bearing the name of Napoleon. If there cannot be an Emperor Napoleon, let there be a Pope Napoleon. If it is ever possible to have both together, then Southern Europe will once more become the arbitress of the world—the true counterpoise to Russia and Germany. Such is his brief but energetic programme of the future of his race.

However incomprehensible Louis Napoleon's game, from 1830 to 1848, may appear by itself, it becomes quite clear when confronted with the political testament of his uncle. In his revolutionary attempt on the Papal States, when his elder brother perished at Rimini, he forgot two most important clauses of this testament; that which advised the Bonapartes to keep on good terms with Rome, and make it the basis of their power; and that which told them to make Switzerland and Baden the basis of their operations. They could not march to France through Italy. The Austrians, the English fleet, and Piedmont blocked up every pass. But Louis Napoleon was then young and inexperienced, headstrong and obstinate, and besides, under the influence of revolutionary opinions. Repulsed from Italy, he withdrew to Switzerland, where he at once commenced the intrigues which led to the Strasbourg exhibition. The true links of this plot, designed with much ability, but executed with youthful indiscretion, have never been satisfactorily explained. But it is certain that the understanding between the French Bonapartists and the Socialist and Communist clubs dates from that time. Some of the managers of those societies, as well as the agitating journalists like St. Edme, were engaged in the Strasbourg conspiracy. Gabriel Delessert, the prefect of police, was quite aware of all these movements; but Guizot, the prime minister, treated them as trifles. And trifles they would have remained, had it not been for the revolution of February.

Louis Napoleon promptly seized the opportunity offered by that event. He comprehended the situation of the country at a glance, and extemporised his policy with unexpected ability. He forced events to conspire to his objects. Cavaignac often expressed his conviction that a Bonapartist organisation existed in the midst of the insurgents of June. If so, the Red Republicans were the unconscious tools of Louis Napoleon. Some day, perhaps, the archives of the police will throw a light on this subject; unless, as generally happens, it is the victor's interest to efface such memorials. It is enough for him that his object is attained; the means by which he reached it are as well forgotten.

It is curious that Napoleon III. should make such a show of carrying out the Constitutions of the Empire to the letter, while he makes profession of having changed its whole European policy. What can be the use of his senate and his *corps législatif*? Why did he again set up the sovereignty of the people for his election, only to make it abolish itself once more by abdicating its rights in his favour?

It was clearly impossible for the imperial government to co-exist with a parliament that discussed its policy, and from which the emperor was obliged to choose his cabinet. There were two truths which the government of Louis XVIII. had failed to understand; first, that the tendencies of the old monarchical system were inconsistent with the charter; and secondly, that the administrative system of the empire was equally in contradiction with it. The maintenance of the old monarchy was avowed to be impossible; but Napoleon's administrative system was retained, and its conflict with the charter and the parliamentary system was inaugurated. To avoid revolution, which was the intention, a new foundation ought to have been given to constitutional government. The foolish chamber of 1815 saw this; but the sensible De Cazes failed to perceive it. The only possible foundation for a constitution which should consolidate the throne without provoking revolution, would have been furnished by a new organisation of communes, the independence of corporations, and the maintenance of the principles of equality and legality. Of Louis Philippe's ministers, Thiers could not see this; and though Guizot saw it clearly, he was not the man to realise his speculations. Parliamentary government had become totally indifferent to the masses, and to all but the higher strata of the middle classes; in 1815 they had taken an interest in it, not through public spirit, but out of opposition to the Bourbons, the clergy, and the *émigrés*. Under Louis Philippe the masses left it to engage in Socialism and

Communism. The middle classes became indifferent to the strife of parties, when they had no more great passions to satisfy. The great mass of Bonapartists, who had been liberals under the Restoration, became Orleanists under Louis Philippe, and distributed themselves among the three parties that divided the Chambers—those of Odillon Barrot, Thiers, and Guizot. The leaders trusted them, and they fancied themselves real partisans of their respective leaders. They were both misunderstanding and misunderstood. But Louis Napoleon had an instinctive insight into the tangle; and this gave him his enormous and almost religious confidence in the success of the Bonapartist cause.

Then came the Revolution of February, with the fright of the landlords at the spread of Communism in the provinces, and the terror of the manufacturers, merchants, and traders at the communist associations of the towns. Though only negative elements of Bonapartism, these panics were powerful enough to nullify the canvass of Cavaignac, and to elevate Louis Napoleon to the president's chair.

Probably Louis Napoleon has a superstitious faith in the magical power of the constitutions of the empire. If he changes his plans, and follows the European policy of his uncle, these constitutions will have no part in deciding his destiny. If he still remains faithful to his profession of peace after he has organised the affairs of Italy, he will find himself confronted with a new France, for which these constitutions will not be suitable. Napoleon I. found the country tired to death with the excesses of a frivolous and sterile ideology, and therefore requiring action and not ideas, literary amusement, and not historical or political discussions. The *Génie du Christianisme* or *Delphine* was then sufficient to divide France into factions. But she has since those days been spurred into healthy action by Bonald, De Maistre, Lamennais, Benjamin Constant, Royer-Collard, Guizot, Cousin, Montlosier, Augustin Thierry, Lamartine, Vilemain, and Montalembert, who have led her to take interest in parliamentary and political discussions, and in all departments of history and philosophy. Moreover, under Napoleon I., Europe was hermetically sealed to France. Now she has intellectual communication with Germany and England, and discusses the affairs of Russia, the East, and the whole world. The constitutions of the empire are inconsistent with these movements, and yet have no efficient means of preventing them. Geoffroy, Jay, and Etienne, the official scribes of Napoleon I., were tolerated when nothing better was forthcoming. None but idle or empty heads can now find amusement in

About and the other fluent pens of the Napoleonic press. We may, then, boldly predict, that if the emperor turns out to be the "Napoleon of peace," he will be forced to modify these two mute assemblies, one springing from a sham universal suffrage regulated by the prefects in the provinces, the other meriting his rebuke for its entire want of initiative action. Once more,—under Napoleon I. all the men of talent, except Cabanis and Tracy, ranged themselves outwardly on the emperor's side, and it was only the *salons* that snarled at him. Now the opposition is not in the *salons*, but in the *Institut*, in the Academy, and in all the great men of the restoration and the monarchy of July. They are not actuated merely by disgust at the fall of a government which offered a field to their talents and opened to them the road of distinction; but they dread the establishment of a system which deadens the intellect, and brands it with the official stamp of the new empire. Men had not to endure this either under the ancient *régime* or under the charter; it was reserved for the revolution and the empire to bestow this grace upon mankind. Let us hope that it will prove impossible in the present stage of European civilisation.

Except in the posthumous papers of Napoleon I. we do not find a word about nationalities. He had never recognised their existence, had ruthlessly crushed them in Spain, Portugal, Russia, Germany, and Holland, to be himself crushed by their rebound. He ignored every nationality but the French; the Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese were but mobs in his eyes; the German was a good soul,—a quiet, peaceable, tender-hearted paterfamilias, somewhat sleepy, and very dreamy; the Russians were a set of serfs. How he gnashed his teeth to find himself suddenly enfolded in the meshes of the nationalities that he had insulted! The eighteenth century and the Revolution preached universal brotherhood. The sword of Napoleon was the involuntary agent that roused the national spirit into consciousness. It was only at St. Helena that he began to open his eyes, and to perceive that it was possible to restore Italian nationality at the expense of Austria, and perhaps also to construct a compact German empire at the expense of Prussia and Austria, by playing them off one against the other. All this was but slightly sketched in the mind of the dying emperor, but the outline has been deepened and filled up in the mind of his living representative.

In England Napoleon I. recognised a national and a constitutional greatness, a political genius that led it to seek dominion and power, and a public spirit on which its policy

was founded. In the French he could find neither public spirit nor any turn for politics; but he considered that they had a true military genius, and a real passion for glory, chivalry, and heroism, which made them the best political engine in the world, in the hands of a man who knew how to manage them. They inherited, he said, the old spirit of the Gauls, the enthusiasm of the Crusaders, the energy of Jeanne d'Arc, Francis I., Henri IV., and Louis XIV. They proved it in the wars of the revolution and of the empire. After the French army, he thought the English navy the finest thing in the world.

Louis Napoleon passed some years of his exile in Great Britain; he had seen how his uncle's designs upon Europe had miscarried through pushing the war with England to extremities. Hence, though the army and peasantry grumbled at the English alliance, he remained faithful to it, for he knew well that England might any day become the life and soul of a new European coalition against him.

It was chiefly to secure the good-will of England that he embarked in the Russian war; not that he was careless of the Russian preponderance in Turkey,—but still his policy did not point to Constantinople but to Italy. He took the English side in European politics on the Russian question, in order to ensure the support of England on the Italian question. This was evidently his plan, and it is the only explanation of the abrupt manner of his dragging Piedmont into the Crimean war, with which she had nothing whatever to do. He threw off all disguise at the congress of Paris, when in concert with Piedmont he introduced the Italian question; the way in which he interested the English in his policy was most artful.

Austria, it must be owned, has played into his hands. Always distasteful to the Italians, her government has grown more and more unpopular ever since Prince Schwartzemberg attempted to amalgamate into one the heterogeneous races of the empire. She was too clever by half in trying to make capital out of the Crimean war without sharing the risk, and in her sly attempts to annex Moldavia and Wallachia. Her conduct to Servia and Montenegro, and her efforts to strengthen Turkey against the Bosniac rebellion, were of the same kind, and their real issue has been to sacrifice Austria to the French policy. Napoleon III., following the political testament of his uncle to the letter, saw his way to wrest Italy from the Austrian yoke.

But, it may be asked, what had he to do with the Italian question at all? When he proclaimed himself the Emperor

of Peace, he spoke to the hearts and pockets of all the commercial and industrial classes of France, who only forsook the house of Orleans to side with him on the conditions of his maintaining tranquillity, and guaranteeing them from the Socialists and Communists. They considered him to be stronger in France than the Orleans dynasty, because of his credit with the masses, and stronger in Europe, whose sovereigns had been on very cool terms with Louis Philippe; while Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England have in turn paid court to Louis Napoleon, because they thought that the man who was master of the revolutionary forces of France was master of the destinies of Europe. France herself also has seemed more peaceable. Under the Bourbons of the elder branch she was always uttering dark hints about the banks of the Rhine, and Belgium, and what she called her natural frontiers. This was the cry of the revolutionary party under Louis XVIII. and Charles X. ; and it was taken up by Chateaubriand and Bonald and the counter-revolutionists under Louis Philippe, in order to degrade the house of Orleans in the face of Europe by the imputation of cowardice. But the claims are silenced now, and France professes herself vastly content with her present frontiers, and tells Germany that it will not be her fault if the clamour is revived.

From the first his policy has been directed towards Italy, not towards the banks of the Rhine. This is why the president of the republic was closeted with Gioberti when Charles Albert sent him to Paris; this is why he engaged Piedmont in the Crimean war, broached the Italian question in the congress of Paris, published Orsini's letter, united with England in remonstrating with Naples, invited Cavour to Plombières, approved of the King of Sardinia's opening speech to his chambers, and married his cousin to the Princess Clotilde. He has been always on the watch for an opportunity to advance Piedmont, from 1849, when he tried to get her to restore the Pope to Rome; and ever since he has used her as his lever for the regeneration of Italy and the destruction of the Austrian rule. Either his policy has been aimless, or else this has been his aim. But, then, how shall we account for the wonderful disinterestedness of France? Allowing for the fact, that the presence of Austria in Italy does not square with French policy, will France be contented with acts of generosity to Italy? Will she really and unconditionally give Lombardy to Piedmont? Why does she want an Italian confederation, and what place in it will she give to the Pope?

However hard it may be to answer these questions, the publication of the imperial pamphlet, to which M. de la Guéronnière signed his name, forbids us to ignore them. It spoke of a purely Italian confederation under the protection of the French army, in opposition to the dynastic Italian confederation which Austria attempted to form against Piedmont; but it threw no light on the position which Napoleon III. would give to Piedmont in Lombardy and Venice; or whether they were to be erected into a kingdom for the Duc de Leuchtenberg's son and Eugene's grandson, whose mother is a sister of the Czar; and whether, in that case, Piedmont would be enlarged at the expense of Parma and Modena, or in some other manner. All suppositions became possible as soon as the pamphlet raised them tentatively, without determining them.

The relations of Napoleon III. and the Pope are left in still greater uncertainty. We know what his uncle, in the hey-day of his power, thought of the Papacy,—how he tried to use its influence in Southern Europe, to oppose it to the Greco-Russian influence in the East, and to the Protestant feeling of his German provinces. We know, too, what he thought of it in St. Helena; how bitterly he regretted his brutality to Pius VII.; and how he advised his family to settle at Rome, and aim at ecclesiastical and ministerial offices there, so that some day they might give birth to a Pope, who should revive Napoleon's glory in another form, if the Bonapartes could not regain the throne of France; and, if they could, should double the Emperor's power, by giving him an *alter ego* in the Chair of St. Peter. Though, in spite of his respect for the religion of his childhood, Napoleon I. was rather a Mahometan than a Christian, and was an entire stranger to the liberty of the children of God, yet his comprehensive mind could take in the political and social significance of the Papacy. To appreciate the breadth of view which this displayed, we must remember the character of his age,—its paltry deism, its mathematical atheism, its pedantic rationalism, and its practical materialism. Frenchmen were ashamed to be seen in church. The peasantry did not go there, for they were enriched with her spoils. Some devout *émigrés*, and a few of the middle classes, and the people of La Vendée, Alsace, and the Jura, were about the only men that ever heard Mass. Napoleon himself always seemed distracted there, and his attitude was any thing but devotional. His marshals, generals, senators, and prefects paraded about the aisles during the ecclesiastical state functions; and he patronised infidel cardinals like Maury. But he did not be-

lieve in the stability of irreligion, and he felt that a people without faith was lost. In spite of the historical conflicts between Popes and emperors, he considered Catholicity to be a school of Cæsarism. He fixed his eyes upon Philippe le Bel and the Papacy at Avignon, and proposed to correct and reconstruct the whole work of Charlemagne.

Such were the views of the uncle. The nephew began, in 1830, with an unsuccessful attempt to revolutionise the Papal States, and to make them the centre of a reaction against Austria. His letter to Edgar Ney in 1849 shows that he still wished to introduce into Rome and the Legations the whole *Code Napoléon* with its appurtenances, and with all the forms of French administration. His great object is evidently to surround the Pope with French influences, and to remove all Austrian elements from his councils. He wishes the existence of the Papacy to become impossible unless the Austrians are driven from Italy. If Louis Napoleon sent for M. Veuillot, the editor of the *Univers*, and praised his talents and his policy, it was because of his influence with a portion of the clergy, because of his bitter hostility to all parliamentary government, and his advocacy of the most intimate union of the cross with the sword, and because of his antagonism to the Academy, where the principal parliament men are to be found; but not because of his simple and artless proposition for the intimate alliance of France, de-josephinised Austria, and the Holy See, against Russia, Prussia, and England. Yet at the very time that the emperor was thus inspiring Veuillot with a passionate partisanship for his dynasty, he was receiving About, Fould's *protégé*, and inviting him to court, where he was presented as a little Voltaire out at grass. While the rest of the press, and especially the former parliamentary journals, were restrained within the narrowest bounds, the *Univers* was allowed much license. But at the same time the *Siècle*, and its henchman the *Charivari*, were permitted to wage a pitiless war against Catholicity, under the pretence of a certain respect for Gallicanism. The reason is plain. If the *Univers* upholds the emperor's cause with the clergy and the religious world, the *Siècle*, which, in spite of its republican appearance, is devoted to Prince Napoleon, and since the war has become quite converted to the imperial side, has an immense sale among the Bonapartists of the provinces, the artisans of the towns, and the strong-minded godless portion of the middle classes. Naturally enough Louis Napoleon is averse from alienating any one of his partisans; so he has struck out an independent line between the Ultramontanism of the *Univers* and the Pseudo-gallicanism

of the *Siècle*. However obstinately he adheres to his opinions and his interests, he has the faculty of concealing his plans. And we confess that we find it impossible to form a probable guess about the place which he really intends the Pope to occupy in his Italian confederation.

Louis Napoleon despises the anti-Roman feeling of English Protestantism. Though the Germans have not opened their mouths for a century about the "Whore of Babylon," some of the English and Scotch ministers of the gospel still talk about her as they did in the days of Knox and Cromwell. The most zealous Lutheran or Calvinist in Germany would never think of treating Italy as a pagan country, or of sending missionaries to convert her from her false gods. But Exeter Hall treats the Italians as if they were Caffres. In this they are abetted by the gentlemen of Geneva, who refused the Catholics liberty of worship, and drove them into the arms of the democracy, and now take advantage of their own relations with Cavour, of the hostility between the Ratazzi party and the Piedmontese clergy, and the antagonism between the Church and the constitution, to revenge themselves by assisting the English Protestant propaganda in Piedmont and Tuscany. Louis Napoleon has shown his opinion of them by discouraging their attempts at Lyons and other parts of France. He does not want controversy; he knows that minds grow hot with disputing, and that sooner or later politics are sure to bubble up. We may be certain, then, that he is not pleased at the prolongation of the quarrel between Piedmont and Rome, for fear it should lead to schism. It may be presumed that he is trying to patch it up; but, on the other hand, it is also certain that he wishes for a radical reform in the government of the Papal States. What the reforms may be, and how he proposes to reconcile the Pope's position sketched in the pamphlet, as head of the Italian confederation, with his position as common Father of the faithful, are questions which at present seem to float vaguely in the emperor's mind, the answers whereto will be shaped by the event, and not divulged till the settlement of the Austrian question in Italy enables him to proclaim a final peace to Europe.

But these combinations were made only in view of a short, local, and successful war. They did not contemplate its complication with the Turkish question, nor the loss of Russia's hold on Prussia, and the rising of Germany; nor England's being forced by her maritime interests to interfere: in such a case the war must be transferred to the Rhine. Louis Napoleon has long been trying to avoid this by saying to Prussia and Germany, "Carry out the principles of your Zollverein,

which Austria refuses to join ; make yourselves into a compact nation of 30,000,000 men, and leave Austria to fight her own battles with the Bohemians and Magyars." If the war once reached the Rhine, France could not pretend to the same disinterestedness there as she pretends to in Italy, where, without any enlargement of territory, she gains all that she wants. Her triumph over Austria, her protection of Piedmont and the Italian confederation, will suffice to secure her preponderance in Europe, especially as regards Germany. But then, how long will she leave Russia to herself in the East ? How long will she maintain her alliance with England ? That is the question which chiefly concerns us.\*

---

### THE THEORY OF PARTY.

GOVERNMENT by parties in parliament has been for many years an institution of our country, which nearly all statesmen, however bitterly they may resent its occasional vagaries, recognise as necessary in some shape or other for the consolidation of our liberties, and even for the preservation of our national identity. And though apparently condemned by the hasty ejaculations of puzzled politicians,—“ principles, not parties,” “ measures, not men ;” or by their aspirations for the speedy destruction of the old party morality with the old parties that formed it, for the final exaltation of the interests of the country over the interests of party, and for the first consideration of the public good in every public measure,—such phrases, we may be sure, in the mouth of a statesman, are directed only against the abuse, not against the use, of party.

Burke sneers at the cry, “ not men, but measures,” as a piece of cant, “ a sort of charm by which many people get loose from every honourable engagement.” It is also a formula by which men pretend to guard their independence, and justify their holding aloof from all engagements. The assertion of principles as excluding parties is equivalent to reducing politics from an art to a science, from a practical business to a theory. Principles by themselves have no action ; they have neither arms nor legs : to be active, they must be embodied—they must have their militia, they must find expression in a party. To be theoretically right is not enough for a man intrusted with the political guidance of his country. He has not only to make the good known, but to make it prevail ; not only to detect, but to defeat the evil.

\* This article was in type before any proposals of peace had been made.

The sluggard's proverb, "They who do nothing do no harm," always detestable, is ruinous in politics. The statesman who refuses to enter into the combinations requisite to give effect to his views frustrates his object and betrays his trust. Great men are accountable to the public not only for what they do but for what they don't, not only for their works but for their no-works,—for their laziness as well as for their business, for their refusal to coöperate as well as for their coöperation with their associates. Those who condemn party, cannot intend to condemn coöperation; they can only mean to condemn the present confusion of parties, which must be remedied, not by parties ceasing to be, but by giving them a new life and a new form. For without party no deliberative body like the House of Commons can exist.

To all practical purposes the possible permutations and combinations of the 654 members of the House of Commons are infinite. There can be no organisation in a body of 654 independent atoms, all in a state of fluctuation. There must be unions, combinations, and parties, or business is impossible. The question is, (1) Are these unions to be permanent? and (2) How many such unions are there to be? Are the unions to be permanent, extending over a number of questions; or are they to be only temporary, formed in view of a definite question, and resolved into their original atoms on the decision of that question? In such a case, the constitution remaining what it is, we should want a new party and a new ministry for each new act of parliament. Parties, then, must have a certain generalisation and a certain permanence. As to the number of parties, clearly only two can fight at one time; it is no true trial of strength when the two combatants know that a third is watching on the heights, ready to pounce down on the exhausted victor and appropriate his spoils. Some compromise, some combination, is always necessary in such cases, in order to reduce the combatants to two. On each question, therefore, the ultimate decision is between two parties, which for business ought to be permanent, not temporary.

But how attain to this permanence of party demarcations? The distinction between Whigs and Tories was not factitious, but of natural growth; men did not divide themselves by lot, but they congregated through sympathy, and separated through hostility. This is a simple process in unsophisticated states, where only one or two classes are represented; but in a complex society like ours such broad and simple demarcations of party, representing popular passions, are demonstratively impossible. The proof is easy. When a whole country

is animated by one dominant passion, or is ruled by a single class so animated, there are no parties, though the government is one of passion. But if a change comes over the country, if its feelings cool, or the formerly inconsiderable minority emerges, or the governing class splits into two parts, then government by party is immediately established. There is a conflict between two combinations more or less balanced, one of which is in power, while the other keeps guard over it and watches to supplant it. This conflict necessitates compromise, or the voluntary dropping of certain class interests and passions out of the sphere of government. If there is but one party in the government, all its social passions and interests may colour its administration; if there are two parties, with rival interests and balanced powers, the particular objects in which their interests are contrary must neutralise each other on the political platform, however active they may continue to be in social life. Thus there begins to be a distinction between political and social life and thought; and it continually increases, to the detriment of those personal interests and passions on which party distinctions were at first founded. It is important to recognise the trenchant distinction between social and political life and thought, which arises in a society divided into many classes with different interests, and at the same time governed by common representative institutions. In any plan for the coöperation of such different elements, it stands to reason that many social principles and passions, important, but sure grounds of discord, must be discounted. There must be a previous settlement of what are to be party, what to be open questions; on what subjects to agree, on what to differ without breach of political unity. The points of agreement constitute the political creed and programme of parties; the residuum of differences goes to form the aggregate of social life. As civilisation advances and men multiply, society has a perpetual tendency to differentiation; and as classes multiply, each successively claiming a share in the political representation, they must either become new elements of discord, or they must consent to erase from their political creed the interests and passions which belong exclusively or most particularly to them, and which they have neither right nor strength to force the rest to accept. Hence with the differentiation of social life there is a continually-growing uniformity in politics; class-passions and class-interests drop one by one out of the political platform, and fall into the social arena. When Anglicans alone held office in England, the government was Anglican; when Dissenters were admitted, government remained Protestant, but the distinction between

Churchmen and Dissenters became a social instead of a political separation; the admission of Catholics and Jews has transformed successively the distinction between Catholic and Protestant, and that between Christian and Jew, from a politico-social to a merely social distinction. Hence we see that a continual narrowing and simplification of the province of representative government follows the continual enlargement and multiplication of the classes and interests represented; while its machinery, as distinguished from its objects and ideas, grows daily more complex from the mere multitude of its individual operations. Hence Bentham truly portrayed the tendency of a representative government as always approaching an ideal term, when material utility will be its sole remaining aim; when all passions, all interests of mind and soul, will be discounted; and political economy will enjoy an undivided sway. Not that such an abstract tendency can ever become an actuality; not that Bentham can, by his prosing, charm away the spell with which passion sways communities and ambition individuals, though he may shut his eyes to the existence of national frenzies, and affect to believe that mankind can be mastered by budgets and tariffs. Yet though his system is marrowless and his schemes skeletons, they indicate a true tendency of representative institutions on a great scale—the elimination of passion from politics.

The progress of events, then, tends to render more and more difficult the aggregation of parties on the basis that formerly gave them permanence—on social opinions passionately embraced. When these opinions have dropped from the political into the social order, they no longer serve as a basis for political party. They may be potent on the hustings; they are impotent in parliament, where the various hustings-pledges neutralise one another. Parliament, for its own peace, must be insensible to social passions; hence its treatment of religious questions. Most members of parliament certainly display in their families a real respect for the Bible; but this does not prevent them from laughing down the wight who in debate argues upon a text. Mr. Spooner's theology only bores the House, though probably the majority of members belong more or less decidedly to the religious party which he represents. The Papal-Aggression legislation registered the voice of national passions; but it collapsed when the social fire died out, and again left the march of politics to itself. The dominant passion drew for a moment the majority into its vortex; when it died, the old balance revived, and the political bequest of the social frenzy is waste-paper.

In the early history of party the impress of passion upon politics was not thus transient. The Roundheads and Cavaliers, the original Whigs and Tories, were divided and defined principally by their social passions :

“The Roundheads,” says Lord Brougham,\* “were deeply tinged with fanaticism ; and they were the original of the Whigs both in England and in Scotland. The Cavaliers held cheap all such observances, regarding religious enthusiasm with mingled dislike and derision ; and from them came the Tories in both parts of the island. Nor was the connection merely genealogical or historical. As late as the times of Addison and Bolingbroke we find the friends of the Hanoverian succession distinguished by their respect for religion, and the Jacobites chiefly giving in to deism, or latitudinarian principles.”

Assuming this partial view to be correct, as far as it goes, it is evident that Whigs and Tories have changed sides. In Charles Fox the Whigs obtained a leader with the morals of a Cavalier ; while the republican clubs of 1790 reproduced the Cavalier’s dislike and derision of religious enthusiasm. From that time the Orange Protestantism has found its home in the Tory ranks, and the Whigs have substituted popular progress for their old moving power :

“Così vid’io la settimana zavorra  
Mutare e trasmutare.”†

It was no longer *Church and King* on one side, and *Religion and Redress of Grievances* on the other ; but it was, according to the one party, *King and Constitution* against *Revolution*, and according to the other, *Popular Liberties* against *Despotism*. This was looked upon as the universal and necessary *rationale* of party demarcations.

“In a parliamentary government there must be always two great and leading divisions, under which parties, however broken into more minute sections, must ultimately be enrolled. The one a party which, feeling confidence in the people, favours all propositions for the extension of public liberty, so far as is consistent with order and with security ; the other a party which, distrusting the judgment and virtue of the people, seeks to confine their rights and powers within the narrowest limits compatible with content and obedience.”‡

The adoption of popular reforms by the New Whigs, in compliance with the revolutionary agitation of 1790, has impressed its present character on that party. They have become the interpreters of the “rights of man,” and of

\* Works, Glasgow, 1855, vol. ii. p. 184.

† Dante, *Inferno*, c. xxv. terz. 48.

‡ Edinburgh Review, April 1840, vol. lxxi. p. 275.

Bentham's theoretical "principles of morals and legislation." They are the English *doctrinaires*, the men of progress, the patrons of material utility, the passionless politicians of theory and science, the apostles of centralisation, the mechanicians of government. The Tories have been forced into the opposite scale; they represent all the social passions that can force their way into the region of politics. This seems to be now the principle of party division in England. The Liberal party (speaking broadly) represents the political mind, the Tory party the social mind. For instance, religion, the deepest element of the social mind, is now nearly monopolised by the Tories, in spite of the coquetting between Exeter Hall and Lord Palmerston. The Orangemen, of Whig origin, now belong to them. The clergy of the Establishment support them. They have lately trawled for Catholics, and have caught many fishes. Even when the question for which they fight has nothing to do with any religion, they have always tried, often with success, to throw a religious halo round it. *Church and King* was their motto; they could not fight for royal prerogative without calling it a *divine* right. From their stand-point corn-laws have seemed creeds, and rotten boroughs holy ground. Solid social prejudice, dimly distinguishing God from Mammon, takes up its stand, with a reverential feeling almost religious, in the Tory camp. The Tories represent religious and social passions; their strength is measured by the strength of the religious (not the anti-religious), and the social (not the socialistic or anti-social), passions reigning for the time being in the country. Hence, in general, social excitements strengthen the Tories; while, on the other hand, political excitements strengthen the Whigs.

This view may be illustrated by the cases in which the leaders of either side have tried to trade on their opponents' capital. The estate of *No-Popery*, with all its appurtenances, has for many years been vested in the Tories. Lord John Russell thought to reënter on the old Whig property by means of the famous Durham rescript. Mr. Disraeli, in a letter to the Lord-Lieutenant of Bucks, put in his demurrer to the Whig claims; he had "always understood" that the Papists were encouraged in Ireland by the Whigs, and he thought that the Pope had a right to assume that in establishing the English hierarchy "he was acting in strict conformity with the wishes of her Majesty's government;" he concluded, therefore, that the question to be decided at the Aylesbury anti-Papal-Aggression meeting was "of a graver, deeper, and more comprehensive character" than they supposed. The deeper question being, whether it did not belong by right divine to

the Tories to make political capital out of *No-Popery*. But if Lord John Russell has erred in pilfering from the Tories, Sir Robert Peel and Disraeli have damaged themselves still more by pilfering from the Whigs. The glory of Catholic Emancipation, Free Trade, and Reform, seemed to belong to Whigs, not only by squatter's title, but *de congruo*, by congruity. Sir Robert Peel borrowed the plumes, and was plucked for his pains. Equally damaging is the adoption of Reform by Derby and Disraeli. In none of their battle-fields had the Tories chosen their ground well. The maintenance of the penal laws was a social question; but it only interested a limited class, on which it conferred no solid benefits, but only the power to insult and oppress another class. The opposition to Reform and to the repeal of the Corn-laws was equally unfortunate; the Tories did vast damage to their cause by turning questions of political machinery, and of budgets which only concerned narrow classes as social questions, into social questions of national import. The Tory strength is in social passions, such as social obstinacy or conservatism, social fanaticism or religion, and social frenzy or war. But then these passions must be national, or they are sources of weakness, not of strength, to their representatives.

The politics of theory, as distinguished from those of social passions, belong to the Whigs. Hence the side which scientific men almost invariably take. Hence the radical nature of scepticism, irreligion, and atheism; hence, also, the attraction between peace-societies and the Whigs. War, the greatest of social excitements, is the triumph of Toryism. Mr. Bright, who identifies the Tories with the aristocracy, derives war from the interests of the aristocracy, though it is more commonly a popular frenzy, which rulers cannot moderate. But whatever its origin, war, like all social passions, is aristocratic in its results. In nothing does personal superiority crop out so clearly as in war; nowhere is it so easy to obey, nowhere does the attachment and confidence of the subaltern in his leader become so enthusiastic. War may destroy one aristocracy, but it establishes another. Military success enabled Napoleon to restore a court as exclusive as that of Louis XIV. from the ruins of the Revolution; and suggested to Montlosier the possibility of rebuilding the feudal system in favour of Napoleon's marshals, even after the general levelling of the Reign of Terror.

It appears, then, that the elements of permanent parties are now on one side social questions, and on the other political questions as opposed to social. On one side we have

war, religion, and attachment to old habits and customs ; on the other, peace, centralisation, generalisation, political economy, and commerce. Passion, poetry, and colour on one side ; theory, statistics, and form on the other. And these two opposite lines must come into collision. Even political economy must be encountered by protection. Every generalisation in commerce implies the destruction of some monopoly, and will therefore be hotly opposed by the monopolists. Much more when this generalisation extends to social and domestic interests, around which the national passions are grouped. It is a usurpation for the government to take care that all the children of British subjects should learn to read and write ; it is a further usurpation to establish common schools on Bentham's plan, where these acquirements should be taught on a uniform system ; yet if it is certain that nothing else will be taught on this plan, perhaps the national passions will not yet be roused. But when we suspect that religion is to be taught also,—that all religions are to be fused together, and their contradictions allowed to neutralise each other, and then a common essence extracted, and taught as the religion of the State,—such a suspicion would rouse our social passions into frenzy : Conservatism or Toryism would carry the day for a long time.

We have then, in general, the elements of two permanent parties in the State, each deriving its utility from the deficiencies of the other ; each keeping the other by its opposition within the limits of reason. The antagonisms of life must find expression with equal freedom and with equal energy, or the various elements of society will not obtain their due. But what guarantee is there that the same persons shall always adhere to the same profession of principles ? If a man thinks that sometimes circumstances require changes to be made in the political mechanism, at other times the social passions to be encouraged and enforced, must he not change his party with circumstances, and is he to be taunted for inconsistency in doing so ? And yet when this is once allowed, a principle is admitted which might logically lead to the organisation of a fresh party for every fresh measure. Of course nothing can prevent a statesman from changing his apparent position with the changing questions of the day. Burke, always completely consistent as a politician, could not be equally consistent as a partisan. At first he was the advocate of political economy and generalisation, against the prejudices and passions on which George III. thought to found an autocracy ; afterwards he was as eloquent a defender of our social institutions against the levelling tendencies of a revolutionary

generalisation. Sir Robert Peel was a still more notable example of change. People must be governed not on an abstract principle, nor after the dogma of any politician, but according to their circumstances and their feelings. The statesman, therefore, is the man who can keep his fingers on the national pulse, can watch and even anticipate its beatings, provide tonics and stimulants for its weaknesses, and alleviations for its fever heats. He must be ready to alternate between the two policies of abstract mechanics and of passion. How, then, can there be permanence of parties? How can the permanent principles of party division come to have permanent personal representatives?

Yet without such personal representatives principles are powerless; they can neither talk nor act. While, on the other hand, persons who represent no principles are equally unpractical. In private a man may act and think as independently as he pleases; in public, if he is to act with others, he must have some common rule of conduct. This rule embodies the principle which he represents; for the rule is one which must express the interests and sympathies of those who agree to follow him. Leaders, therefore, must personify ideas, and represent powerful interests and wide-spread sympathies. It is for this cause that, as Lord John Russell says, "it is the habit of party in England to ask the alliance of a man of genius, but to follow the guidance of a man of character." Character is more stable and solid than genius. Genius changes with arguments; character adheres to self-consistency. Genius, conscious of its resources, likes to do every thing itself; character gracefully relinquishes the task to others, when any thing must inevitably be done inconsistent with its former conduct. Parties can depend upon character; genius may betray them any day. And not only the party leaders, but their followers also, should partake in this solidity of character; they must range themselves with tolerable permanence into two fixed armies and no more, otherwise the House of Commons becomes a huge heap of independent cliques, crotchety coteries, and individual advocates of capricious abstractions, which have nothing in common with the deep passions and social sympathies of the world without. As a mere isolated spectator, or caustic critic, a member of parliament counts for nothing; by uniting with a party he obtains a representative value; without connection he represents nothing but himself and his property. His speeches have no interest beyond their literary value; there is nothing historical about them. He is not a political force; nor can he be reckoned an element of power, for it is always impos-

sible to tell how he will act in given circumstances. Without connection there is no sympathy to communicate alarm at evil designs, no counsel and no union to oppose them; among unorganised atoms communication is uncertain, counsel is difficult, resistance impracticable. Without party ties, resulting in personal confidence and the friendship of common views and common interests, there is no power of acting a public part with uniformity, perseverance, or efficacy.

But now the question occurs, Are the opinions which divide statesmen in England a sufficient basis for their permanent division into fixed parties? And if not, is it not a warning that the old plan of party government must be modified, if not relinquished? A large school of statesmen has arisen which seeks for the utter extinction of parties. By means of parties, says Lord Brougham,\* at least one half of the great men of each age are excluded from the service of the country, and both sides are infinitely more devoted to maintaining a conflict with one another than to furthering the public good. The origin of parties, he says,† is not *idem sentire de republica*, but a common desire of power and plunder. They are not guided by principles, but they “take up principles in order to marshal themselves in alliances and hostilities for their own interests, instead of engaging in those contests because of their conflicting principles.” The principles of one party are fixed by those of the other. Each party in place would bring forward the same measures which in opposition it would oppose. If Burke had been minister (it is Lord Brougham who speaks), he would have fought the Americans; if the Whigs had been in office, they would have opposed Emancipation. Lord Brougham owns that parties are necessary, as England is at present governed; but he thinks also that “it is a sorry account of any political machine, that it is so constructed as only to be kept in order by the loss of power and conflict of forces” which parties imply.

Hence formal or mechanical politicians, as distinguished from men who sympathise with the social life of England, are always opposed to party. Loss of power in a political machine is in their eyes as bad as loss of power in a steam-engine or spinning-jenny. They seem to regard the English parliament as an engine, whose function it is to turn out annually the greatest possible amount of legislation of superior quality. Every thing that diverts the House from this supreme object is a nuisance. England requires a continual supply of laws and regulations, and instead we only get debates! On the other hand, a person disposed to let well alone,

\* Works, ed. Glasgow, 1855, vol. i. p. 371.

† Ib. p. 372.

and to keep things as they are, blesses the providential arrangement that keeps statesmen busy, without obliging them to be continually tinkering the constitution. A parliament we must have, for the continual control of the executive government. Inactive, it would be of no use; if its activity was directed to continual changes in the nation, it would soon ruin every thing. Parties give it an internal activity that sharpens its wits and clears its eyes, and gives it other occupation than gnawing at the nation's vitals. There is a homely old English saying of a busy father to a troublesome boy,—“Jack, if thou wu't be meddling, go shoe the goslings.” Put into more decorous language, this is the blessing given by the solid Englishman to the representative whom he sends to Westminster.

But the existence of parties is capable of more serious defence. The rule of economy of force is applicable only to mechanics, not to ethical subjects, nor to any practical method whose utility is to be measured by something else than solid material results. Morals are intended to produce results on the soul, which are not capable of being tested by number, or weight, or measure. So, politics are intended to produce the imponderable results of peace, contentment, justice, and patriotism, even more than those described in the statistical returns of the Registrar-General. As we live to form and rule our souls, so the statesman lives to form and direct the national spirit. The House of Commons is as much his palæstra for educating himself to the task, as his arena for performing it. Party politics is the school of imperial government. As men are trained for civil society by domestic society, so are statesmen trained for offices in the State by party combinations. As the man is a microcosm of society, so is party the microcosm of the commonwealth. Men become fit for governing the nation by the experience they acquire in the management of party, where the conflicting interests are similar, if less complicated, and where mistakes do not ruin a nation. Parties, then, are the schools of statesmen; there they learn to govern: the legislator who has had no teachers but books and meditation, wants practice before he can be trusted with the keeping of the nation. In parties he may learn self-command, and the power of directing the compromises necessary for the amalgamation of so many persons, mustered not by the ascendancy of genius, but by a general similarity in some prevalent interests or opinions. The caldron of Awen bubbled for nine days and nights before it could produce the three mystical drops which transformed a cripple into Taliesin the sage. Party contests seem a mighty coil to make

for such small results of legislation ; but legislation would be crude enough if it proceeded straight from the brains of philosophic statesmen, without being tormented in the crucible of party. Witness the constituent legislation of provisional governments, always impotent, because unaccustomed to the mimic constitutional wars of parties. Government and legislation are not manufactures, but arts. Parties are the statesman's practising grounds. A man does not learn to fiddle in a crowded concert-room, nor is a soldier first taught the goose-step in presence of the enemy. So neither (except in provisional governments) does the constitutional statesman try his 'prentice-hand on fundamental measures which might compromise the great interests of the State.

Parties, then, are necessary to educate the statesman ; they are also almost indispensable as an instrument of constitutional government. If there is to be no opposition in Parliament, not only must all social passions be refused audience, and parliamentary business reduced to the mechanics of legislation, but also Parliament must have nothing to do with the choice of ministers, or the dispensation of patronage. If the two inspiring spirits of party combination, social passion and personal ambition, could be got rid of, Parliament might perhaps be found a very economical legislative machine ; provided the right of speech was sufficiently abridged to reduce debate within decent limits. But the result would not be worth having : instead of Parliament being the organ of the popular control on the executive, it would be a mere tool of the executive to give a popular look to its acts, like the constitutional shams of despotic countries ; the dignity and freedom of Parliament would be gone. Freedom such as ours must always be accompanied by a certain restlessness. Political virtue can only escape chains on the condition of leaving a certain amount of liberty to political vice also. But even without any political vice, active and ambitious men will crowd into the road of power, and will form parties to help them. Such a government may be a noisy vulgar thing, annoying to sensitive people, sometimes full of corruption, sometimes swaying to and fro with popular tempests. But such motion is healthy to liberty. Without it the web of bureaucracy would soon be woven around us, and we should doze off into the leaden slumbers wherewith Despotism deadens her subjects' eyes, while she gags their mouths and picks their pockets.

If, therefore, our parliamentary system is worth having ; if, in spite of all drawbacks, it has proved itself the instrument of the most perfect political freedom which the world

has yet seen,—it must be the duty of the Englishman to make all sacrifices to preserve it. And if parties are necessary to its maintenance, they must sacrifice something to the claims of party. Not that it is a crime to form political societies in support of any of the different interests in the State, or to endeavour, by all honest means, to advance to superiority and power men who share our sentiments and opinions. But the destruction of all the traditions of parliamentary government is not among such honest means. Members are sent to Parliament, not to make Parliament useless, but to aid in carrying on the work of government either by the active participation of the ministerial benches, or by the watchful control of opposition. When they are elected, they are members of Parliament, not delegates of a selfish section of the population; they are representatives of the nation, not of the opinions of the bare majority whose votes have given them their seats. They have no right, therefore, to intrigue, to set the interests of a class above those of the nation, or to stop the national business till their indiscreet demands are complied with. Unanimity in a party must be exhibited to the world like unanimity in an ecclesiastical synod, whose decisions are said to be unanimous even though there might have been twelve on one side and thirteen on another; because the minority is bound by the majority, and has equally to sign the decrees. Parliamentary government requires the broad division into two parties—one of which administers the government, the other watches and controls; one of which sympathises with the social passions of the nation, while the other is continually making propositions for the alteration of our political mechanism. These two parties alternately bear sway; in peace the political improvers, in troubled times the exponents of the passions of the people. With one or other of them every subordinate political combination should unite itself. To effect this union some sort of generalisation must take place, some compromise must be effected. No member of the party can keep his programme exactly what it was before the combination; no faction can insist on all the five points of its own charter. It would be a species of political immorality to do so, with the alternative of the unattached faction assuming an independent position, where it could watch attentively the balance of the two great parties, and gain consideration by giving alternately an unexpected but not gratuitous aid to the rivals. It is, moreover, a political mistake which must in time do most damage to those who make it. A privateer may watch two frigates fighting, ready to pounce on the weakened victor and his shattered prize. The plan

may succeed once ; but the second time the principal combatants will first unite to sink their common enemy, and will then dispose of their own quarrel. A small independent party that uses the dead-lock tactics too unscrupulously, will raise a feeling which will unite all parties against it, though they are united in nothing else. Or if it is not thus crushed, parliamentary government will have received a mortal blow.

Besides the difficulties pointed out above, there are two others to which our parliamentary representatives do not sufficiently attend. First, they do not seem adequately to comprehend the difference between social and political questions. No law can create or change sentiments and opinions ; these grow socially, not politically ; and can only be cured by social, not by political remedies. The belief in the omnipotence of laws and regulations is a revolutionary idea. Nothing is stronger in England than the sturdy determination not to allow the government to exercise a bureaucratic interference with social and domestic relationships. Most of the grievances of Catholics are of a social and domestic character. The points on which we have yet to attain an absolute political equality are not practicable bases of party union. Time and the spirit of the age will solve them in our favour, if we can afford to await the sure march of events. Meanwhile our active opposition would only give fresh strength to the objects of attack, by enlisting the social sympathies of the majority of Englishmen against us. Our interest clearly is to exclude as much as possible all religious questions from parliamentary discussion, or to invest our demands as far as we can with the appearance of mere administrative reforms. Our policy in Parliament is the same as in a court of justice. We deprecate the introduction of religion in addresses to juries, justly fearing that prejudices will always go against us. He who first represented the Shrewsbury Estates' cause as a Catholic question, contributed whatever lay in his power to the defeat of the Catholic parties in the trial. The ostentatious establishment of a self-styled Catholic independent opposition might, in our weak condition, be attended with similar results. Happily for our peculiar position as English Catholics, the distinction between Catholics and Protestants has fallen out of the political into the social order, and has become a social, not a political difference. The establishment of a Catholic political party looks like an attempt to reverse the course of events. It is a precarious experiment for Catholic members of Parliament to exhibit themselves professionally as mere Catholics, instead of English or Irish statesmen and gentlemen. If religion is separated from politics,

religious distinctions can be no longer political ; they are only accidents in Parliament To make them essential is to ignore the conditions of English parties. In the present tendency of England a "Catholic policy" is as difficult as a "Protestant policy" is felt to be hateful. Any policy which takes its denomination from a religion, professes to thrust forward into the teeth of statesmen questions which, by tacit agreement, they have banished from Parliament, and confined to churches, lecture-halls, or firesides. The suspicion that we wish generally to solve social questions by political intervention, indisposes politicians to listen to us in those cases where a slight alteration of the law might improve our social position. In an English point of view, tenant-right is simply a social question ; it is a matter of agreement, and might be settled by lease. Englishmen call its advocates, who wish to settle it by legislation, socialists. They are suspected of the revolutionary tendency to make all customs subservient to official regulation. Much of this hostility would be disarmed, if the advocates of tenant-right argued their case as an exception to, not as an example of, general principles. All political economists own that there are cases where custom is incorrigible, if left to its own resources. Rent, for instance, cannot find its own level where the farmer has no power of transferring his capital to another locality or another business. The tenure of land, which is a social question in England, is still a political question in India. There the transfer of questions from the political to the social platform has not yet taken place. And as England differs from India, so it may possibly differ from Ireland. Ireland may be in a state in which it would be unsafe to leave the tenure of land to custom and common law, without the interference of a legislative adjustment. This may be true, even though the abstract principle of tenant-right led logically to Socialism ; as is the case, according to French politicians, with the abstract principle of poor-rates.

With regard to the religious rights of Catholics in work-houses and prisons, a small alteration of the law is all that Parliament can effect for us. And if such alteration is made in a manner to arouse the religious frenzies of Protestants, it will do us no good till the excitement is tranquillised. The stolid opposition of Protestant guardians and magistrates, and the active arts of chaplains, workhouse masters, visiting ladies, and nurses, may always go far to neutralise any law, however well meant : in the existing state of things a priest with tact may generally do almost what he likes ; with the most favourable alterations of the law, a priest with-

out tact would still find endless difficulties and hindrances in his way.

The duty of Catholics, therefore, in this respect seems to be,—to aid as much as possible in the elimination from the political sphere of all religious passions, which in England would be almost always anti-Catholic, and to guard carefully against furnishing them with any pretext to raise themselves afresh into political consequence. The Papal-Aggression tumult was a warning that they *might* be so raised. The most direct provocation we could give them would be the systematic attempt to raise into political importance our own social and religious questions. Let us show them to be questions of fairness and equity, and they may be solved with the common approbation of all parties, like the abolition of the slave-trade, the principles of free trade, and the amendment of the criminal law. If we enlist party passions against them, we adjourn their solution for years to come.

The separation of religion from politics can do no harm to the Catholic mission in England. As nearly all our difficulties are social, arising from the inveterate prejudices which our countrymen have inherited for three centuries, our real task is to overcome the stupid ignorance and dislike that encumber our path. Here every Catholic may labour in his sphere: the statesman by showing that his religion is no obstacle to his being a gentleman and a patriot; the literary man by showing that his religion frees rather than enslaves his mind; and Catholics generally by proving themselves at least equal to Protestants in all social relations, and in the ornaments and amenities of life. But chiefly is the social persecution, which is now almost the only persecution we have to complain of in England,\* to be overcome by the apostolic war which every Christian is bound to wage against the mass of irreligion around him. This is the surest way of disarming prejudice, if not immediately, at least in the long-run, by increasing our numbers and strengthening our ranks. But we must not allow ourselves to lapse into a sermon on the duties of the Catholic laity in England.

Such appear to be the dictates of political prudence. But the still higher motives of patriotism and religion have something to say on the same side. We have among us politicians reckless in driving government on the rocks, provided they can attain their ends, religious or social; as we have also enthusiasts who hope some day to “hear Mass in St. Paul’s under the protection of French bayonets;” or to see “the humiliation of England,” which they consider the sole, but

\* Political injury in some things is still done us, as in charitable bequests.

sure, means to her conversion. They are not Englishmen, not they; they have a wider and holier country, the Catholic Church; they make up for their hatred of their brethren whom they have seen, by a more expansive, a more universal love, which excludes the vulgar attachments of kindred and country. Theirs is even a wider principle than Teucer's,—that a man's country is any place in which he is well off; a principle, says Lysias, which savours of a man anxious only for his own advantage, and unfit for political society. For he will not trouble himself much what becomes of his country, if his patriotic love is only proportioned to the advantages he gets by it. A good patriot ought to love the soil that nourished him, and to feel that it can never be well with him, unless it is well with his country also.\* Now, without entering into the question whether patriotism is absolutely a religious duty, it certainly becomes such to the member of Parliament. Putting aside the obligations of his oath, it is clear that he undertakes a trust which he is bound to fulfil; the same principles of morality bind him as trustee for the nation which would bind him as trustee for his friend's children. Practices which are dishonest and dishonourable in society or in trade, are dishonest and dishonourable in politics. Men speak of the factious opposition of a small party for its own ends in Parliament (so far as its end is any thing else than the securing of the most evident rights, pertinaciously and factiously refused by the great parties), in the same terms as they would speak of a man who entered into the direction of a railway in order to secure an advantage to his own property at the expense of a heavy loss to the rest of the shareholders. There is such a thing as political as well as commercial dishonesty.

Next, as to the religious duties of Catholics in Parliament. Even when they suffered political oppression, which we do not, the ancient Christians used no factious means for preventing it. Towards an oppressive and persecuting State, those Christians considered that they had duties quite different from those usually practised by us towards a State that is only indifferent. Perhaps we may not be wrong in our practice; but we are certainly wrong in calling it a Catholic policy. The Jews in Babylon were commanded to “seek the peace of the city where they were captives, and to pray for it; for its peace was theirs.”† The Apostles prescribed the same rules to their persecuted converts, and their converts obeyed them. The Christians of a single province, Tertullian told the persecutors, were more numerous than the Roman army; they

\* Muretus, *Variæ Lectiones*, lib. ii. c. iii.

† Jerem. xxix. 6.

swarmed in the fields, in the forts, and the islands; their ranks were daily swelled by fresh proselytes of every sex, age, condition, and rank. Their mere passivity, their cessation from the active duties of citizens, would be a calamity to the empire; their secession from it would be its ruin. Yet, though insulted and murdered by the magistrates and the mob, they never intrigued against the State; but they were ever praying "for all kings, that they might have a long life, a secure dominion, a safe home, valiant armies, a faithful senate, a righteous people, a world at peace, and whatever the man or the king could desire." They proclaimed that they were commanded in their Scriptures to entreat God even for their enemies, and to pray for blessings on their persecutors, that quietness might prevail. "For," says Tertullian, "when the kingdom is shaken, we, though we stand aloof from tumults, have some part in the misfortune." If he declares that the Christians are cosmopolites, "acknowledging one commonwealth of all mankind," it is not to excuse their hostility to their own country, or their want of patriotism, but to account for their freedom from faction, and their insensibility to glory and greatness. But though of no political party, the Christians had all social interests, except those of religion, in common with the pagans that surrounded them. "We live with you, and have the same food, dress, furniture, and the same wants of daily life; we put not away from us any enjoyment of God's works; we live with you in this world, with the same forum, shambles, baths, taverns, shops, inns, and markets; we voyage with you, serve in your armies, labour with you in the fields, and trade with you. We join our crafts with yours; our acquirements, our services, we lend to the public for your profit." The idea of Catholic politics in Tertullian's time certainly did not justify the clogging the wheels of the republic in order to advance the Catholic interests. Their triumphs were social, not political. And it is almost a general rule, that religious changes must be prepared socially, or they can never be imposed politically. We are in the position of the early Christians, we have to conquer society; not in the position of the medieval Popes, who had to mould a society already christianised.

Not but that party interests are often different from those of the commonwealth. This is an abuse. But the essential character of the law of "independent opposition," as propounded by Lucas, and now adopted by Bright, is, that when parties are nearly balanced, an independent faction should conspire to render any ministry insecure that did not adopt the proposals of this faction for government measures.

It is not merely parties that are opposed, but the existence and stability of our government. Such an unpatriotic proceeding can only be justified on the rarest occasions, by the same exceptional arguments as are used to justify rebellion and revolution; it is, moreover, suicidal to the party, when adopted as a constant rule of action. For the honour of religion, we ought to protest against the name "Catholic" being appropriated to such a policy. Nor is it for our interests factiously to force weak governments to make political concessions to us, to the full use of which our social position is as yet unequal.

Catholicity, in a country like England, where parties are divided rather by forms than by principles, does not constitute a practicable base of party union, because she has very little choice in these forms. She has proved her power of creating a policy out of the rude materials of barbarous nations; she has a fund of principles which are the true basis of all liberty and of all tolerable government. But these are at the foundation; they are generally covered; the majority of political questions that arise may be solved one way or other without affecting the foundation; they relate to training and pruning the branches, not to transplanting the root. Hence, to make a parade of Catholic principles in our ordinary political assemblies is either beside the purpose, or mischievous: beside the purpose, if we only talk of them, without deducing any thing from them,—as a medieval chronicler would begin the history of New York from Adam, and would use so much paper about the præ-Noachic preliminaries, that he would never come to his subject at all;—mischievous, if he really tried to mix up navigation laws, suffrage qualifications, direct or indirect taxation, and the like questions of the day, with Catholicity, which is perfectly indifferent to them, except so far as they accidentally strengthen or weaken the hold of the fundamental principles. Our principles must necessarily be in the background in English policy; and it is well for us that it must be so; for if we pushed them forward, others stronger than ourselves would push forward the principles of a fanatical Protestantism, and would overwhelm not only us, but the principles of our liberty also,—that precious heir-loom which we inherit from Catholic England. Whatever metaphysical and deep principles of truth we may have are kept in shadow; the comparison between us and our antagonists must be made on the principles of formal politics, of law, finance, administration, and diplomacy, on which almost all measures turn. In such a comparison, it is obviously beside the mark to make a general appeal to the

public, to "look at the genius of the Catholic Church on the one side, high, generous, chivalrous, enthusiastic, refined; and then to compare it with that low, grovelling, vulgar non-descript thing called Whiggery, without one fixed principle, one clear-sighted aim, one generous aspiration." Men cannot compare what they cannot see; they cannot compare our hidden principles with the public principles of Whiggery; but they will compare our political principles, as manifested by the Catholic party in the House of Commons since 1829, with the principles acted upon by other parties in the House; and they will ask, Has all the chivalry, the clear-sightedness, the generosity, been on the Catholic side? Has that side been the only champion for fixed principles, the only high, enthusiastic, refined, gentlemanly party; and have those who have fought in the ranks of Palmerston and Russell, Melbourne and Grey, been always, in comparison to the Catholic paladins, low, grovelling, vulgar nondescripts?

If they challenge us to tell them *what* is the peculiar Catholic policy which is so generous, chivalrous, and refined, what shall we say? The Church has an inspired code of dogma and morality; she took the barbarous Germans, civilised them, taught them the principles of jurisprudence, and consecrated their love of liberty. All this is good, but it is distant, evanescent, unpractical; it is not in the sphere of formal politics. Here she no more makes a man a politician by inspiration than she teaches him to fiddle, to make steam-engines, to write an article, to draw a brief, to manœuvre an army, or to command the Channel fleet. Those who thrust themselves to the front of the modern political platform with no more ballast than Catholic principles, soon capsize, and drench themselves and their religion in a flood of ridicule. A Catholic does not know every thing else because he knows his catechism. It is not in this sense that theology is the mother of all sciences. Catholic principles have about as much to say to most of our technical legislative questions as they have to algebra, grammar, or geography. Budgets, tariffs, and reform, no more require Catholic principles for their solution than they require phrenology.

Such are the difficulties of a Catholic party in England. In the first place, there is no Catholic element in the questions of the day on which we can base a party, unless we wish also to provoke the resuscitation of the old fanatical Protestant parties. In the next place, the so-called Catholic party, if it exists at all, must distinguish itself from the other recognised parties; it must be neither Whig nor Tory, Conservative nor Radical. It must remain aloof from all other

sets ; because we are told, "there are fundamental principles which every Catholic should hold, and which, either in theory or in practice, are denied" by all the rest of the world. The party, however feeble, must be distinct from all others, and hostile to them ; and to this forlorn band all the hopes of the Church are to be committed. We have been wisely warned against putting all our eggs into one basket, and trusting ourselves entirely either to Whigs or Tories. But though both these great vessels are unsafe, the little cock-boat of the Catholic party, it appears, is secure, either through the impregnability of its principles, or through the ability of its leaders and the honesty of its members. It might, perhaps, be worth inquiring whether, if such a party existed, and was as wise and as well-conditioned as its best friend could wish, it could possibly have its own way in a representative government. Such a government must represent the sentiments and opinions of the people. Compromise may, every now and then, give an advantage to a small independent party ; but such events must be exceptions to the rule. Representative government cannot be conducted by cabals, or compelled by dead-locks to unpopular measures. While such a policy is successful, representative government is really suspended. But the policy can only be successful while public interest is asleep. We cannot hope to force, through popular instruments, the triumph of unpopular measures. Society must be changed before our social condition can be improved. Sentiments and opinions may be gradually influenced from above ; they cannot be compelled to change by act of Parliament. It is our part to persuade, not to compel, least of all to overreach, which is the most irritating mode of compulsion. A government must be composed out of the existing elements of society ; and the distribution of power in the constitution cannot be permanently different from the distribution of power in society.

The Catholic politician must learn that *politician* is the substantive, *Catholic* the adjective. The consideration he enjoys will depend on the depth of his political powers ; it is only after he is a useful member absolutely, that he can expect to be a useful Catholic member. Any man may deliver a continuous series of protests ; no man who is not of substantive weight will have his protests listened to in the House.

---

## Communicated Articles.

## ROSMINI AND GIOBERTI.\*

It is a discouraging reflection, that the only Italian names in speculative philosophy which have found an echo in the great world since the death of Galuppi, are names which, from well-known circumstances, are not regarded by Catholics themselves with unmixed enthusiasm. It is just possible that a lingering suspicion may still rest on the philosophical opinions of Rosmini; while the very mention of Gioberti is coupled with a natural distrust, and his system (spite of Dr. Brownson) has few admirers amongst us. But I must not be unjust. Rosmini was a saintly man; and if the shadow of an eclipse once passed over him, yet it passed, and left his reputation for holiness, learning, and Catholic loyalty, as glorious as ever. Remembering, to its author's detriment, an error which has been repaired, is as unjust as the most gratuitous suspicion. Besides, the writings of Rosmini, with the known exceptions, have been acquitted of unorthodoxy by the Sacred Congregation; which, in the important office of protecting the faith and morals of the people, can as ill afford to mistake on the side of leniency as on that of severity. With Gioberti, of course, the case is different; but although suspicion may be just, yet our suspicions ought not to make us unjust towards him, or blind to our own interests. As philosophers, both writers must stand on their own merits; for the philosophy of Rosmini is not approved because his writings are acquitted; nor is the philosophy of Gioberti disapproved because his writings are condemned. Both emphatically disclaimed the merit of invention; nor did they invent a philosophy, but revived different phases of the old realism,—made it their own, in impressing upon it the stamp of their individual minds, and clothed it in a modern garb. The object of this revival was a very practical one, viz. to furnish our Catholic youth with arms against the scepticism of the age; and the importance of such an object must be my apology for the present criticism, which, from the very nature of the case, can be of little interest to a large portion of the readers of the *Rambler*.

The philosophy of the present day is of German origin, and has two sides or phases of development,—a subjective side, which regards Necessary Truth as a mere psychological fact, a necessary manner of viewing things inherent in our

\* *Opere inedite di Vincenzo Gioberti*. Publicate per cura di Giuseppe Mas-sari, Torino. M. Chamerot, libraire, Paris.

mental constitution, or, better, our mental constitution itself; and an objective side, which considers Necessary Truth as a reality distinct from the faculty which contemplates it, and as an attribute of Necessary Being, which, under the aspect of the Absolute, is an immediate object of human cognition. The former view of the case would, I hold, if consistently carried out, resolve itself into speculative atheism, and, indeed, has already denied the speculative proofs for the existence of a Sovereign Being; while the latter, as upheld by its German supporters, does not save itself from the blasphemy of pantheism. Both these movements have been respectively represented,—in England by Hamilton, and in France by Cousin: the former accepting the subjective side, and reducing our necessary knowledges to so many mental impotencies; the latter taking up the objective side of the German philosophy, but admitting a pantheistic interpretation of the dogma of creation. Now the Italian school protests against the former, and corrects the latter of these doctrines,—proclaims, against Kant and Hamilton, the essential objectivity of our knowledge; against Schelling and Cousin the doctrine of creation, in its genuine sense, as a fact of philosophy, nay, as a fact of consciousness. It is my object, in the following pages, to examine how far Rosmini and Gioberti have succeeded, by the revival of solid and venerable principles, in their warfare against a false philosophy; and how far also they have impaired their cause by admitting extravagancies which the general voice of philosophers has condemned.

If any man should set himself to examine, and reduce into their last attainable elements, the arguments and assertions of a book, for the purpose of discovering what is the precise nature—so far as such nature is cognisable—of the intellectual process which we call thinking, he will find that to think is to make a judgment; and that reasoning is a series, more or less complicated, of judgments; then, if he examine what is the nature of a judgment, he will find that a judgment is composed of several ideas; and lastly, if he inquire into the origin of these ideas, he will discover that they are themselves the result of judgments. Judgments are composed of ideas; but ideas, in their turn, paradoxical though it may seem, are generated by judgments, as becomes clear on examining any single cognition. For suppose I think of an apple—it is certain that I cannot think of it *without thinking something about it*, or, in the phraseology of the schools, without predicating something of it. I may think of its shape, size, colour, kind, taste; perhaps I think of all these, or perhaps I only think of some of the properties of an apple, abstracting

the others: or, again, by an effort of abstraction, which, however unusual, is perfectly possible, I may think of the apple neither as sweet nor sour, large nor small, pleasant nor agreeable,—nay, I need not think of it as an apple at all, but, after the manner of a child, whose mind is just opening, I may think of it as a *vague indefinite somewhat*. Now, in either of these cases, I have made a judgment, explicit or implicit; and by each judgment my idea of an apple has gained either existence or definiteness. Thus—I have judged that the apple is large, that I may think of it as a large apple; I have judged it sweet, that I may think of it as a sweet apple: at least I have judged that *it is*, for I must think it a *something*, else I do not think at all; since the mind cannot think of nothing, in strict terms, because to think of nothing, in strict terms, is not to think at all. However, although, in the actual state of our knowledge, ideas are generated by judgments, which become in their turn the generators of fresh ideas, yet it would be a gross paradox to assert that this is an ultimate truth: for just “as, in the present state of things, it is true that every bird comes from an egg, and every egg from a bird, and each may be said to be previous to the other; yet, if we go back to the origin of things, there must have been some bird that did not come from any egg, or some egg that did not come from any bird;”\* so it must be said of ideas and judgments; for although, in the actual state of our intellectual being, they are mutually generative of each other, yet there must have been at first some idea which did not originate from any judgment, or some judgment which did not originate from any idea. Which was first, the idea or the judgment? Locke taught that judgments resulted from the combination of the simple ideas got by experience: but Reid showed that a primitive judgment was necessary as the very condition of such experience, and that such a judgment was involved in the very act of perception itself; though how such a judgment could be possible, since, in the actual state of our faculties, a judgment always supposes preëxisting notions, he did not presume to inquire, but referred it to a *natural suggestion*.

Now this brief exposition of the mutual relation of ideas and judgments will enable us to comprehend the respective positions of Rosmini and Gioberti: for the former starts with an idea—*Being in general*; and the latter with a judgment—*Ens creat existentias*. However, we shall see that both these starting-points are ultimately reconcilable, and only seem opposed inasmuch as their respective authors regarded human thought from contrary points of view; for while both writers

\* Reid.

contemplated the origin of thinking, and sought some fundamental fact explanatory of its origin, yet Rosmini inquired what constituted the potentiality, Gioberti what constituted the actuality, of cognition; whereas both are agreed that it is the idea of being which makes the potentiality of thought,\* and that its actuation commences with a judgment;† while, however, they are divided as to the characteristics of the idea of Being on the one hand, and as to the nature of the first judgment on the other. Let us see what are the arguments adduced to support the former position, that the idea of Being is what constitutes the potentiality of human thought: they will be chiefly sought from Rosmini's great work on *The Origin of Ideas*.

To think is to form judgments; but to form judgments is nothing else than to make a certain classification of the objects of thought: as in saying, "the sky is blue," "the orange is round," "the ball is heavy," we thereby place certain objects, the sky, the orange, the ball, within the class-ideas of *blue*, *round*, *heavy*—the particular within the general. From this it will follow that generals must come before particulars in the order of knowledge, as the condition of the possibility of such an act of classification: and how were these generals possible in their turn? Obviously we must carry on the analogy, and suppose them acquired by the same process as the particulars themselves; and if thought be a system of classification, we must presuppose a primitive class as the condition of all classification,—a universal genus, an all-embracing predicate, the source and possibility of all judgment, and consequently of all thought and reasoning. But such a class, genus, and predicate, is the idea of Being in general; for it alone can be a universal predicate, because it is the only attribute predicable of all things in existence,—since, whatsoever differences there be amongst existing things, they all agree in this at least, that they do exist. The idea of Being, then, stands first in the genesis of human cognitions, although it is the most general of all notions; other classes are involved within each other,—the lesser within the wider in extension, and all together within the universal predicate. But is it not a subversion of the natural order to place the general before the particular? In a certain sense, no; for the genera are

\* Gioberti (tom. ii. p. 126): "Se l' intuito fosse solo, l' uomo assorbito dall' idea, non potrebbe conoscerla." Rosmini (vol. iii. p. 208): "L' idea del ente adunque non racchiude un giudizio, ma costituisce la possibilità di tutti i giudizi."

† Rosmini (ib. p. 37): "Primo, dee essere l' idea del ente; poi dee venire la sensazione; in terzo luogo il giudizio che le congiunge:" and Gioberti (ib. p. 137): "Siccome l' uomo non può pensare senza giudicare, non gli è dato di pensare l' idea senza fare un giudizio, la cui significazione è la formola ideale."

founded upon points of resemblance, and the species upon points of difference: but resemblances are observed before differences, as Aristotle teaches, “*Pueri a principio appellat omnes viros patres, posterius determinant unumquemque.*”\* The same author defends the position that universals are prior to particulars in the order of knowledge, if it be a question of the feeble beginnings of intelligence (for certainly in the order of distinct and perfected knowledge we ascend from the particular to the universal): “*Sunt [universalia] primo nobis manifesta et certa confusa magis: posterius autem cognoscimus distinguendo principia et elementa.*”† I may illustrate this view by an analogy. Suppose you observe a man coming towards you, when it is too dark to distinguish objects rightly at any great distance. You would not at once recognise a man, much less would you recognise your friend: you would first distinguish *a somewhat*; then you would distinguish a living being; then you would acknowledge him a man; lastly, you would recognise your friend. Thus it must be with the beginnings of knowledge, which will be naturally confused and indistinct; but, as St. Thomas observes, “*Cognoscere animal indistincte est cognoscere animal inquantum est animal; cognoscere autem animal distincte est cognoscere animal inquantum est animal rationale vel irrationale, quod est cognoscere hominem vel leonem. Prius igitur occurrit intellectui nostro cognoscere animal quam cognoscere hominem;*” or, in other words, universals are before particulars: and the reason is, that “*intellectus est universalium,*”—the intellectual element in every cognition (as every man may examine for himself) is always something universal.‡ Finally, the Angelical Doctor recognises Being in general as first in the order of human cognitions, “*quod primo cadit in intellectu,*” and the condition of all others “*primo quo cognoscitur.*” From none of these statements can we reasonably differ. “*Objectum intellectus est ens vel verum commune*” is a common axiom amongst the scholastics. The mind cannot think of *nothing*. “*Non intelligitur nisi per id quod est;*” and even when we think of nonentities, phantasies, chimeras, it is clear we are only enabled to do so by a kind of mental deception, by which we feign their existence in our mind. “*Non ens non intelligitur nisi per ens.*” But these are truisms. Again, there are no less than sixteen ideas enumerated by Gioberti, each of which has, at some time or other, enjoyed the privilege of being

\* 1 Phys. tex. 5, top. 2.

† Ap. Div. Thom. Summa. Prim. Sec. qu. lxxxv. 3.

‡ Ibid.

considered the “*primum philosophicum*,” besides the idea of Being, viz. the One, the Necessary, the Intelligent, the Intelligible, the Incomprehensible, the Good, the Infinite, the Universal, the Immense, the Eternal, the Absolute Potentiality, the Pure Act and Force, the Cause, the Substance, the Absolute, and the Identical. But none of these are primitive, either in the order of thought or in the order of reality; for they are reducible to the common ratio of Being in general. Likewise the “*Intellectual Principles*,” the “*Laws of Thought*,” and the “*Common Sense*” of modern philosophers: was it that the scholastics were ignorant of the extent of application and paramount importance of such principles, that they did not make them starting-points of speculation, as Kant, Descartes, and Reid did? or was it because they were so well acquainted with them as to perceive their ultimate reason in some other intellectual fact which they did consider primitive? There can be no doubt. Take, for instance, the axiom of Descartes, “*Cogito, ergo sum*,” which, taking M. Cousin’s interpretation of it, is nothing else than a declaration of the law of substances, that every quality demands a subject, or, in other words, “*quod nihili nulla sunt attributa*,” which latter mode of stating it makes it apparently a mode or application of the principle of contradiction, that nothing can be and not be at the same time: but the principle of contradiction itself is not primitive, being carried back by the best logicians into the principle of identity, which latter looks awkward when put into the words *whatever is, is*, only because it is a twisted and clumsy way of stating what we shall call the principle of intellection, “*objectum intellectus est ens*.” Or take, again, the principle of causation, that “*whatsoever happens must have a cause*,” which is clearly a mode of the common axiom, “*ex nihilo nihil fit*,” but the axiom, “*ex nihilo nihil fit*,” inasmuch as it is a mere declaration of the intrinsic incompatibility of being and nothing, is again *the principle of contradiction*, or better, the principle of intellection, *in disguise*; so, indeed, are all other laws of thought and principles of certainty, as is shown by Rosmini and Balmez after—St. Thomas!

Since, then, there is no conceivable form of cogitation which is not ultimately resolvable into the idea of Being, our authors (for I shall consider Rosmini and Gioberti together, so far as they are agreed) concluded that this very idea is in the human mind the *à-priori* constitutive of intelligence, the Light of Reason; which is subjective, indeed, inasmuch as the mind uses it as an organ of thought, but objective inasmuch as it is a reality distinct from the mind which uses it. Set

midway between the world of thought and the world of sense, it shines before the mind and renders it intelligent, upon the sensible object and renders it intelligible; and lastly, is, of itself and by itself, in the first instance, an object of intellectual intuition. However, they admitted that the form of knowledge thus presented in the first intuition was vague and undetermined, wanting the empirical element to particularise and concretise it,\* since the idea of Being, while it is on the one hand the widest, is on the other the most empty of conceptions. To the data which I have just laid before the reader, and upon which it is attempted to raise this rather startling conclusion, I have no objections to offer: to the conclusion itself I cannot subscribe in unmodified terms;—I can neither accept it in itself, nor admit that it is rightly deduced from the premises; neither do I see that it is necessary to the support of the realistic position of which Rosmini and Gioberti have been the modern apostles. But before stating my own view upon the matter, let us see what results, even according to the concessions of the ablest supporters of what is called the Pure Intuition, when the intellectual light strives to emancipate itself from its natural conditions, and, divorced from all empirical alloy, to make itself its own object, “sine conversione ad phantasmata.” “Oculus mentis,” says St. Bonaventure, “assuefactus ad tenebras entium et phantasmata sensibilibum, cum ipsam lucem summi esse intuetur, videtur sibi nihil videre”†—*it seems to see nothing!* Rosmini declares that the idea of Being, considered purely, *i.e.* non-empirically, is vague, undetermined, general, a mere possibility, the last of abstractions, the negation of all actuality;‡ while Gioberti, who discarded Rosmini’s “Ens in genere” as an abstraction, substituting the real for the merely ideal Absolute of that author, affirms that, in the Pure Intuition, our cognition is vague, undetermined, confused, incomprehensible, scattered abroad, “without the mind’s being able to stay it, rightly to appropriate it, or have distinct consciousness of it.”§ But Schelling, to whom the doctrines of Gioberti bear in many points a striking affinity,||—saving always the German’s pantheism, of which Gioberti has given to the world the ablest modern refutation,—Schelling went farther; for while Gioberti af-

\* Rosmini, tom. iii. passim; Gioberti, tom. ii. p. 126 et passim.

† S. Bonaventure, *Itinerarium*, ap. Gioberti, notes, vol. ii. p. 435.

‡ Rosmini, tom. iii. p. 17 et passim.

§ Gioberti, tom. ii. p. 17; ditto, p. 12.

|| Are not, for instance, the two *cycles* of the egress and regress of existences from and towards the Absolute a reminiscence of Schelling’s attractive and expansive forces?

firms that the intuition is of indistinct consciousness, the German places it as a distinct faculty *outside of consciousness altogether*, and looks down with philosophical contempt upon the vulgar, who still remain involved in the conditions of consciousness, unable to elevate themselves to his lofty standpoint, "where there exists no longer distinction of subject and object—no contrast of knowledge and existence; where all difference is lost in mere indifference—all plurality in simple unity; where the intuition itself—Reason and the Absolute—are identified."\* This is what Sir William Hamilton calls "*pitching the Absolute too high*;" and I cannot but regard as suicidal to the cause of philosophy a system which builds up the ontological at the expense of the psychological element of human knowledge. While affirming, with St. Thomas, the Absolute in our cognitions, we should own that the Absolute only exists *to us* inasmuch as we are conscious of it; and that any blow aimed at consciousness is aimed also at the Absolute: they stand and fall together—at least as far as philosophy is concerned. But to return to our authors.

I have said that Gioberti objected against the Rosminian idea of Being in general, that it was an abstraction; and why? Because Rosmini had declared that his idea was not an idea of any actual existence, since all actual existence has its modes or determinations; for either it is matter or spirit, animate or inanimate, mineral or vegetable. In short, the idea ceases to be *Being in general*, and sinks into mere mode of being; becoming particularised by the very fact of its application to actual existences. Since, therefore, the idea of being could not be considered, according to Rosmini, as the idea of actual existence, there remained one only alternative (but a fatal one), that it was the idea of *possible existence*! But Gioberti saw that an idea of existence which was the idea of *nothing existing* would prove a stumbling-block to the minds of his countrymen, who are particularly clear-headed in these speculative matters; and that whereas the passage from the actual to the possible is easily explained, yet the *vice-versâ* process would render the contemplation of pure being akin to, if not identical with, the contemplation of nothing! He laid down, therefore, that the idea of Being in general, which he considered to be the object of the Pure Intuition, was not the abstraction of Being from existence, not the Possible, but the Real; nor yet the empirical real of the senses, but the Absolute,—God Himself under the character of Absolute Being. This was a return to the teaching of Plato, St. Bonaventure, and Malebranche, which had been

\* Hamilton, Discuss. p. 20.

prepared by Rosmini himself; for if the idea of Being be the *à-priori* element in knowledge, that element is always something absolute, necessary, and universal, as was declared in the Rosminian philosophy;\* but the Absolute, and all phases of the Absolute, may be summed up under the general ratio of Being, as we have seen. The absurdity was thus removed, but not the difficulty which the doctrine presents to the minds even of the majority of educated thinkers; for although the idea of Being was no longer the abstraction of Being from existence, but the Real Himself, yet when Gioberti comes to state, in human language, the stupendous fact of the first intuition, he relapses into the vague and unsatisfactory language of Rosmini. Now I venture to ask, Supposing that knowledge be possible abstracted from empirical conditions, and that apart from these conditions Being be offered in the first intuition, why should its contemplation be vague, dreamy, and indistinct? Certainly it is a principle of logic that the extension and intension of a conception are in the inverse ratio of each other; or the greater the extension, the narrower the intension, and *vice versâ*. Thus, while the conception 'animal' is wider than the conception 'lion,' yet it has less graphic power; for 'animal' only implies organised life, but 'lion' denominates a particular nature, and conveys an image to the mind. Yet although, when we say 'animal,' we mean less than when we say 'lion,' yet we know distinctly what we mean; so, when we say 'being,' we mean less (as far as descriptive power goes) than is meant by any other notion; but we know distinctly what we mean. True, St. Thomas calls the wider conceptions indistinct; but he means that they are indistinct, not in what they actually affirm, but in what they do not affirm; an important distinction. "*Cognoscere animal indistincte est cognoscere animal in quantum est animal*"—and in no other respect. But, in what they actually affirm, the wider conceptions are just as distinct as the narrower: 'plant' is a distinct idea, 'mineral' is a distinct idea, 'substance' is a distinct idea, and 'Being,' the widest of all, is a distinct idea. Why, then, is the Pure Intuition indistinct? Because it attempts the divorce of the noetic from the empirical element, which, in the actual state of our knowledge, are necessarily conjoined. St. Thomas himself, as I have said, asserted the Absolute in knowledge; yet not as the actuality, when taken by itself, but as the *potentiality* of cognition: "*Necesse est dicere quod anima humana omnia cognoscat in rationibus æternis; per quarum participationem omnia cognoscimus. Ipsum enim lumen intellectuale quod*

\* Rosmini, tom. iii. p. 45.

est in nobis nihil aliud est quam quædam participata similitudo luminis increati, in quo continentur rationes æternæ.”\*  
 “We see with a light which is not ours,” as its chief opponent has correctly stated the doctrine; “and human reason itself is a revelation of God in man.” This consoling doctrine does not rest for proof on a mysterious intuition, outside of consciousness, as Schelling taught, but on the testimony of consciousness itself; and I would abjure both the intuition and the absolute of the German school,—the former as beyond consciousness, and consequently beyond philosophy; and the latter, inasmuch as it proclaims the supreme identification of thought and being, absolute and contingent,—as contradictory and blasphemous. But I accept instead (with the proviso of the “*conversio ad phantasmata*”) both the intuition and the absolute of St. Augustine, St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas, Fenelon, and Bossuet; in whose doctrine the absolute is an object of consciousness, and as such both a fact of consciousness and distinct from it, apprehended yet not comprehended by it. Hence

“this Intellectual Being,  
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity;”†

and hence there is more in our conception of the infinite than is given in the indefinite, more in our conception of eternity than is given in that of time, more, in fine, always in the ideal than is given in experience. Give up the Absolute, and you must fall back at once upon Sir W. Hamilton’s position, which sinks philosophy into a mere methodical nescience. But this Light of the Absolute, I maintain, cannot of itself form an object of pure intuition: and while it is the organ, as it were, with which we see, it can only see itself reflected in the objects of thought. For it is with cognition as with bodily vision: that which is called the scene or object of vision is not the result of the visual organ alone, or of the object alone, but of both in conjunction; and that which is called the cognition is not the result of the cognitive faculty, or of the object alone, but of both in conjunction. This teaching of the reflected‡ in contradistinction to the pure intuition, not only puts philosophy in harmony with the common sense of mankind, but is actually the doctrine, I could almost say of the majority of the realistic, or, as it is now the fashion to speak, of the ontological school.

\* *Summ. Pr. Sc.* q. lxxxv.

† *Paradise Lost*, book ii.

‡ Let not this word be understood in the sense of Locke’s “reflection,” as something representational and mediate. Necessary truth is immediately the object of cognition: not, however, in itself, though it is a reality in itself; but only as asserted, referred, or thought of *things*.

It is agreed upon by all philosophers of the present day that there is more in the principle, "the same thing cannot be and not be at the same time," than is given in experience—its necessity, for instance; yet put it to any man (philosophers excepted, who are bound to hold the contrary by their theory), and he will tell you that he cannot think it without referring it to things actual or possible, nor assert it without putting it into words or signs expressive of such things. There is a sense, therefore, in which we can agree with Aristotle's chief protest against Plato, that ideas apart from things are chimeras; yet Plato himself, the father of realism, never admitted the possibility of an unmixed intuition of the Noema itself,\* such as was contemplated by certain German speculators; but he taught his disciples to look forward to death, which, loosing them from the prison of the body, should disperse the shadows of the phenomenal, and reveal before their gaze the Supreme Intellectual Fruition, the Pure Intuition—the Good, the Just, the Beautiful—the Being unsullied by all empirical clouds. Even the words of St. Bonaventure might, without great violence, admit of the same interpretation; while John Gerson, who loved, and constantly studied the "*Itinerarium*," has modified their import: "*Ens reale*," he says, "*non potest constituere scientiam aliquam, si non consideretur in suo esse objectali, relato ad ipsum Ens reale, sicut ad primarium et principale objectum.*"† Such was the teaching also of Cardinal Cusanus, from whom, through Giordano Bruno (if we may trust Sir W. Hamilton), came the whole German speculation on the Absolute; and it was also the distinct doctrine of Bruno himself.‡ Neither was the pure ideal contemplated by such writers as Descartes and Leibnitz (the latter of whom is expressly classed by Gioberti in the list of great ontological thinkers) in their doctrine of *innate ideas*; for these ideas, as explained by themselves, are identical with the *à-priori* conceptions of Kant, which, rid of their empirical conditions, resolve themselves into a bare potentiality in order to cognition. "*Sed cum adverterem quasdam in me esse cogitationes, quæ non ab objectis externis, nec a voluntatis meæ determinatione procedebant, sed a sola cogitandi facultate quæ in me est, . . . illas innatas vocavi, eodem sensu quo dicimus generositatem esse quibusdam familiis innatam.*"§ Leibnitz speaks to the same purpose: "*C'est ainsi que les idées et les vérités nous sont inées, comme des inclinations, des dispositions, et des habitudes, ou*

\* Archer Butler.

† Ap. Hamilton, *Discuss.* Appendix 1 (B).

‡ Ibid.

§ Descartes, *Epist.* part. ep. 99.

des vérités naturelles.”\* To conclude this portion of my task: I must admit an intellectual Divine Light in man, which is the potentiality of the first judgment; but which cannot, for that very reason, make itself purely its own object, and can only see itself reflected in the objects of thought. Devoid of all cognisable characteristics in itself, it is characterised by union with its object, as Being in general, after the manner described by St. Thomas. With this modification, which is not a vital one, after all, I accept of the first term of Gioberti’s formula. According to this view, thought commences with the judgment, of which I will now treat.

The primitive judgment, or first actuation of human thought, results, according to both our authors, from the synthesis of the noetic and empirical elements, which are found united in all our *actual* cognitions.† The noetic element is nothing else than the intellectual Light, which may always be recognised by its characteristics of *necessity* and *universality*; the empirical and sensational element is characterised, on the other hand, by *mutability*, *contingency*, *variety*. Both these elements, with St. Thomas, I have already reduced under the common ratio of Being; but I must advertise my reader that Gioberti, like Plato, disdains to dignify with the appellation of Being the changeable elements of the empirical world: the Absolute Himself is the only Being; while the phenomenal world of the senses offers only *existences*,—a suitable word, because its etymology (*ex-stare*) expresses very accurately the nature of the Contingent as having the reason of its reality in somewhat else; thus distinguishing it from the Absolute, that which *is* by the necessity of its own nature. This proviso may be necessary, as it is natural that in propounding our author’s system I may sometimes find myself adopting his language. But to return from this short digression: since there is no possible phase of actual thought which is not resolvable into these two elements of the Absolute and Contingent, the Noetic and Empirical, it follows that the primitive judgment effective of their union is a complete scheme of cogitation, involving a process which is repeated, in divers forms, throughout the whole domain of thought. That judgment, according to Rosmini, will be “I am,” or “it is,” accordingly as Being were predicated respectively of the subject or object. Nor is there any radi-

\* Leibnitz, *Nouveaux Essais*, Preface.

† Rosmini, iii. p. 78. Gioberti admits a non-empirical judgment, “*l’ente è*,” in the very intuition of the Absolute — *Giudizio primario Divino*; but this is not the actual state of thought which begins with the formula, *ens creat existentias*. See tom. ii. pp. 164, 5.

cal defect in the judgment thus declared; but it wants analysis to bring out in strong relief the copula—for copula there must be in every judgment: moreover it wants what logicians call conversion, that is, the subject and predicate must change places; for the universal is before the particular, as St. Thomas has convinced me, in *the order of intuition*; and if the terms have become inverted, it is *the order of reflection* which has inverted them. Having been submitted to these two analytical processes, the primitive judgment forthwith displays itself in these terms: *Ens—Creat—Existentias*. We seem to find ourselves once more in the region of mists and darkness; but we must not be startled at the sound of words. The statement that we have an intuition of the Absolute was strange at first, until we knew its meaning, viz. that there is given in the human mind an immediate perception of necessary truth—a doctrine which any common clown might be made to understand with a little painstaking: so now the copula of creation, the assertion that we have an intuition of creation, will not be met with such repugnance on our part when we have mastered its meaning; at least we shall hesitate before we reject it, as declared by Gioberti himself: “Putting aside fancies, then” (he had been speaking of gross conceptions of creation, such as that existences were made out of nothing, as though out of some vague substance),—“putting aside fancies, then,—in what manner can one think creation? In one manner only; that is, by thinking of existence as having the preëssential reason of its reality, not *in itself*, but in Being (the Absolute) which quickens and fully penetrates it. Now we have shown, and each one may easily perceive for himself, that in the conception of existence are contained three elements: 1st, defect of intrinsic reason of its own reality; 2dly, the concomitant intuition of such reason in preëssential Being; 3dly, the nexus of Being as cause with the existent as effect. It is clear, then, that with the sole notion of existence man has the greatest information about creation which can be had.”\* “Surely I have met with these doctrines before!” the reader will exclaim. The very conception of contingent existence is of somewhat which exists indeed, but by no intrinsical necessity; so that we can think its non-existence without repugnance: and whereas the definition of the Absolute is “that which must be,” that of the Contingent, on the other hand, is “what is equally indifferent towards existence or non-existence,”—*indifferens ad essendum vel non essendum*: wherefore, if it exist at all, it must exist by virtue of an extrinsic cause, and not a contingent cause

\* Gioberti, tom. ii. pp. 202, 3.

(it is the Contingent I am accounting for) but an absolute cause—God: and, moreover, since the order of thought follows the order of reality, we can only *think* the Contingent to exist, inasmuch as it is caused, or in relation with, the Absolute. When, then, Gioberti asserts that the human mind is “a spectator of the creative act,” he does not mean that it sees the mysterious commencement of existences out of nothing. Absurd! His copula, *creat*, is nothing more than a conception of the correlation of Absolute and Contingent, as just stated; and which is given, not in a separate intuition, but in the intuition of the Absolute and Contingent themselves, in which such correlation is implied, as may be discovered by analysis. We shall see presently that there is nothing new in this doctrine. In the mean time, let me satisfy an objection which will readily occur to the thoughtful reader. “It is true,” some one will urge, “that in the actual state of our knowledge, refined as it is by reflex processes, the notion of the Contingent involves the notion of the Absolute as cause; and if Gioberti’s copula means nothing more than the correlation of these terms, we cannot hesitate in accepting it. But why regard it as intuitive? why not attribute it to the refinements of the reflective process itself?” Because it is a law which has almost an axiomatic evidence, when properly understood, that nothing is given in reflection which is not given substantially in intuition; or, in other words, reflection, as its name implies, is not a faculty *presentative*, but only *re-presentative* of truth, reflecting what has been substantially posited by the intuition. Gioberti was not the inventor or first propounder of this law; for we can trace it to Durandus at least, and it has been since recognised by others, and amongst them, *mirabile dictu*, by John Locke, whose whole theory of knowledge, both as to intellectuals and sensibles, was representational! To propound a truth is one thing; another to recognise its full import, and remain consistently faithful to it: and the latter is the merit of Gioberti.

Creation, then, is the nexus between the Absolute and Contingent: and here we see the answer to a celebrated problem in the realistic philosophy; for the scholastic realists, when asked by their adversaries the nominalists, “what was the connection between the sensible order of things and the transcendental world of ideas,” generally replied, after Plato, “*Participation*.” Sensible things partake of the nature of ideas; and what they borrow from them is the *form*, which qualifies a thing, or assigns to it its mode of being. But St. Augustine knew a better answer, of which the Giobertinian synthesis is the systematic exposition: “*Ecce sunt cœlum et*

terra: clamant quod facta sint: mutantur enim atque variantur. Quidquid autem factum non est et tamen est, non est in eo quidquam quod ante non erat, quod est mutari atque variari. . . . . Tu ergo, Domine, fecisti ea, qui pulcher es, pulchra sunt enim; qui bonus es, bona sunt enim; qui es, sunt enim. Nec ita pulchra sunt, nec ita bona sunt, nec ita sunt, sicut tu, conditor eorum; cui comparata, nec pulchra sunt, nec bona sunt, nec sunt. Scimus hæc, gratias tibi; et scientia nostra scientiæ tuæ comparata ignorantia est.”\* The reader may smile to see a philosophical problem answered by a truism: but in philosophy, as in a still higher order, men say, “Behold here, behold there!” while the truth is within them, could they but recognise it. I repeat, the beautiful words of St. Augustine contain the elements which Gioberti merely exhibits in a systematic form. There is the invariable Absolute, the Good, the Beautiful, the Being, contrasted with the shifting phenomenal Contingent, which *is not* compared with the Absolute. Creation is the relation which connects them; and what better language to express the intuitiveness of creation than the words “clamant quod facta sint”? Nor does it avail to object that these remarks are applicable only to the order of reality; for although St. Augustine speaks of the real order, yet the order of thought follows the order of reality, as I just now observed: hence, if creation connects the Absolute with the Contingent in reality, it connects them in thought—in our judgments, which rehearse the reality; so that when we judge that a thing is good, wise, or beautiful, we mean that its existence is effectuated by the Absolute Goodness, Wisdom, and Beauty. But, it will be replied, why, then, am I unconscious of such a meaning in my judgments? You are not unconscious: that would be an insuperable objection, I admit; but you have not sufficiently analysed the facts of consciousness, or you would recognise that the idea of cause (and I have shown that there is an idea of the Absolute Cause) is implied in the notion of the Contingent itself; and hence it comes to be a necessary axiom that “whatsoever exists must have a cause,”—save the Cause of causes Himself, for to assert it of Him would be equivalent to a denial of causation altogether, as I have proved elsewhere.† Conceiving, then, the notion of the contingently wise, good, and beautiful, you imply the Absolute Wisdom, Goodness, and Beauty; for *nihil dat quod non habet*. Again, all this seems the work of reflection; but the human mind cannot create, and the representative faculty compounds or analyses the simple materials which come by the presentative faculty.

\* Conf. xi. 4.

† “Philosophy of the Absolute.” *Rambler*, Sept. 1858.

Then comes the temptation to imagine that, whilst we are merely compounding or unfolding simple notions, we are actually creating objects of thought. We must dispel this illusion.

But Gioberti had a higher aim in exhibiting the analysis of cogitation than its mere analysis; and the object which he proposed was no other than the refutation of pantheism—the most specious error that ever warred with God's truth. He saw, that if it can be shown that creation is given in intuition, after the manner above described, the pantheistic position may be refuted by a more forcible argument than those heretofore in vogue amongst us, which, however good and just they be in themselves, unless recast and adapted to meet certain modern phases of the error, are almost useless. The venerable Aristotelian argument—that “*if we acknowledge only one substance, of which all other existences are simple modes, we shall be forced to reconcile contradictories*”—will not therefore become obsolete, and be thrown aside like an old-fashioned weapon unsuited to the purposes of modern warfare. No: truth never becomes obsolete or superannuated; but a principle sometimes lies idle against an error which it had once successfully combated, being thrown out by the mere vicissitudes of intellectual warfare, until some fresh principle comes to its aid, points its application, and renders it once more an efficient weapon. Such is the case with the Aristotelian argument against pantheism. All modern pantheists, Hegel alone excepted, have felt its force, and endeavoured to elude its application. You object that “if pantheism be asserted, contradictories must be reconciled; but the reconciliation of contradictories is absurd; and pantheism must consequently be rejected.” It is answered by an *argumentum ad hominem*, that “if the dogma of the Trinity in Unity be asserted, contradictories must be reconciled; and therefore, *pari ratione*, the dogma of the Trinity in Unity must be rejected.” But you persist, “The dogma of the Blessed Trinity does not involve the absurdity of a reconciliation of contradictories, since to be reconciled they must be predicated of the same thing in the same respect; but we do not say that the Divinity is Three in the same respect that He is one, but that He is Three in one respect, and One in another.” “Neither do I,” replies the pantheist, “assert that the Absolute is finite in the same sense that He is Infinite; that He is many in the same sense that He is One; nor, in fine, that He is evil [*indulge, pie lector*] in the same sense that He is Good: but whereas all existences are contained originally in the Deity in a state of pure potentiality (*natura naturans*), He does not

create out of nothing (which is simply unintelligible), but (which is at least intelligible) by that spontaneous activity which belongs to every being as being, He develops Himself, unfolds His own nature; and the result is the universe as we behold it (*natura naturata*). The contradictories, therefore, are predicated in the pantheistic system of two distinct states and aspects of the Absolute, and not of the same state or aspect." So that the absurdity seems avoided—but is not. And let us do our opponents the justice to acknowledge that such writers as Spinoza and Schelling sought to deliver themselves, so to speak, from their own pantheism; and by abstracting and distinguishing as much as possible between the Absolute in His developed and undeveloped state, to exhibit the Divinity as a pure supra-mundane Being, to save the moral order, and to mitigate the horrible blasphemy of their system: but in vain. There was only one means of effecting what they desired, and that philosophical pride forbade,—to bow down the reason, and accept the dogma of creation, however inscrutable. That dogma accepted, of course they would no longer be pantheists; for with creation, in the genuine sense of the word, pantheism cannot subsist. But what is creation in the genuine sense of the word? "It is identical with absolute causation," answers Gioberti.\* True; and the notion of absolute causation, when properly developed, will prove a sufficient refutation of pantheism: but it wants development; for while the pantheist admits that in the very notion of causation is involved the idea of an absolute cause, yet the whole question turns on the manner of production,—whether this be by an effectuation of something *ab extra* previously non-existent, or by a mere process of development, such as is witnessed in secondary causes, *e. g.* light from the sun, a plant from its seed. What is it that forbids us to choose the latter and pantheistic process as the right one? Our *à-priori* conception of the Absolute as that which is necessarily contrasted with the Contingent, which is *nothing* of its own nature, and must therefore be brought into existence by the Absolute. This fundamental distinction posited between the two orders, the Aristotelian argument becomes once more effectual, and may be used as an aggressive weapon in demolishing our adversaries' position, while Gioberti's is used for the construction of our own. For, can then the Contingent exist in the Deity in a state of potentiality? It cannot; since the potentiality which creates things is the Absolute Himself. Where, then, is the Contingent? It is not: you have destroyed the Contingent in the endeavour to identify it with

\* tom ii. p. 172.

the Absolute: or else, the potentiality which creates things is the Contingent itself in a state of potentiality; but where then is the Absolute? Choose your horn of this dilemma; or reconcile its contradictory terms, and commit the absurd.

Now there is nothing substantially new in Gioberti's argument against pantheism. The best, perhaps the only sufficient, arguments are those based upon our notions of the Absolute and Contingent, of which Gioberti's is one; but the importance of this kind of argument was seen by all the old writers. What, then, is his merit? It is his system which gives his argument its peculiar value; for, insisting that we immediately *conceive* the Absolute, *perceive* the Contingent, and that creation is immediately implied as their relation, his argument was now hardly to be called an argument, but a something stronger,—an appeal to the facts of consciousness itself; since that which is immediately the object of conception or perception is an immediate object of consciousness. But the boldest sceptic never denied, or rather never professedly denied, the facts of consciousness; but their scepticism consisted in their account of such facts being at variance with the instinctive persuasions of humanity. The reader, therefore, will perceive the importance of making creation a fact of consciousness; for if he can prove his point—and I think he can—the pantheistic system has received a mortal wound. Would it had come from a better hand! Let this, however, be our consolation, that the arrows with which he has slain our foe were plucked from the quivers of the great and glorious among the children of the Church. From St. Bonaventure, St. Augustine, and Gerson, he derived the intuition of the Absolute: the realistic doctors of the middle ages anticipated him, as they anticipated Reid and Hamilton in the important doctrine of the intuition of the Contingent; while St. Augustine taught in all but its systematic form the intuitiveness of creation. But I speak of the general character of his teaching; for I am aware that, in matters of detail, he borrowed from other sources.

And here I must draw my criticism to a conclusion. It has only touched the mere surface of the two systems it proposed to exhibit; but if it has disarmed any unfounded prejudices, it has fully satisfied the object I had in view. On the other hand, if I have been unsuccessful in reconciling my readers even to this modified acceptance of the Italian modern philosophy, I shall be quite satisfied if it provoke a more successful treatment, or even discussion, of subjects which are in these times of immense importance to Catholicism.

## THE CAPTIVE'S KEEPSAKE.

I CAN remember the time when visitors to prisons would seldom return without some little memorials of the ingenuity and kill-time industry of the languishing captives,—some rough wooden carving, some plaited straw, some picture, some specimen of curiously small handwriting; for from these depressed bodies and sorrowful souls we must not expect exhibitions of high art. I have tried to secure some such memorials from the prisons of Elizabeth's days, and the Catholics shut up there. The search has been tolerably successful; not that I have found any striking specimens of art, but time has preserved some few examples of poetry which at least came from the heart, and which was probably often elaborated for the purpose of seeming to employ the enforced idleness of the cell.

The Catholic prisoners of those days were generally men of education and of some standing in society; country gentlemen, squires of manors, who had been reported as crooked in religion to the Council by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and had been sent up to London, and thrown into some of the many prisons that were then filled with Catholics. Out of prison, perhaps, their lives had not been much more free than in it; perpetually playing at hide-and-seek with the queen's officers; unable to settle down to any fixed employment; with time for nothing except their religion, and for matters which, in other circumstances, would have appeared to them the idleness and pastimes of life, they were forced to turn dancing-masters, and teachers of music, like the French *émigrés*, or to spend store of thought on verses which sound more laborious than natural. They are forced,

“in spite  
Of nature and their stars, to write.”

They indited pieces of verse, and sent them as keepsakes to one another. Disraeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, has printed a very touching letter and copy of verses written by Chideock Titchbourne, one of the Babington conspirators, to his wife on the eve of his execution. There is a letter in the *Rambler* for August 1857, from *Stephanus Captivus* to Thomas Pounes, thanking him for his *golden cordial comfort*, and sending two pieces of Latin verse,—“a sweet delectable hymn of the Cross, and a doleful song of the nightingale touching Christ's passion,”—for him to clothe in a “new English livery.” Champion's friends rhymed about him. Henry

Walpole, Vallenger, and the ballad-writers, used their "paper, ink, and pen, and called their wits to counsel what to say" in his cause. His fellow-priests bewailed him in verse, and conveyed consolation to each other in hymns and spiritual songs, one of which has been published by Strype. They confess that it was not the inspiration of Helicon that drove them to write:

" Now I will conclude ;  
And you, renowned confessors, do request  
In humble sort, my homely metres rude  
To take in gree, and construe to the best ;  
*For zeal, not skill*, did make me take my pen,  
To stir myself by stirring other men."

Father Southwell's poetry all bears the impression of this external necessity ; he writes poetry, not merely because he is a poet, not as if poetry was his highest function, but because he is cut off from all other recreations, and often from all other employments. Francis Tregan, who protected Cuthbert Mayne, the "protomartyr of the Seminaries," and who forfeited his liberty and his estates for his charity, was another of those who solaced the dreary years of captivity with music and song. A sonnet of his is preserved in Verstegan's *Restitution of decayed Intelligence*, Antwerp, 1605, and some of his music in the Cambridge Ms. called *Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Books*, where we find "Tregan's ground," his "Pavana dolorosa," a kind of mournful minuet, and a "Pavana chromatica" of his wife, Mrs. Catherine Tregan, Lord Stourton's daughter. Another Catholic, Richard Stanihurst, a pupil of Campion, wrote several pieces of poetry, and translated some of Virgil into English hexameters ; his verses are still worth reading for their rough English, *e. g.*

" But the Queen in mean while, with carks quandary deep anguished,  
Her wound fed by Venus, with fire-bait smouldered, is hookèd ;  
The wight's doughty manhood, leagued with gentility noble,  
His words fitly placed, with his heavenly phisgnomy pleasing,  
March through her heart," &c.

One of the most noteworthy of these memorials of imprisonment is contained in a Ms. in the State-Paper Office, which a few years ago was numbered Dom. Eliz. 1582, no. 58. It is a translation of F. Zara's account of the martyrdom of Peter Elcius, published at Cologne in 1582, followed by a long poem in two parts,—the first containing a review of "Fox the martyr-maker," the second an exhortation and comfort to the Catholics in prison. It is dedicated to "my loving brother Mr. F.," apparently Mr. Francis Tregan, who certainly "finds himself touched" in the poem. The epistle dedicatory con-

cludes in the following edifying strain: "Let us and our company bear the burden of all persecution courageously. If we consider how Saul in poor estate was most virtuous, and in prosperity most vicious; how David demeaned himself towards him in his misery, and how to Urias in his jollity; how friendly Pharaoh's butler was to Joseph in prison, and how unmindful in his liberty,—here is small cause why we should wish our case otherwise than it is."

I will not quote any of the criticisms contained in the challenge to Fox the martyr-monger, though the end contains some vigorous lines; as when the writer speaks of the Indies, and the other new spheres of missionary labour,

"Where cannibals of saints have eaten more  
Than all the pack within thy pelting store;"

for Protestantism then had no Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and no Anglican Bishop went out to New Zealand to be regaled at a native feast where there was cold missionary on the sideboard. The martyrdoms of the Indies were not such as Fox would have chosen to record, nor would our author produce them as testimonies to the Protestant martyrologist,

"Sith distance makes thee dainty of belief."

But I will quote the conclusion of the part addressed to the "Confessors" in prison, because it contains a summary of the sufferings of the English Catholics of the period (about 1582-85), so carefully executed, that a moderate amount of industry would enable a man to trace the allusions of every half line, and to appropriate them to the persons in the mind of the writer. I have done so only in a superficial manner, because to do it thoroughly would require more time than I can give, and more space than I can take.

"Though you be stayed and searched in every port,  
Received of friends and kin with sorry cheer;  
Though you be cited like the sinful sort,  
And summonèd with terror to appear;  
Though law and lawless men do reeve your wealth,  
And stink of prisons do confound your health:

Though you be forced from place to place to fly,  
By pursuivants pursued, by spies bewrayed;  
In woods and caves though hungry, cold, you lie,  
In doubt and dread, you shall be reste and stayed;  
Though you be drawn (with death) from sickly beds,  
Like perjured folks, bear papers on your heads:

Though to their churches you be borne by force,  
And wondered at, and made the railing-stocks  
Of pulpit parleres void of all remorse,  
More proud than peacocks, learned less than blocks;

Though you be brought in presence to dispute,  
All void of helps, yea, forcèd to be mute :

Of famine sharp although you feel the smart,  
Be hanged for rogues, and burnèd through the ear,  
And in the streets be whippèd at a cart ;  
Though gyves and racks your limbs do gall and tear ;  
Though bedlams bedless make you lie on ground ;  
Though cold, though dead and rotten you be found :

Though you be forced to ransom life and land  
For favouring facts and men you never knew,  
When laws severe themselves, uprightly scanned,  
Would have both quitted them and also you ;  
Though you be penned in prisons close by night,  
Whilst others wed the wife is yours by right :

Though you, my priests, for jubilees past date,  
Receive the death which traitors ought to have,  
And those which are of worshipful estate—  
For that to you they entertainment gave—  
Constrained now in deep distress do lie,  
Through loss of goods, and lands, and liberty ;

And though their wives with child are forced to go  
From house to house in ugly shade of night,  
Their shurtless babes all helpless left in woe,  
Refused of friends in such distressed plight ;  
And though their nearest kin are in disgrace,  
Who for their childbirth do allow them place :

Though underground such men be laid in gyves,  
And fed with stinted fare of brown-bread crusts,  
Which had been begged from door to door for thieves,  
Debarred of water fresh to drink their lusts,  
With guiltless friends and servants by their side,  
For them in prison judged always to bide :

Although your husbands do procure your care,  
And parents do renounce you to be theirs ;  
Although your wives to bring your life in snare,  
And brethren false, affright you full of fears ;  
And though your children seek to see your end,  
In hope your goods with thriftless mates to spend :

On pillories although you leese your ears,  
Enjoined to seven years duress close besides ;  
With dogs though you be bated like to beeves,  
And made like fools coolestaffe steeds to ride ;  
Though you be termèd mad, and bound in bands,  
And whippèd to death by preachers' bloody hands :

Though misreports with slander seek your shame,  
And queans be brought within your beds to lie,  
And bear of cursed coinerers the name,  
Arraigned for rapes, in dread and doubt to die ;  
Though witness false as traitors stop your breath,  
As all the world may witness by your death :—

Though all these griefs, I say, and thousands more,  
 You guiltless for your faith are forced to bear,  
 Yet you of comfort sweet shall have such store,  
 Through fervent prayer, as shall allay your fear.  
 My arm is now as long as e'er it was,  
 The fault is yours if it come not to pass."

The circumstances detailed in the first and second of the above stanzas were too common to need any particular instances to illustrate them. The fifth line of the second stanza seems to refer to William, the son of Sir Robert Tyrwhit,\* who, for having heard Mass at his sister's wedding, was dragged to the Tower, though he was in such a high fever that the physicians declared he was a dead man if he was moved: he died within two days. The last line may refer to Campion, who was made to ride through London with a paper in his hat, inscribed, "Campion, the seditious Jesuit." Dragging the prisoners to church was a common proceeding; Challoner† gives an account of some of them being "dragged into the hall of York Castle, and there forcibly detained to hear Protestant sermons once a-week for the space of one year or thereabouts." The preachers were sometimes sufficiently contented with their performance to make them publish it. Bishop Kennett preserves us the title of a book, "The first part of a sermon wherein is confuted sundry gross heresies which the Jesuits, Seminaries, and other the Pope's scholars do hold. Preached at the Tower, *in their presence*, 7 Maii 1581, by John Keltridge; with a second sermon against the Jesuits in the Tower, 21 Maii 1581, and an epistle to the Jesuits, dat. Lond. June 10, 1581."‡ The two last lines of this stanza may refer to Campion's disputations in the Tower in August, September, and October 1581, when the four disputants were "sitting at a table and having their certain books about them;" and "right opposite, upon a stool, was set Mr. Campion, Jesuit, having nothing but his Bible;" and they only allowed him to answer, not to question, or to object; and they silenced him with brutal threats when he grew inconvenient. The fourth stanza may relate to Alexander Briant, "who was for some days kept without food till he was nearly dead, after which they brutally thrust sharp needles deep down under his nails;"§ to Mark Typer, whom Fleetwood, the Recorder, caused "to be whipped through the city, and to have his ears bored through with a red-hot iron;"|| and to John Cooper, who, while prisoner in the

\* Challoner, vol. i. p. 60.

† Vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Kennett's Collections, vol. xlviii. ; Lansdowne Mss. 982, fol. 10.

§ Ms. Letter in State-Paper Office, Dom. 1590, no. 407, and in all Lives of Briant.

|| Challoner, i. 62.

Beauchamp Tower, "partly through hunger and cold, partly through the nastiness and stench of the place," became diseased and delirious; whereupon the lieutenant of the Tower had his bed taken away, and made him lie on the ground: he soon died; and "when they pulled off his slippers, in order to bury him, his flesh stuck to them, and came off by pieces from the bones."\*

The fifth stanza recounts the ordinary incidents of a persecution: but the two last lines seem to refer to some fact which I do not know; while the three next stanzas refer to Cuthbert Maine, Francis Tregan, and their companions. Maine was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Launceston in November 1577, chiefly for having "obtained from Rome a bull, containing matter of absolution of the queen's subjects," and for "publishing" this bull at Tregan's house. But the bull was only "a printed copy of the grant of the jubilee of 1575, now of no force, noways procured from Rome by Mr. Maine, but bought at a bookseller's shop at Douai out of curiosity to see the form of it."† As soon as Tregan was condemned, the sheriff and his men "went with great haste in the night-time unto the house of the said Francis Tregan, seized upon all his goods, and barbarously turned his wife, being a baron's daughter, and then great with child, his children and family, out of doors, not suffering them to carry off their own clothes with them, so much as would conveniently cover their nakedness." Tregan himself, "laden with irons, was committed to the common gaol of the county, —a dark dungeon, three fathoms under the earth, not above fifteen feet across, where he remained in most miserable manner amongst at least twenty condemned persons by the space of thirty days, oppressed almost even to the last gasp of life with hunger and most horrible stench, not suffered sometimes to have the benefit of one drop of water to quench his thirst in a whole hot summer's day together; when, to add more afflictions to his miseries, some of the vilest and basest condemned persons were hired of purpose most opprobriously to abuse him, and to insult over him."‡

The tenth stanza contains references to Vallenger, a printer, who lost his ears, and was imprisoned for seven years, for writing and printing some verses about Campion, which might almost make the critic doubt whether he had any ears to lose;—to a certain priest, of whom Verstegan, in his *Theatrum Crudelitatis Calvinisticæ* gives us an engraving, where he is represented as sown up in a bear's skin, and

\* Challoner, i. 61.

† Ibid. i. 40, 41.

‡ British Museum, Additional Mss. 21,203.

hunted by hounds. This is said to have happened at Dover; and a Ms. letter in the Gesù at Rome gives more details, changes the bear's skin into a bull's hide, and concludes with the preservation of the priest through the compassion of some bystanders. I suppose the "coolestaffe steeds" were wooden horses, a torture which was refined in the Netherlands to a tight rope, on which the victim was set a-straddle, naked, and dragged backwards and forwards till he was half-dead. Perhaps the misery of being "whipped to death by preachers" is a refinement even on this.

The eleventh stanza may be illustrated by the Ms. letter we have once before quoted. "Not many days ago a quean was shamelessly introduced by some knaves into the chamber of the Bishop of Lincoln" (Dr. Watson, then a prisoner at Wisbeach Castle); "and when the decrepit old man was struggling to push the shameless creature out of the door, the rascals who had let her in threatened to whip him." Another quean was introduced into the chamber of the venerable priest Mr. Wade, by a similar device of the turnkeys; and as soon as she was there, she began crying out to them, "Help, rape!" Such events were of frequent occurrence; and each time Topcliffe, or some other persecutor, would write a letter full of virtuous indignation to the Council, begging them to devise some means of reforming the abandoned wretches who were shut up for their religion. Amongst those against whom accusations of coining were trumped up, Richard Stanihurst, Campion's pupil, was evidently one. There is in the State-Paper Office a letter of Robert Beale to Leicester, dated August 28, 1580, recounting how he has searched Mr. Stanihurst's house, but found no letters or papers, as suspected: certain papers, however, were found proving him to have been connected with mineral matters, but *he denies ever meddling with coining or forgery.*

We see, then, that the poetical picture of the sufferings of the English Catholics is not over-coloured; on the contrary, the writer has kept within the strictest limits of veracity, and contented himself with merely generalising and versifying the facts which he either knew himself, or which had come to him by current report. He seems to have written in 1582, for I do not find any distinct reference to any event later than 1581. I am of opinion, though I cannot prove, that the writer was Thomas Pounes, of whom a biographical sketch was published in the *Rambler* of August 1857.

R. S.

## Correspondence.

*To the Editor of the Rambler.*

## NAPOLEONISM NOT IMPIOUS.

SIR,—I should not have discovered that your correspondent "Sigma" was aiming at me (for I could agree with almost all he says, excepting what I consider the bitterness of his tone), had he not quoted one clause from my letter. I said that the King of Sardinia was "fighting for fighting's sake" in the Crimea. I continue: "Perhaps, in consideration of the antiquity of his house, he was tolerated as a knight-errant of the nineteenth century." On this he remarks: "Few things had less to do than *chivalry* or *religion* with the presence of the Piedmontese troops in the Crimea. Count Cavour at least never doubted that the French alliance was sure of its consummation on the plains of Lombardy. There was *no 'fighting for fighting's sake.'*" Strange that so able a writer should not have recollected when he wrote (for he must have observed it when he read), that my argument implied that Victor Emmanuel did *not* fight for fighting's sake; and that I was arguing against the blindness of Englishmen, who acted as if he *was*, and as if he had no thought of a *quid pro quo*; and who were angry with him now that he was fighting with a professed object, when they could allow him to fight when the best that could be said of him was, that he was fighting with no object at all.

However, I have not taken up my pen to answer an attack, which scarcely any one will have observed, and in which no one will have been able to concur. I write to protest against your correspondent's severe language on the subject of Louis Napoleon. Speaking of the Lombard war, he says: "France has gathered up her strength to wrestle with the Conservative force of Europe. This is not a mere contest about the boundary of empires, or the faith of treaties, or the mutual antipathy of long-estranged and hostile races. Once more the first-born of democracy has gone forth on her impious apostolate;" her impious apostles being Napoleons I. and III. There is no doubt that such is his meaning, for he proceeds to speak of "*Napoleonism*." Such language, almost fanatical, as I think, might still stand as a mere matter of opinion, even though it has been any thing but borne out by the event. Louis Napoleon has *not* been carried away by the Revolution; on the contrary, the apprehension of being involved in it has been one of his reasons, as he gives them, for closing the war. He has again and again disowned any purpose of touching the Pope's temporal power; and even in his Milan proclamation, which was more open to exception than any of his speeches or writings, he says that he came with no "pre-

arranged plan to dispossess sovereigns." We know, on the contrary, what Revolution or Red-republicanism means.

What I protest against, then, is not your correspondent's extravagant language, as I consider it, nor his running against facts, but his thinking it allowable to slander a remarkable man, merely because he does not understand him. I was far too cautious in my former letter, and am in this, to take Louis Napoleon's part; but it is another thing altogether to indulge in invectives, nay slanderous invectives, against him. Public men have characters, as other men; and their characters are as dear to them. We should do as we would be done by. We may fairly criticise what they have done; we cannot fairly impute what they have not done as yet, and what they disown.

J. O.

#### ON EXTERNAL DEVOTION TO HOLY MEN DEPARTED.

SIR,—In the May Number of the *Rambler* I find a letter, signed R. M., which raises the question, What honour may be given to the holy persons who in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sealed their devotion to the Catholic Church with their blood? The best way to give a proper answer to this question is to go to the root of the principle of the *cultus* of saints.

Every one who may possibly share with us the happiness of heaven is a neighbour. Consequently the saints, who already enjoy this happiness, are our neighbours as much as, or more than, persons still living, or the souls in purgatory. We are bound to love our neighbour as ourselves *for God's sake*; i.e. not only because God commands it, but because our neighbour is *the child of God*. The more rightfully our neighbour owns this title, the greater is the love we owe to him. Thus we are bound to love a Christian, who is a child of God by creation and by grace, more than a Pagan, who is God's child by creation only. And in the same way we are bound to love a saint, living or dead, in whom God dwells more fully by grace, than a simple Christian, in whom He dwells less fully, and who is in his spiritual nonage. Hence to love our neighbour for God's sake is to love God Himself in our neighbour; and hence, again, the *love of our neighbour* is a theological or divine virtue which has God for its immediate object, just as the *love of God* has; in truth, the two virtues are but one.

In the *love of our neighbour* a distinction is made between (1) the love which is accompanied first by joy at his possessing such and such good things, and then by a certain honour, respect, and veneration that is paid to him (*Dilectio quam comitatur gaudium circa bona possessa, item honor, cultus, et reverentia*), and (2) the love which causes us to desire that he may possess those good things that as yet he has not, and which is accompanied with works of charity (*Dilectio quâ alteri optamus bonum nondum*

*possessum, cum beneficentiâ*). We owe both kinds of love to all our neighbours, living or dead. Thus, to speak only of the saints, we ought to exhibit our love of them by our joy at their having served God so well as to die in His grace, and now to be enjoying their eternal reward. At the same time we owe them the honour, veneration, and respect, which no one ought to refuse, even here on earth, to men whom he believes to be really holy; we ought at the same time to hope for the general resurrection, in order that their happiness may be completed by their being restored to their glorified bodies. The *cultus of saints* is nothing more than this. It is simply a branch of the practical love of our neighbour. And I cannot imagine how educated Protestants can feel the smallest difficulty about it.

The invocation of saints is not properly their *cultus*, but it is an act of precisely the same kind as that of St. Paul, when he recommended himself to the prayers of the faithful upon earth. It is quite certain that the words of the man born blind are not literally true.\* God *does* hear sinners. They are sinners whom our Lord teaches to say, "forgive us our trespasses." The Holy Ghost is the first mover of the prayers of sinners, as well as of the prayers of the just. But it is evident, if the Holy Ghost finds a better coöperation in the just and in saints, that their prayers will be more abundant, more fervent, and more confident. Besides this, the persons of the just are more acceptable to God. So when, after St. Paul's example, we would recommend ourselves to the prayers of our brethren, if we have the choice, we would rather ask for the prayers of those whose holiness we are assured of, than of those whom we consider to be sinners, or persons of less assured holiness. This would be our conduct in regard to the living. With regard to the departed there is no difference. To ask the saints in heaven or the saints on earth to pray for us, is one and the same thing. The whole point reduces itself to begging the assistance of our neighbour, living or dead.

When we ask our living neighbour to pray for us, since every thing which remotely or proximately affects our salvation must come from God, it follows (1) that we ourselves are moved to ask by the action of the Holy Ghost within us; and (2) that our neighbour, to effect what we ask, must be moved in like manner. The same thing holds good when we invoke the saints in heaven. Not only must we be led by God's grace to invoke them, but the saints, to hear us efficaciously, must be assisted in like manner. They cannot hear us naturally, for they are not omnipresent; God therefore, by the light of glory, must first let them know that we are imploring the help of their prayers, and must then give them a new grace to enable them to pray. This doctrine is openly taught

\* John ix. 31. I believe their meaning to be—God heareth not sinners, that is to say, those false prophets who pray Him to work miracles in confirmation of the truth of the Divine mission which they sacrilegiously arrogate to themselves.

in several prayers of the *Missal*; but nowhere is it more clearly expressed than in a preface, 1200 years old, quoted by Bossuet in his *Explication de quelques Difficultés sur les Prières de la Messe, à un nouveau Catholique*, num. 39: "O Lord, this blessed confessor now sleeps in Thy peace; inspire him, therefore, O God of mercy, to intercede with Thee for us, and so, as Thou hast made him secure of his own happiness, now make him careful of ours; through Jesus Christ our Lord." But why should I cite an old prayer now disused, when I have a modern instance by me? To-day is the Feast of St. Rumbold or Rumold, patron of the diocese of Malines. Now what do we ask of God, or, in other words, what must God do if He listens to our prayers? The prayer of the day is explicit: "Lord, we beseech Thee to grant that the holy prayer of the Blessed Rumold, Bishop and Martyr, may make Thee gracious unto us; that we, who, because of our weakness, cease not from sin, may, through the ceaseless prayers of this saint, obtain pardon for our sins; through Jesus Christ our Lord." I may add, that we do nothing in the Mass in honour of the saints that we might not as well do in honour of our living neighbour. We praise and thank God for the good things, ghostly and bodily, which He has granted to our yet living brethren, and we beg Him that they may pray for us in an acceptable way. It is impossible to frame any argument against either the *cultus* or the invocation of saints, which would not be equally applicable against our conduct in regard to the members of the Church militant.

My explanation has assumed rather a controversial form; but it was necessary first to lay down the principles for the resolution of the question, What *cultus* is to be rendered to holy men not yet canonised? For brevity's sake I shall henceforth use the word *cultus* in a wider acceptation than its technical sense of the act of charity due to the saint; I take it to include invocation as well.

Such being the meaning of *cultus*, it is plain that it may be practised in two ways—either by the Church as a constituted authority, or by private members of the Church. When practised by the Church, it is either because she orders it by a general law (as in the case of the canonised saints), or permits it with a toleration that is equivalent to consent (as in the case of persons beatified either expressly or implicitly). Before the Church thus honours a saint, or authorises her children to honour him in her name, she examines whether he merits this honour; and if her examination of his virtues and miracles is completely favourable, she pronounces the sentence of canonisation or beatification. Now it is clear that the Church cannot permit *ecclesiastical* honours to be given to any chance person; therefore she cannot allow persons who have died in the reputation of sanctity to be honoured in her name before she has pronounced her sentence.

But for all this, she does not hinder the individual Catholic from venerating these persons in his own name, or from giving them special honour, either in private or in public. So far from opposing

this, she completely approves of it, because, as I have explained, it is only the rendering to these persons the consideration due to our neighbour. She only requires that it should be clearly understood that he acts in a private capacity, and not in the name of the Church. Now, to make this clear, she has ordered that a distinction be made between the honours given to the dead whom she has more or less expressly recognised as saints, and those given to the dead on whose holiness she has not given any decision.

These honours, so far as they are external, are generally indifferent in themselves. Statues are erected and pictures painted even of profane persons, living or dead, and exposed, not only in private houses, but even in churches; as the portraits of Cardinals in their titular churches, and those of Bishops in their cathedrals, images on tombs and cenotaphs, and the like. Processions with torches are made in honour of princes, or persons who have deserved well of their country, and wax candles are lighted round any body's coffin. In the Mass, not only the Blessed Sacrament is incensed, or the altar and relics, but also the celebrant and assistants, and the congregation. Similarly, bunches of flowers are offered to parents and friends; knees are bent before a king; a boy begs his parent's pardon on his knees; friends salute one another with an inclination of the body, and children kiss their hands to their mothers, as men used to do to the object of their worship.

All these marks of veneration, therefore, are in themselves indifferent. It is the intention, or the common acceptance of them, which gives them their significance. This significance may be indefinitely varied; but in the same external circumstances the signification will generally remain the same. Hence the Church orders that in the same circumstances we should not render the same external honours to holy men not canonised or beatified, and to saints who are. But when the circumstances are different, when it is openly declared that we do not pretend to act in her name or with her authority, she makes no opposition to our rendering the most special honours to persons who have died in the reputation of great holiness. Such are the principles which the Popes have followed, especially since the council of Trent, to cut short the abuses which had sprung up.

Benedict XIV., in his work on the Canonisation of Saints, explains at length the measures taken by his predecessors, and gives many examples of these measures. The rest of what I have to say will be drawn from him.\*

1. In the case of persons departed in the odour of sanctity, but not canonised, we may make any panegyric on their conduct, their actions, or the reputation they have left behind them. We may say that they "died in the odour of sanctity;" "left a great reputation for sanctity," and the like: or that they were "put to death in hatred of the faith," or "died martyrs of fidelity to the Catholic Church." All this may be inscribed on their images or pictures, or

\* See *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Canonisatione*, lib. ii. cap. 9-14.

on engravings representing their actions or their martyrdom; on the title-pages of their biographies, even under their portraits exposed in public places. But we must not say or write "Saint" or "Blessed Edmund Campion," "Blessed Arrowsmith, martyr;" for that is the formula of the titles solemnly conferred by the Church, and we cannot use them without introducing a confusion between canonised and non-canonised persons.

2. We may print, and the Church desires that we should print, and propagate the lives of those who have died in the odour of sanctity. We may write them upon the usual model of saints' lives, with separate chapters on their virtues and miracles. But we must print before and after the protestation enjoined by Urban VIII.

3. Though the question of burial solemnities has no practical connection with the particular question on hand, I may as well give the opinions of the best authors on the funeral honours permitted to those who die in the odour of sanctity. At the burial of these persons we may exhibit great pomp; kiss their hands and feet, put up inscriptions to recount their virtues, and the like: but we may not omit the Requiem Mass, for such omission, made by the ministers of the Church, would be a sign that the Church judges these persons to stand in no need of our prayers. But nothing prevents our dispensing with mourning, or wearing magnificent vestments, like the mother of Blessed John de Britto, when she heard of her son's martyrdom. These signs form no part of the Church's use, and therefore can only be signs of private *cultus*.

We know the kind of *cultus* which St. Leonidas paid to his son Origen, then in the cradle,—how he would uncover his breast, and respectfully kiss the temple of the Holy Ghost. What prevents our showing the same respect to infants who have died in baptismal purity? Those for whom baptism is a mere form could never comprehend it; but those who believe in baptismal regeneration, and who have read the magnificent testimonies of Scripture, Liturgies, and Fathers, collected by Dr. Pusey in his tract on Baptism, will easily comprehend the reasonableness of these marks of respect. They will not wonder at our covering their coffins with white cloth, crowning them with garlands, or decorating the cross over their graves with the gayest colours. We often call them *Innocents*—a name that connects them with Herod's little martyrs; or angels—a more usual, and certainly a more expressive, title. The old custom of saying a Mass *de Angelis* in presence of their bodies still lingers in many places. Lessou, in his *Voyage autour du Monde*, relates something still more touching. He tells us that he has more than once witnessed what he absurdly calls the *canonisation of infants* in Chili. The corpse, clad in its gayest frock, and with a rosary in its hands, which are crossed over its breast, is exposed under a veil upon a dais covered with flowers at the corners of the streets; it is surrounded with women playing the guitar, and singing hymns in honour of the child that has died in the grace of God; so that the death of the innocents is regarded as an occasion for festivities and

joy, instead of grief. In spite of all the Voltairian insinuations of Lessou, I only see in this a following of the apostolic precept: "My brethren, I would not that you mourned for the dead."

4. The bodies of those who die in the odour of sanctity should be buried apart, but in underground vaults; still it is not absolutely forbidden to keep them above ground, provided it is not under circumstances which indicate the commencement of an ecclesiastical *cultus*.

5. It is not forbidden to decorate the tombs of these persons with flowers, provided it is not done in obedience to a public decree, a perpetual legacy, or any circumstance that indicates the explicit or implicit sanction of the Church.

6. Individuals may fast on the vigil of their death, and feast on the day; but Bishops cannot prescribe such fasts or feasts. Civil festivals or public games celebrated in their honour are not forbidden.

7. On the day of their death we may pronounce their panegyric, or preach in their honour; but we must observe due moderation. At their anniversaries we may not substitute the Mass of All Saints, or the like, for the Requiem. This would be too like giving them an ecclesiastical *cultus*.

8. We may keep their relics in private, and burn candles and arrange flowers before them; this is only private *cultus*. But we may not expose these relics in church, nor do any thing there which implies that the Church invites the people to venerate them in a special manner. Individuals may carry portions of their relics suspended to the neck; carry them to the sick, kiss them, venerate them. All this being done privately, can only be a private *cultus*.

9. All pictures or images representing these holy persons with an aureole, or with rays, as if they were in glory, are forbidden in public or private. But without an aureole they are permitted: they may be distributed to the people, and put into prayer-books. We may even paint them with the instruments of their martyrdom, or represent their martyrdom itself, and the most memorable acts of their lives, with an inscription beneath to say what the picture means. Two things are forbidden—to give them the title of *Saint* or *Blessed*, and to paint them with the aureole or glory. Nor do I think that we ought to paint the palm-branch borne in their hands, or being brought down from heaven to them by an angel; but we may paint Jesus Christ and His angels in heaven supporting the martyr in his agony. When we once understand the principle, we can easily determine what is and what is not permitted.

Before Urban's decrees these pictures were exposed in churches. I will not venture to declare with certainty that they can still be so exposed, or that your correspondent R. M. can reproduce in his new church the pictures that were painted before those decrees in the English College at Rome. I will not say positively that you may exhibit in the churches and chapels of England the portraits of Father Campion, or the picture of his martyrdom, or representations

of the other illustrious confessors of the faith. I speak with this moderation, because though, on the one hand, it is perfectly clear that the decrees of Urban VIII. only forbid these pictures being placed in the chancel, or rather over the altar, but contain nothing against their being placed in the nave of the church, provided they have no glory or aureole,\* yet, on the other hand, Benedict XIV.† is of opinion that no picture of any uncanonised person, who has died in the odour of sanctity, ought to be placed any where in the church, in chancel or nave, with or without aureole. Still Benedict, in the preface of his book *De Synodo*, allows the opinions which he advances in his books as a private doctor to be controverted; and his opinion about the extension to be given to Urban's decree is certainly controvertible. I have myself seen in the chapels of religious orders in Belgium pictures of persons recently declared venerable: afterwards I saw these pictures in the vestibules of the chapels; but I do not know whether they were removed in consequence of the opinion of Benedict XIV., or to make room for some pictures of canonised saints, which I found in their place. I will give the words of the decree of Urban VIII. "Imagines eorum, qui cum sanctitatis seu martyrii fama obierunt, non apponantur in *altari publico vel privato*, et multo minus cum diademate, laureolis, et radiis seu splendoribus, vel alio quocumque modo venerationem et cultum præ se ferente et indicante: hæ enim prohibentur apponi non solum in altaribus prædictis, sed etiam in oratoriis vel ecclesiis, aut locis publicis seu privatis quibuscumque, antequam a sede apostolicæ canoniscentur vel beati declarentur." These words are clear enough; and Benedict XIV. himself, in two different places,‡ says that they forbid two things—(1) the placing over any altar the picture of a person not beatified; because a picture, with or without rays, by being placed there, always indicates an ecclesiastical *cultus*. They forbid (2) the making a picture of any such person with rays round his head, or the keeping it in any place whatever. But in this decree, which only speaks of the altar, there is not a word against painting in the nave of a church the acts or the martyrdom of a person who died in the odour of sanctity. On the contrary, on the principle *inclusio unius exclusio est alterius*, I think that we must conclude that the decree does permit the painting of these persons in the nave, provided no aureole is given them. In the passage where Benedict would extend Urban's decree,§ he quotes (1) a decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated August 7, 1609, enjoining some nuns to remove from their choir the portrait of Cardinal dei Monopoli. But no general law can be founded on this order; it is sixteen years earlier than Urban's decree, and therefore cannot explain it; and we do not know the circumstances under which it was given: probably the picture was among others of canonised saints.

\* See the decrees in Benedict XIV. de Can. lib. ii. c. xi. num. 2 and 5.

† Ibid. c. xiv. num. 5.

‡ Lib. ii. c. xi. num. 5 and num. 12.

§ Lib. ii. c. xiv. num. 5.

Benedict alleges (2) that the Jesuits in Rome, in obedience to Urban's decree, removed from their church the pictures of B. Ignatius Azevedo and his companions. But this act has no value whatever; because, when the cause of the martyrs came on again, the Congregation of Rites and Pope Pius IX. declared that the Jesuits did wrongly to interrupt the *cultus* of those servants of God, which had been begun under the authority of the Pope. Hence I should never venture to blame those who have the martyrdom of the "Missionary Priests" painted up in the naves of their churches; and all the more because *lex dubia non obligat*.

Y. Z.

## ON EXTERNAL DEVOTION TO HOLY MEN DEPARTED.

SIR,—On the subject of the honour due to our old martyrs I send you a translation of a Ms. from the archives of the Gesù at Rome. It is a paper drawn up by Father Andrea Budrioli, S.J., and is entitled, "On the Cultus of the English Martyrs under Gregory XIII., before the Institution of the Congregation of Sixtus V." It consists solely of extracts, without any comment whatever, and begins absolutely as follows :

1. "An old book in the archives of the society, entitled 'A true Account of the Profession, Life, and glorious Martyrdom of F. Ralph Acquaviva, S.J.,' p. 103. 'For a true martyrdom for the faith it is not requisite that the persecutors should have the express intention of killing one for that cause. Hence there was no reason for F. Campion and his companions not being considered true martyrs, though Queen Elizabeth did not say she killed them for being Catholics, but protested that she did not put them to death for the faith, for fear of an insurrection among the secret Catholics of her kingdom. And although she loudly declared that they were punished only as rebels and traitors, this did not prevent Gregory XIII. and all the Roman *curia* from esteeming them as happy martyrs; and as such, his Holiness caused the story of their martyrdom to be painted on the walls of the English College which he founded in Rome.'\*

2. Mark Anthony Ciappi, in his *Life of Gregory XIII.*, dedicated to Gregory XIV., Rome, 1591, c. xiii. p. 19 : 'The fifth year of his

\* Engravings of these pictures were published at Rome in 1584, cum privilegio Gregorii XIII. P. M., with the title, "Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ trophæa; sive *sanctorum Martyrum*, qui pro Christo Catholicæque fidei veritate asserendâ antiquo recentiorique persecutionum tempore mortem in Angliâ subierunt, Passiones; Romæ in Coll. Ang. per Nic. Circinianum depictæ, nuper autem per Jo. Bapt. de Cavalleriis æneis typis repræsentatæ." There are three plates relating to Campion,—his racking, his dragging to Tyburn, and his martyrdom. The book is dedicated to the Pope, who gives the publisher a special guarantee against copyists. There is a copy in the library of Lambeth Palace.

pontificate he founded the English College in the Church of the Trinity near the Corte Savella, having turned the next houses into suitable rooms for the students, and *having caused the church to be painted with the stories of the holy martyrs of that nation.*'

3. F. Philip Alegambe, *Mortes illustres*, &c., Rome, 1637, c. xxv. p. 100, speaking of Campion : 'This mass of authorities was clinched by the consent of Pope Gregory XIII., who, according to Rayssius, who quotes the Bishop of Tarrasona, gave leave to consecrate altars with the relics of the English martyrs of our times, just as if they had been canonised.'

4. Arnoldus Rayssius, Canon of Douai (*Thesaurus sac. reliqu. Belgii*, Douai, 1628), speaking of Campion and his companions : 'It is certain that Gregory XIII. went so far as to declare that the relics of these martyrs might be used in consecrating altars, instead of relics of canonised saints.'

5. Ypes, Bishop of Tarrasona and Confessor of Philip II. (*Historia particular de la Persecution de Inglatierra*, &c., 1599, lib. ii. c. v. p. 50) : 'The queen and council seeking to obscure their glory with the novel and false names of treasons and traitors, God honoured them by inspiring His Vicar, Gregory XIII., to declare in 1582 that the Catholics might use their relics for altars, when the relics of the ancient saints could not be had. And possessed people felt their force, the devils departing out of them, as shall be said in its place. And as the heretics could not hide this greatness, the just rejoiced in the Lord, and revered these holy martyrs, seeing the word of God fulfilled in them, who had promised glory and honour to those who suffered in His cause.'

6. Cardinal Baronius, in his additions to the Roman Martyrology, c. viii. : 'Let not the reader wonder to see omitted from this Martyrology those most glorious martyrs, who in our age have suffered at the hands of heretics the most painful deaths, equal to any other martyrs, for the defence of the faith, especially in England and France, so that we may well believe them to be in heaven among the other martyrs, equally triumphant and glorious. Nor, again, will he find any mention of those new *sons of thunder* who have evangelised the New World, and suffered martyrdom there. For, it appears, it was not the present intention of the Roman Church to write a new Martyrology, but to restore the old one from ancient documents.'

The same, in the notes to St. Thomas of Canterbury, 29 Dec. : 'Our age, in this respect most happy, has witnessed many a Thomas in the persons of those most blessed priests and most noble men of England, crowned, as we may say, with a larger martyrdom and with twofold honour, since they were martyred not only for the liberties of the Church, with Thomas, but also for the defence, restoration, and preservation of the Catholic faith : such as, amongst others, those whom the Society of Jesus has fed in its folds, like innocent lambs, with holy learning, for victims acceptable to God ; and those whom the colleges of Rome and Rheims have sent forth

to battle. Be brave, be strong, you glorious Englishmen who have enrolled in this noble service, and have promised your blood with an oath; I envy you with a holy envy, when I see you clothed in purple and white, like martyrs elect; and I am forced to say, Let my soul die the death of the just, and let my end be like theirs.'

7. F. Louis of Granada, in the fifth part of his *Introduction to the Creed*, c. xviii.: 'The history of the martyrdom of Campion and his companions is well worth knowing; we may say of them that they were twice martyrs—martyrs of faith and martyrs of charity,—the first in not consenting to heresy, the second in refusing to betray the Catholics in spite of the tortures used to force them to do so; loyal in the first to God, in the second to their neighbours and brethren. . . . It now remains for the Christian reader to consider with the eyes of faith the joy wherewith the holy angels accompanied these happy souls, faithful to God, for whose faith they died, and faithful to their neighbour, whom no torments could make them betray—martyrs in both. Now what high festival must be kept this day in heaven to celebrate the entry of these twice-crowned combatants!' &c.

8. F. Peter Ribadeneyra, S.J., in his appendix to Sanders' *History of the English Schism*, Cologne, 1610, c. clxi.: 'An image of a Father of the Society martyred in London, honoured by the Indians.'—'I have seen in India a beautiful portrait of blessed Father Campion, whom you so barbarously slew. I know that he, at the time you tortured him, was honoured as a martyr of Christ, while you were execrated as enemies of God and tyrants of His Church.'

9. F. Andrew Eudæmonjohannes, in his *Answer to Is. Casaubon's Letter*, Col. 1613, c. vi. p. 129: 'Lancelot Andrews, in his *Tortura*, as good as confesses that Campion might have saved his life by denying the Pope's power over princes. I accept your confession, and say that it was glorious for the holy martyr of God to be willing to throw away his life for the defence of the Church, on your own testimony.'

10. Bombinus wrote the *Vita et Martyrium Edmundi Campiani, Martyris Angli*, &c., Mantua, 1620: at p. 303 we find, 'At Rome also, in the English church, among the rest of the martyrs who shed their blood to plant the faith in England, several pictures of Campion are publicly exposed. Nor has any history of him appeared in any language without giving him the title of martyr.' The book closes, 'Praise to God, and to the Blessed Virgin, and to the blessed prince of our English martyrs, Edmund Campion.'

"Una sit merces operi, o Beate  
Martyrum princeps mihi Campiane  
Pectus intactum. Titulis id unum  
Insere nostris."

11. Don Bernardin de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador to Elizabeth, wrote to his sister Anne four days after Campion's martyrdom, Dec. 4, 1581: 'Since I cannot well write in my own name from this country any thing that relates to our martyrs, I have told

Serrano [the secretary] to write. Will you copy it, and send it in my name to the Jesuits, to be published in all their colleges? I only add that every body here, and I in particular, can attest, that considering the manner of Campion's suffering, he is to be accounted amongst the greatest martyrs of the Church of God.'

12. F. Robert Parsons, S.J., in a letter to F. Claudius Acquaviva, Dec. 28, 1581: 'The relics of F. Campion are sought with the greatest eagerness, and large sums of money are offered to the heretics to purchase them. One man was very lucky, for without any expense but his wits he succeeded in stealing a quarter, which he took to a house where several Catholics were assembled. Such was the joy at this unexpected happiness, that many shed tears, and a certain baron who was there fainted.'

13. F. John Gerard, in his Ms. relation: 'I one day went to Bridewell, where I had to visit a sick person who deserves mention. He had once been Blessed F. Campion's man, and had been long imprisoned with me in the Marshalsea; I now found him in chains for nothing but praising F. Campion.'

14. Some German copied out a tragedy of Campion's before 1620, and entitled it 'Ambrosiana Tragedia, auctore Beato Edmondo Campiano, Græco, Latino, Poeta, Oratore, Philosopho, Theologo, Virgine et Martyre.'

15. A letter from the College at Gratz, 1606: 'One of the chief nobles of Gratz, once a pupil of Campion at Prague, who used to tell most memorable things of him, and who held him in peculiar veneration, and prayed to him every day as one of his chief patrons, was in great anxiety for his wife, then in labour and in great danger; so he prayed, "O blessed F. Edmund Campion, help my poor wife." She immediately gave birth to a son, whom the father in gratitude called Edmund.'

16. Gilbert Genebrard, in his *Chronographia*, Paris, 1585, ad ann. 1581: 'Edmund Campion and other saintly and learned men martyred at London.'

17. Aubertus Miræus, Chronicle, ad ann. 1581: 'Ed. Campion of London, Priest S. J., the most celebrated martyr of our age, put to death in London for the orthodox religion, and the supremacy of the Pope, Dec. 1.'

18. F. Matthias Tanner, S. J. (*Societas Jesu militans*, Prague, 1675, p. 13): 'Many have venerated him, and many still venerate him as a martyr. Among them some of the imperial princes;—the Archduke Leopold of Austria Bishop of Passau, and the Archduke Charles of Austria Bishop of Wratislav, sons of the Emperor Ferdinand II., in visiting the old Clementine College at Prague, first asked to be conducted to the cell which Campion had consecrated by a residence of some years. They entered it as if it had been a church or holy place, with bare heads, and falling on their knees, they declared the pavement which the feet of so noble a martyr of Christ had trodden (so they spoke out of private devotion) was worthy of all reverence. An English gentleman, Henry Orton, who

visited the cell with the ambassador of the Duke of Lorraine, went still further ; he prostrated himself on his face, and over and over again kissed the ground happy in having been trampled by those blessed feet.'

19. Saurez (*Defensio Fid. Cath. et Apost. adv. Anglicanæ sectæ Errores*, Conimbricæ, 1613, lib. vi. c. 11): 'Are those who were put to death in England for their religion and their obedience to Rome to be numbered among the true martyrs? We say that not only under Henry VIII., but also under Elizabeth and James, many suffered death in the English persecution, who are numbered among the true martyrs of Christ with great glory and with constant truth. All the Catholic writers who treated the English affairs of those times thought so ; Polidore Vergil, &c. Sanders proves it by many examples, and reasons concerning these, and those who suffered under Elizabeth (*de Schism. Ang.* libb. i. et iii.), and relates the glorious martyrdoms of Campion and the rest in 1581 and the following years. Genebrard holds the same opinion in *Chron. ann.* 1534, and quotes Paulus Jovius, George Lily, and Sleidan, lib. ix. So Surius, Bozius (*de Signis Eccl.* p. 1. lib. ii. c. i.), Ypes, Andreas Philopator, Baronius, Petrus Opmeerus in his last chronological book, 1585, and Lawrence Bayerlinck in the second volume of the same work, an. 1606. There is therefore no reason why Catholics should doubt about the martyrdom of those saints. For, according to Augustine's rule, since they are sure that they died in the unity of the Church for her unity and authority, they cannot doubt their being crowned as martyrs, or their murderers being judged as persecutors. Let no one then, as Cyprian says, lower the dignity of the martyrs ; let no one destroy their glory and their crown."

Several other testimonies to the same effect might be added, which would, I think, prove that Bishop Challoner was the first who deprived our missionary priests of the title of martyrs. As he hoped that his book would be read by Protestants, he carefully abstained from any thing calculated to offend them.

C. W.

---

### CONSULTING THE LAITY.

SIR,—By a coincidence which often occurs, the July Number of *Brownson's Review* contains an article, parts of which illustrate that in the July *Rambler*, "On consulting the Laity in Matters of Doctrine." I do not suppose that you would altogether adopt the traditionalist phraseology which Dr. Brownson uses, and I wonder how he, after so long fighting against the theory of development, could have adopted a system which requires that theory for its complement ; but whatever reserves are to be made, it is always interesting to observe the concurrence of thought of men placed at a

distance, and fighting the same battle under different conditions. Dr. Brownson, it seems, has been likened to Lamennais, and feels it necessary to point out the differences in their respective careers. In the course of his able article, the whole of which is well worth reading, the following passage occurs, which perhaps you will think it worth your while to reprint :

“The gravest error of Lamennais was in identifying Christianity with the general or universal reason, and making the common consent of the race the authority for doctrine and faith. But even this has a side of truth. The tradition of the primitive revelation is, in some form, universal, and enters into the common reason of the race. With Christians this is still more true, and this internal tradition, if we may so call it, common to all men, and especially to all Christians, is, in some sense, authority for doctrine and faith, and, perhaps, an authority not always duly respected. The error is, not in recognising it, but in substituting it for the positive teaching authority of the Church. All the Church teaches is not, save in germ, in that common reason, and it is only her positive teaching that brings out what is in it, and supplies its deficiencies.”

I stop here, because if I only ceased transcribing with the cessation of interest, I should transcribe nearly the whole article.

P. S.

---

## Literary Notices.

*The Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair.* By the Rev. John O'Hanlon. (Dublin, 1859.) This careful and valuable work has grown out of a sketch which the author inserted in an American periodical, and is one out of a projected series of above five hundred Irish saints. Of these the Life of St. Lawrence O'Toole has been already published, and the Life of St. Patrick is in preparation. In the case of a biographical or historical work, a reviewer looks, first, for new matter, contributed to the stock of facts already known, from sources hitherto unexplored ; or, secondly, for a skilful condensation of the scattered notices, the minute details, and the conclusions which are to be found in various, rare, and voluminous works ; or, for such original views of scenes and passages familiar to us as invest them with a new interpretation or a philosophical character ; or, lastly, for such skill in composition and grace of style as may recommend the subjects treated of to readers who otherwise would never be induced to enter upon them. Of these qualifications Mr. O'Hanlon professes the second. His publication shows not only an acquaintance with the classical works upon his subject, but much collateral reading ; while he has availed himself both of the writings and suggestions of contemporaries. His notes in particular show great diligence, and a most praiseworthy minuteness and accuracy. We do not pretend to criticise him in detail ; but we are safe in saying, that

he has written as a scholar ought to write, and as a biography ought to be written. In his preface he disclaims for his work the graces of composition without undervaluing them. We wish he had kept close to the intention thus implied ; at least his line of thought has struck us as sometimes somewhat ambitious. Of this character, too, are certain quotations in the notes from Spenser, Walter Scott, Cicero, &c. We should not make this remark, except that his volume is to be one of a series.

*Legends and Lyrics.* By A. A. Procter. (Bell and Daldy, 1859.) It is difficult to review a volume of poems, from the want of a standard by which to criticise fairly what is so individual in its origin, and so capricious in its manifestations. How shall we weigh and measure what is of so ethereal a nature, and in its very idea so antagonistic to science ? We judge of poetry according to our humour at the moment ; and what seems to us strained, or affected, or fanciful, or obscure to-day, will to-morrow touch us as natural and deep. Each of us, too, has his own tastes, and the favourite of one is barely endurable by another. For ourselves, we confess we are not very fond of the free-and-easy style of the present day ; we have been brought up in a severer and more classical school. How, then, shall we do justice to a volume which in point of composition too often savours of the age ? We are accustomed to think that verse should either be blank or in rhyme : we do not like a mixture of the two. In the ballad metre, where the first and third lines do not rhyme, the defect is only in appearance ; for they are but portions of the second and the fourth respectively, being merely broken in the printing for the convenience of the eye. And so of the anapæstic, when four long lines are chopped into eight. But a slovenly fashion has come in (partly in consequence of translations from the German, and the impossibility of imitating in English the double rhymes of that language) of letting the real endings of lines remain ragged and uncouth, with no musical response to sustain them, instead of being, as they should be, "married to immortal" rhyme. Thus the authoress before us has whole poems in which a line like "A little longer still and heaven *awaits thee*," is matched by "Then our pale joys will seem a dream *forgotten* ;" though the second and fourth lines rhyme.

However, we did not take up our pen with the intention of being cross with a volume in which critics of every taste must find a great deal to admire. The "Tomb in Ghent," and the "Sailor-Boy," are as compositions perfect,—perfect in simplicity, pathos, sweetness, and precision. The same characteristics attach, different as is the verse and subject, to "A Doubting Heart," "Linger, O gentle Time," "Changes," "A Lament for the Summer," "A First Sorrow," and others. There are compositions in the volume of a bolder, wilder sort, which others will prefer, and with as much right to do so, as we to attach ourselves to the beautiful and serene ; and there are others of a more thoughtful and deeper character, such as "A Woman's Question," and "A Parting."

We should not use so many words unless we considered the

volume to be one which no reader will be sorry to have read. The authoress seems to prefer the Past to the Future ; in doing so, she agrees with ourselves, who have ever thought Memory more poetical than Hope. Perhaps this is the reason why there have been so few great sacred poets ; nature looking back, grace looking forward.

*Pictures of Missionary Life in the Nineteenth Century.* Vol. I. *In the West.* Vol. II. *In the East.* (Burns and Lambert, 1858.) These interesting sketches are for the most part taken from the accounts sent home by French and Belgian missionaries, as contained in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith.* Of the two volumes which they form, we consider the second far the more interesting : we suppose the reason to be, that they relate to the East, the cradle of the human race ; whereas the West is either the abode of savages who have degenerated from their first estate, and have no history, or of those European races whose history is our own. It is natural to the human mind to look up the stream, not down it, "antiquam exquirere matrem ;" and the filial yearnings which we feel towards Asia are seconded in the philosophic intellect by the reminiscences which linger among its scattered populations of former Christian teaching, and by the fragments of a still earlier revelation which are embodied in its idolatrous superstitions. Other objects too are lodged there of a liberal curiosity ; the East has its own civilisation, and a settled immemorial social state, varying in its separate countries, yet, as it were, indigenous in each. Place and people belong to each other, as if the nations were, strictly speaking, children of the soil. Hence it is that persecution is possible in the East in a sense in which it is unknown in the Western hemisphere ; and this, again, invests those regions with a solemn and special interest. The contrast is striking between the vulgar sectarian violence of the Wesleyans in Oceanica, and the fitful fury of their converts against the Catholic missionaries, which the collector of these scenes dignifies with the name of a persecution, and the terrible systematic efforts made in China and the Corea to eliminate the Christian name from the face of the earth. In the latter country, the persecution began in 1791, and lasted for at least twenty years. During that time more than eight hundred Christians were martyred, and among them ladies of royal blood and dignified magistrates. The persecution was renewed in 1827, and again in 1839.

Persecution implies two parties ; and the superiority of the East is here again shown in the material which it supplies for the production of martyrs, as well as of martyr-makers. In spite of all that may be said about the degradation of human nature in those countries, there is in them, after all, a capability of self-action which surprises the self-sufficient European. Our author points out to our attention the paradox that the Corean mission "was founded without missionaries, and long supported without pastors" Mr. Marshall has lately directed our minds to the same remarkable country. In this age of the European world, when torpidity, scepticism, and apostasy are the order of the day, it is a wonderful and most gra-

cious relief to the oppressed spirit to look off towards those distant regions, where the glories of primitive Christianity are renewed. They evidence both the power of the religion itself, and the unchangeable and unequivocal characteristics of that system of faith and worship which has ever been its instrument of operation. We hardly need add, that the initials at the end of the preface are a guarantee, before reading the volume, of the care and skill with which the materials supplied by the *Annals* are put together.

*Bertrand du Guesclin, the Hero of Chivalry.* (London : Burns and Lambert, 1859.) This is one of the prettiest stories which we have come across for a long time. It reads like a romance; and we can hardly believe that it is not one. If it all happened to the very letter, then truth certainly is more marvellous than fiction; and Sir Walter Scott wrote prose, not poetry; and his accounts of tournaments, and the knights and fair dames who figured in them, are but a poor copy of the heroic reality. In one point, indeed, Du Guesclin falls short; for he was ugly in feature, and clumsily built. But, having in candour made this admission, we maintain that his true story is a better romance than the most specious miracles of the minstrel or the story-teller. Du Guesclin was as brave and agile as Ivanhoe; as devout to his lady as Sir Kenneth; as shrewd and wary as Quentin Durward; as manly, liberal, and magnanimous as Cœur de Lion; as modest as Damian de Lacy; and as incorrigibly fond of fighting as Henry Gow. He was religious, loyal, open-handed, tender-hearted, and given to alms-deeds. In his first feat he comes forward, almost as a *Desdichado*, with his visor down; obstinate in his refusal to declare his name; and discovered only at length when, after unhorsing and unhelming fifteen knights, his own casque is torn off by his adversary's spear.

Of course there is a reverse to this fine picture, besides the hero's ugliness; and this is the best proof of the substantial fidelity, after all, of the history. We felt grateful, as we read on, that we were not born in the age to which it belongs. We have lately had occasion to insist upon the contrast which may exist between schools of learning and the general state of the population in which they are found. It answers to the contrast which exists in this day between railroads, together with the towns connecting them, and the expanse of country through which they run, with the parish roads and slow conveyances which are the legacy of the past. To think that Du Guesclin lived in, or after, the age of Joan of Navarre, Walter de Merton, Walter de Stapleton, and Adam de Brome! Civilisation was then making progress; the universities were the seats of the movement; but chivalry was hundreds of years behind the age. Rather the College Statutes of Oxford might have been written in the age of Theodosius or St. Gregory, on the one hand, or in the nineteenth century on the other; while the knights of chivalry were little better, morally, than Homer's heroes, or the sea-kings.

Their contempt and consequent cruelty towards all but their

own *élite* circle of *prud'hommes*, was nothing short of the tyrannical bearing of Greeks and Romans towards their slaves. Scott's Claverhouse, prating about Froissart, is their representative in the seventeenth century. Our clever authoress, in spite of her love of chivalry, is fully alive to the fact; though she would use gentler terms about it than our own. Alas, that the English should supply her with a special instance of it in the course of her narrative! Too weak to sit on horseback, the Black Prince contemplated from his litter the merciless slaughter of men, women, and children at Limoges, deaf to the entreaties of the unoffending people, who cast themselves on their knees before him praying for mercy. "Upwards of 3000 men, women, and children," says Froissart, "were put to death that day." "Such," says the authoress, "was too often the case in those days. The sympathies, courtesies, and charities of knights were for each other; while the sufferings of the common people were very generally despised or overlooked" (p. 148). The English are undoubtedly a humane tender-hearted people: yet how are we to account for their cruelty in war, whether under the Black Prince, or the Regent Bedford, in Ireland or in India?

*Dissertatio de Syrorum Fide et Disciplinâ in Re Eucharisticâ.* Scripsit M. J. Lamy. Lovanii, 1859. This volume will be found by theologians and by ritualists to contain much interesting matter, brought together from works for the most part too expensive to be accessible to many readers. The original texts are always accompanied with a Latin translation, and that of John of Tela has been edited now for the first time. The author is, we think, a little credulous in believing the work ascribed by Asseman, *Cod. Lit.* vol. v., to St. John Maro to be his; at all events, we have been told by one who had seen the manuscript, that Asseman *must* have known that it was not St. John Maro's work. Sometimes, too, M. Lamy is not as exact as might be in his translations, *e.g.* in p. 73, the words "Lo vole" are rendered "nefas omnino est;" whereas we think "non decet" would be nearer the mark. On the same page a word which we believe is nothing but "Belteshazzar" puzzles him. Belteshazzar is used for any profane person, and the Syrian author simply confuses this name with Belshazzar, as the Septuagint seems to have done also. We desiderate also a fuller treatment of the knotty question touching the Invocation of the Holy Spirit in Oriental rites, upon which Orie wrote a tract, with which our author is apparently unacquainted. It is a question which requires, for the fair and unflinching treatment of it, ample theological as well as Oriental acquirements. But the extent and orthodox use of Syriac learning which M. Lamy has displayed, will doubtless lead him as he grows older to further theological pursuits; and through these, in conjunction with a little severer criticism, we see reason, in the present very laudable essay, to expect a great deal from the zeal and learning of the author before us.

*The Patrons of Erin; or, some Account of St. Patrick and St.*

*Brigid.* By V. G. Todd, D.D. (London, Dolman.) Whatever Dr. Todd publishes on the subject of Irish antiquities comes to us with great weight from the circumstance that he has made them his study. It is reported, indeed, that his researches into that field of interesting learning had much to do in making him a Catholic. When, then, he tells us that he has drawn his narrative from those authors who represent the most ancient traditions, he speaks as one who ought to know what the value is of the various accounts which have come down to us of the great Saints whom he has made the subject of his memoir. Under these circumstances, we do not see who has a right to express an opinion on any points which he sets before us, but those who have such sufficient Irish scholarship as warrants their going by their own judgment. That the narrative is interesting and edifying there needs no learning to be qualified to pronounce; and these are the qualities for which readers look out. Moreover, it is written with the conciseness and reserve which befits a scholar. We are not sure, however, that he has always observed this self-restraint. If he has done so, and if the following passage in the speech of Nathi, king of Hy-Garchon, is really taken from any old document, it is a remarkable coincidence. "What right," said he of Palladius and his missionaries, "has this bishop and his priests to come into our country? He asked no permission from our monarch. He is come to overturn our ancient customs. He is attempting to introduce a religion which has not received the sanction of the state. He wants to bring us into subjection to a foreign power, and to make us subjects of the Bishop of Rome. We will not have this man to reign over us." Yet we must not hastily assume that this passage is not what it seems to profess to be. A coincidence of the same kind occurs in the history of the Vandalic persecution in Africa, which seems in good measure to have originated in a fear, not indeed of Ultramontane, but of Ultramarine influence.

---

## Contemporary Events.

### HOME AFFAIRS.

#### 1. *Opinions on the War.*

The short Session of this summer has done little for legislation, and has been interesting chiefly in connection with foreign affairs. Every debate of importance turned more or less on the absorbing questions provoked by the Italian war.

Most of the new Ministers were re-elected on Monday June 27. Mr. Cobden having, on his return from America, declined to join the government of a Minister to whom he had been so frequently and so bitterly opposed as Lord Palmerston, Mr. Milner Gibson became President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. Charles Villiers was appointed President of the Poor-Law Board.

Of the speeches of Ministers at the hustings, the most remarkable were those of Lord John Russell in the City, and of Mr. Lowe, the Vice-President of the Council, at Calne. Lord John at once struck the chord which continued to resound on the Treasury bench during the whole of the Session:

"I have told you on former occasions what, as I conceived, was the deep-seated cause of the present war—that it was not the ambition of one man, or of two men, or of three men; but that it was the grievous misgovernment of Italy, which had lasted for forty years, and which the Italian people had at various times endeavoured to throw off. We may hope that the moderation of the successful party, and the wisdom of the defeated party, may lead in no long time to an honourable and satisfactory peace; but our duty is to continue in the path of neutrality, which the whole country has determined to adopt. If, however, that moderation and that wisdom should not be manifested, it is impossible to say how far this war may extend, and what powers may take part in it. It therefore behoves this country, for her own security, for the defence of her own honour

and her own interests, not to neglect her navy or her army, but to be prepared for any contingencies that may arise. Such being the state of foreign affairs, then, the first duty incumbent upon us is vigilance. We must watch every move that takes place, and consider what bearing it may have on the future. In the next place, whenever the time shall arrive—and I hope it may soon arrive—when the belligerents may be disposed to terminate this destructive contest, it will then be the business of this country to give such counsels as may lead to a termination of the war, honourable to all parties, and as may afford better hopes for the independence and liberties of Italy."

The language of Mr. Lowe was very different. He said:

"In foreign affairs I believe it is the wish of the Parliament, the Government, and the people of this country, to maintain a strict neutrality; but we must not deceive ourselves, it is quite possible that we may find such neutrality no longer in our power. To remain at peace does not depend on our will alone, but also on the will of those who are waging war. Whatever be our sympathy with Italy as between nation and nation, there never was, in modern times, a war so unprovoked as that which France is now waging against Austria. France has possessed herself of the western ports of Italy; she may be even now seizing Venice; she has sent Kossuth and Klapka to debauch the Hungarian regiments, by the hopes of a second Hungarian revolution; and the frightful carnage of the Mincio has brought her to the very threshold of the German Confederation. Prussia has armed, and proposes to place an army on the Upper Rhine. Unless that Being, in whose hand are the hearts of princes, shall will it otherwise, the war will quickly cross the Alps, and spread itself from the Adriatic to the German Ocean. The military spirit of

France is aroused; she has met with an enemy too weak to resist her arms, too strong to be conquered without glory. Her military power will be strengthened and developed; and there is danger lest the tide of success should flow on, as it flowed in the days of the first Napoleon, and lest we should find ourselves no longer able to exercise our free-will in the preservation of neutrality. The treaties of 1815, on which Europe has rested for forty-five years, have been torn up; and who shall say on what basis, or after what sufferings, the balance of power shall be settled anew?"

This speech is remarkable, because we remember no other case of a public man who acknowledged that to speak of unconditional neutrality is absurd; whilst his severe condemnation of France plainly shows that if our neutrality was to be abandoned at all, it should be, in his opinion, for the defence of the Austrian power in Italy. With reference to the same question of neutrality, there are some sensible remarks in a letter from Mazzini, published August 10th.

"Morally, neutrality is the abandonment of every function, of every mission, of every duty which is to be fulfilled on earth; it is mere passive existence, forgetfulness of all that sanctifies a people—the negation of the common right of nations, egotism raised to a principle—it is political atheism. A people cannot limit its own free action without falling, without denying the progress which God calls it to advance.

"Politically, the neutrality of a State is its nullification. It does not lessen a single danger, but condemns a State to front it in isolation. History points to States that neutrality has drawn into ruin—Venice, for example; not one that neutrality has saved from war or invasion; *media via*, said Titus Livius, *quæ nec amicos parat, nec inimicos tollit*. By inscribing a negation upon its own flag, a nation does not avoid death, but adds dishonour to it."

Our neutrality was defended by Lord Palmerston, on the ground that neither our sympathies nor our interests were involved in the war. The fact is, that popular sympathy was so strongly engaged on one side,

as to make the country overlook that its interests were on the other.

Most of the eminent diplomats of this country, Lord Stratford, Lord Normanby, and Lord Howden, expressed the same opinions as Mr. Lowe. So also the chief Conservative statesmen in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Derby, and Lord Ellenborough.

July 5. Lord Lyndhurst said, speaking of the defences of the country:

"I will not consent to live in dependence on the friendship or the forbearance of any country. I rely solely on my own vigour, my own exertion, and my own intelligence. Does any noble lord in this House dissent from the principle which I have laid down? I rejoice, my lords, to find that such is not the case. But while this is a matter for congratulation, I regret to be obliged to say that we do not stand well upon the continent of Europe. I do not think late events have improved our position in that respect. But I go further, my lords, and express my belief, as the result of my own careful observation, that if any plausible ground of difference should arise between this country and France, and that difference should lead to hostilities, the declaration of war with England, on the part of the government of that country, would be hailed with the utmost enthusiasm, not only by the army of France, but by the great mass of the French people. If I am asked, 'Will you not rely upon the assurances and the courtesy of the Emperor Napoleon?' I reply, that I have a great respect for that high person, and that I will not enter into any explanation on this subject, but will leave every noble lord to draw his own conclusions, and to form his own opinions. This, however, I will say, and I can say it without impropriety. If I am asked whether I cannot place reliance in the Emperor Napoleon, I reply with confidence that I cannot place reliance in him, because he is in a situation in which he cannot place reliance on himself. He is in a situation in which he must be governed by circumstances; and I will not consent that the safety of this country should depend on such contingencies. My lords, self-reliance is the best road to distinction in pri-

vate life. It is equally essential to the character and to the grandeur of a nation. It will be necessary for our defence, as I have already stated, that we should have a military force sufficient to cope with any Power or combination of Powers that may be brought against us."

The common reply to speeches such as this was: Forbear to rouse the sleeping lion! Do not irritate the French people, and justify their anger, by showing distrust and alarm. This was the language used to the great English nation at a time when the people of every petty state in Germany were clamorously and fearlessly demanding to march across the Rhine. In truth, the necessity of awakening the spirit of the nation is more pressing than the danger of exciting the anger of our neighbour. We have more reason to be afraid of English inaction than of the hostility of France. "Men under consternation," says Burke, "suppose, not that it is the danger, which, by a sure instinct, calls out the courage to resist it, but that it is the courage which produces the danger. They therefore seek for a refuge from their fears in the fears themselves, and consider a temporising meanness as the only source of safety. . . . But a great State is too much envied, too much dreaded, to find safety in humiliation" (Works, v. 258). On this occasion the House of Lords has more fitly represented the interests of the country, and has spoken with more weight in Europe, than the House of Commons. But there too, August 8th, Mr. Kinglake spoke with great spirit of the pusillanimous silence which has been recommended. "The House had been told by the hon. member for Birmingham that they ought not to indulge in any hostile criticism upon the Emperor of the French; and the hon. member went so far as to say, that if we did, even for a few months more, England would be embroiled in a war with France. Good heavens! what an alternative to propose to a free and spirited nation—enforced silence, or a war with France! A war with France would be dreadful; but so would be the enforced silence advocated by the hon. member. If England submitted to such a silence,

then, he would say, had commenced the subjugation of England. We would not endure considerations of foreign policy to interfere with the freedom of England at home. That was the principle upon which the late parliament acted when they overthrew a very popular minister for pressing the late conspiracy bill; and he had no doubt that the existing parliament would pursue a similar course if the ministry betrayed any semblance of subserviency to a foreign power."

*July 15.* Lord Brougham spoke as follows: "We have no kind of security, at any moment, for the continuance of peace, of treaties, or of any one arrangement, from day to day. All depends upon the arbitrary will of a single individual. It is so in Russia, France, Austria, and I suppose it is so in Sardinia also, unless they restore the constitution suspended at the beginning of this execrable war—for by no other name can I call it; a war commenced on false pretences, not one single pretence of which has been fulfilled by the success which has attended it. As we have had, happily, no hand in the war, so have we, happily, no hand in the peace."

*July 16.* Lord Derby attended at a banquet in Merchant-Tailors' Hall, and expressed himself thus on the war: "From the information we at present possess, I look to the state of affairs arising out of the peace as more critical and dangerous than any thing which existed before. In my opinion, as I have avowed on former occasions, that war was commenced on insufficient grounds and on false pretences; for of all those purposes which were put forward to justify the war, there is not one which has been supported or attained by the struggle which has taken place; there are several which are placed in positions of greater jeopardy than they stood in before the war. I, who honour constitutional governments; I, who, in common with the true friends of liberty, looked with the most earnest admiration upon the example of the kingdom of Sardinia struggling into a state of constitutional freedom, avoiding the excesses of despotism on the one hand, and of unlimited license on the other,—

saw with pain that its government were not content with the enjoyment of its own liberties and its own constitution,—were not satisfied with making that constitution by its effects upon their happiness and domestic comfort an example which the rest of Italy might copy;—I saw them, I say with regret, depart from that constitutional course, endeavouring to excite animosity, dark intrigues, and machinations among other states; and for that purpose maintaining armies ruinous to their own finances, and which have proved destructive to their own comfort. I foresaw that in inviting the coöperation of a powerful neighbour against the fancied apprehension of invasion on the part of Austria, they were in effect bringing down on themselves, as well as upon the rest of Italy, the most serious dangers and the most inevitable calamities. And what, I ask you, has been the result of this effusion of the blood of 100,000 men,—for not less than that number have been put *hors de combat* in the course of this campaign? What was the plea? The presence of the foreigner in Italy, the mal-government of the Papal States, the discontent and dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, and the necessity of liberating them from a foreign yoke, and leaving them free to choose their own form of government. At the expiration of this struggle what are the terms upon which, as far as we know, this peace has been made; and what are the advantages which have been gained to the freedom of Italy by all this carnage? The constitution of Sardinia itself has been suspended,—I hope only during the continuance of the struggle. The Milanese, the possession of which was recognised by the Emperor Napoleon as the just patrimony of Austria, as long as she confined herself within her own limits, and from which there was no pretence for driving her, Austria has renounced.”

From these remarks we are able to appreciate Lord Derby's claim to be considered a “true friend of liberty,” and his notions of constitutional government. By a strange inconsistency, he fails to perceive that the system which he condemns in the external policy of Sardinia, is the same which he so much applauds in

her home administration. The rights of subjects and the rights of neighbours have the same title to the respect of governments; and the same principles which lead to aggression in one case, lead to oppression in the other. The Piedmontese constitution was, in fact, maintained in a spirit of opposition to Austria, and for the purpose of ultimately attacking her. This design has been pursued for years. With this view the parliament has served to increase enormously the financial and military resources of the state; and wherever the preparations for external aggrandisement required it, every semblance of right and liberty was relentlessly trodden under foot. A people that enjoys a lawful freedom, respects law in dealing with its neighbours. The classic definition given by Mr. Fox, December 1st, 1783, that “Freedom consists in the safe and sacred possession of a man's property, governed by laws defined and certain,” forbids tyranny and aggression alike, and condemns at the same time the home and the foreign government of the Piedmontese ministers. In particular, that inclination to encroach on the rights of the Church, which has been shown by the Piedmontese at Bologna, had been already abundantly displayed at home. Lord Derby is not the first who has eulogised the Sardinian government as keeping a just mean between despotism and revolution, and setting limits to both. It must, however, be remembered of several of the continental constitutions, more especially those of Latin Europe, that they tend to destroy the royal power. Most of those countries had undergone, previously to the establishment of representative institutions, one or two centuries at least of despotism. It is as a curb on the exercise of the kingly power that they arose, not as a natural development and acknowledgment of popular liberties: their kings reign, but do not govern. Such governments are devoid of unity and consistency, and are impotent to check the growth and resist the assaults of revolutionary principles. The union of monarchical and popular power can alone effect this. Monarchy alone, unless it be supported

by a system of representation, unless it be "not more limited than fenced by the orders of the state;" and, on the other hand, representative governments which have sacrificed the power and consistency which is afforded by a real monarchical element,—are alike unable to resist the attacks of their common enemies. It is the office of a sound constitutional system, never more urgently needed than now, to stem the torrent both of revolution and of imperialism. The Sardinian government has proved the ally and confederate of both.

## 2. Foreign Policy of Ministers.

From the moment of their accession to power, the present government has pursued with great candour and consistency, and as now appears, on grounds both of principle and policy, the plan of diminishing the Austrian power, and modifying the whole system of government in Italy. Their policy coincided to a very great extent with that of Sardinia, and altogether agreed more with Sardinia than with France.

June 22. Lord John Russell wrote to Lord Bloomfield:

"Her Majesty's government observes with great concern a disposition in Germany to take part in the war which has broken out between France and Sardinia on the one side, and Austria on the other. . . .

"The Prince Regent will, in his wisdom, weigh the impolicy of exposing his country to be considered the champion of the maladministration of Italy. It cannot be necessary for the security of Berlin and Magdeburg that misgovernment should prevail at Milan and Bologna."

July 7, he writes as follows:

"It might, perhaps, be premature to discuss whether the King of Sardinia should reign over Lombardy, Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, or whether several independent states in northern Italy should be maintained or created. Be their divisions and boundaries arranged as they may, it is the firm persuasion of her Majesty's government, that an Italy in which the people should be 'free citizens of a great country' would strengthen and confirm the balance of power. The independence of states is never so secure as when the sove-

reign authority is supported by the attachment of the people. A sovereign maintained wholly by the force of arms over a disaffected people, is a perpetual object of attack to her ambitious neighbours; and a balance of power founded on such discordant elements gives only an unstable equilibrium. If Italy could be ruled over by sovereigns possessed of the affections of their people, that country, with its 25,000,000 of inhabitants, its natural wealth, and its ancient civilisation, would, in the opinion of her Majesty's government, be a valuable member of the European family.

"I must not omit to state that any settlement of Italy would, in the eyes of her Majesty's government, be incomplete, which did not effect a permanent reform in the administration of the States of the Church. Every one knows that Rome and the Legations have been much worse governed by the Pope's ministers than Lombardy by Austrian archdukes; and that would be a partial and unsatisfactory arrangement, which struck down the rule of the latter, and left the former in all its deformity. Our views upon this subject have not been withheld from the government of the Emperor of the French.

"Such being the opinions of her Majesty's government on the present state of affairs, they are averse to any interposition which might either prove fruitless in the first instance, or which might lead to a partial and insecure settlement. Her Majesty used her utmost efforts, consistent with peace, to maintain the faith of treaties. At the last moment Austria, by an act of supreme imprudence, began the war, and invaded Piedmont. From that time every thing has been changed. Austria overstepped the frontier laid down in the treaties of 1815. It could no longer be expected that those treaties would be regarded as binding by France and Sardinia. Italy has been roused to war, and is taking her part in the struggle. In these circumstances her Majesty's government are bound to take a larger view of the whole field of contest. They will be glad to consult Prussia on every occasion where either power is of opinion that a step towards peace can be made

with good effect. It gives them pleasure to find that the cabinet of Berlin does not partake of the violent excitement which has lately arisen in some parts of Germany; and that, in directing the efforts of the German Confederation, she is animated by an enlightened care for the best interests of European civilisation."

Finally, in the debate on Lord Elcho's motion, August 8, Lord John Russell gave the following exposition of what must be considered, from the acquiescence of Lord Palmerston and of Mr. Gladstone, as the political system of the present administration. It is a complete adoption of the revolutionary theory, which the party who made the revolution of 1688, and who called themselves by the same name as that which is now in power, so energetically and so positively repudiated:

"The hon. gentleman, the member for Horsham, says, that while I spoke of the rights of the peoples of Tuscany and Modena, I omitted to notice the rights of the sovereigns who reign over them. I am afraid that in the eyes of the hon. gentleman I am a great heretic in that respect, because, although I have a great respect for sovereigns who have for generations maintained themselves on their thrones, and received the loyal respect of their subjects, I have no belief in the doctrine, such as the University of Cambridge once affirmed, which gives to the sovereign an inherent right to reign that no fault can alter or diminish. I cannot subscribe to a doctrine of that kind; and if I look to the sovereigns of Europe, I see many of them who could never subscribe to the doctrine, that a people have no right, upon fault or upon offence, to declare that they will no longer give their obedience to a sovereign who has not afforded them protection, and who has rightly forfeited their allegiance. To take the latest instance first, the King of the Belgians owes his crown to a popular revolution. Such too, though at a more remote date, is the foundation of the right of the King of Holland, who owes his throne to a popular revolt against the crown of Spain. Such is the foundation of the right of the King of Sweden, to whose crown

there is even now a pretender. Such, in fact, is the right of the Emperor of the French to his throne. If the right of legitimacy were to prevail, who but the Duke of Bordeaux could claim the allegiance of the people of France? And yet they pay no allegiance to him; but yield their willing submission to the emperor who now rules over them. Such, likewise, is the foundation of the right of our own dynasty. Our sovereign can claim no right superior to that derived from the decision of the parliament and people of Great Britain, that the throne was forfeited by the House of Stuart, in consequence of their violation of the rights of the people, and their withdrawing from the country over which they reigned. If such is the case, is Italy to be the only country the people of which are not to exercise this power? Are the people of Italy—who, as I have said, have been so moderate and so just in their proceedings, who have committed no outrages, who have taken part in no violence—to be deprived of that right, of that power, which had been exercised in Belgium, in Holland, in Sweden, in France, and in Great Britain? I cannot be a party to denying them that right. On the contrary, I believe that if you allow the people of Italy to settle their own concerns,—and that is the doctrine which my noble friend and myself have always held in this House, especially during the whole course of the present session,—if you allow the people of Italy, whether they have hitherto lived under the rule of the King of Sardinia, or of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or of the Duke of Modena, under the Pope, or under the King of the Two Sicilies, to settle with their sovereigns on what terms they shall pay their allegiance, there will no longer exist the irritation and discontent which has long prevailed, but they will proceed with peace and order to establish the foundations of good government."

In the same debate Mr. Gladstone also spoke. His speech on that occasion will live among the greatest achievements of parliamentary eloquence in our time. For this reason, and because he spoke as the chief of that section which is considered to

represent the Conservative element in the Cabinet, we may extract one or two passages.

"It may have been only an unhappy necessity of her position, but this, at any rate, is true, that for forty-five long years, wherever liberty reared its head in Italy, wherever there was the slightest attempt to procure even the hundredth part of those franchises which as Englishmen we hold so dear,—there the iron hand of Austria has interposed, and has reestablished in all their rigour the abuses of the actually existing governments. . . . It was commonly, and perhaps not untruly, said, that the Austrian provinces were better governed than other parts of Italy. I say there was some truth in this. It was necessary for the credit of Austria, as a great empire, that her administrative system in Italy, among a people so intelligent as the inhabitants of Lombardy and Venice, should be raised to a state of considerable excellence. But while she maintained that administrative superiority in her own provinces, as compared with the States of the Church and with Naples, she at the same time enforced the iron yoke upon the States of the Church and upon Naples, without having the power to procure for them the partial compensation of those administrative improvements which she herself was so careful to adopt. . . . What does the declaration made at Villafranca, for instance, that certain sovereigns should return to their territories, mean? It has received no authoritative construction, and I do not understand what it necessarily conveys beyond this: that the parties subscribing the terms of peace are perfectly willing that those sovereigns should return to their territories, other circumstances permitting. If it means that they are to be restored by force,—which interpretation, be assured, the Emperor of the French does not mean to put upon it,—then is there another reason furnished why the hands of her Majesty's government should not be tied up, and why they should not be prevented from protesting, with all that energy which the government of a free state can command, against a doctrine that would treat the in-

habitants of the territories in question as the property of so many ducal houses, who might dispose of them, their families, their fortunes, and those of their posterity, as they pleased, without any regard to that independent will and judgment which, as human beings, they are entitled to exercise."

### 3. Finance.

The alarm which was created in England by the Italian war, and by the successes of the French, was increased by the sudden conclusion of peace. The announcement of the peace of Villafranca was received in silence by the House of Lords; and in the House of Commons Lord John Russell only obtained a cheer by adding that there was no design of annexing Savoy to France as a compensation for her efforts in favour of Sardinia. In the country, people considered that the war in Italy had never given promise of territorial aggrandisement to France, and that it was not one in which success would satisfy the most violent passions of the French people. It was clear from the first that the Emperor would have to seek elsewhere conquests which would be a balm for the reverses, or a reward for the successes, he might meet with in Italy. These could only be obtained over Prussia or over England. The vulgar animosity which the people of France entertain against us, and the extent of the naval armaments, justified the expectation that we should have the preference. When the late government offered a bounty to seamen, the French navy was at once increased by 10,000 men. We learn from the *Quarterly Review* that the French government is determined to have fifty-five or sixty line-of-battle ships, and seventy-two steam transports, each capable of carrying on an average at least one thousand men, with their proportionate complement of horses and stores. This immense expenditure cannot be incurred without a purpose, at a time when the finances of France are in their present condition. "From 320,000,000*l.*, at which the French debt stood a few years ago, it now verges on 400,000,000*l.*, and the interest has crept up from 15,000,000*l.* a year to 21,000,000*l.* on the funded

and unfunded debt. Before the account for the Italian war is settled, it will not be so far behind the amount of interest we annually pay as is generally supposed; and this with a deficit in time of peace of from four to five millions a year."

To meet these vast armaments, the English government, both that of Lord Derby and that of Lord Palmerston, made very extensive preparations. The total of our regular army at present amounts to 86,000 men, besides 23,000 embodied militia. The 90 Rifle corps include about 25,000 men.

But it is at sea that England is menaced, and must be defended. In half a year we are promised 50 ships of the line, 37 frigates, and 140 corvettes, &c., besides block ships. We possess, moreover, an enormous reserve in our mercantile navy, employing above 160,000 seamen and 1854 steamers, of which 159 are above 1000 tons, and 231 could be armed and fitted for war. The army estimates were 13,299,000*l.*, being an excess of 1,288,000*l.* over those of last year; and the vote for the navy amounted to 12,782,000*l.*, being an increase of 3,891,000*l.* on the navy estimates of last year. The panic, therefore, will cost the country about 5,180,000*l.*

*July 18th*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the budget. The estimated expenditure of the year is 69,207,000*l.* The estimate of revenue is 64,340,000, leaving a deficiency of 4,867,000*l.* He proposed to supply this deficiency, caused entirely by the necessity of increasing the national defences, by diminishing the period of malt credits this year from eighteen to twelve weeks, by which the treasury would receive 780,000*l.* The remaining 4,000,000*l.* are to be met by an increase of 4*d.* on the Income Tax on incomes above 150*l.*, and 1½*d.* on incomes between 100*l.* and 150*l.* The whole increase is to be levied on the first half-year's payment.

#### 4. Catholic Affairs.

The meeting in St. James's Hall in behalf of the free exercise of the Catholic religion in gaols and work-houses was followed by a deputation to Lord Palmerston, and by inter-

views with the Home Secretary and with the President of the Poor-Law Board. No minister appears to have disputed the justice of the demands which were made. It remains to be seen whether they will have the strength to overcome the bigotry of the country, and to render it powerless against Catholic prisoners and paupers.

Considerable excitement was created in the Protestant world, and a deputation waited on Lord Palmerston to protest against further concessions to Catholics. They did not succeed in obtaining any modification of the opinions he had already expressed.

A synod has been held at Oscott, the proceedings of which have not transpired; and, after a conference at Dublin, the Irish Bishops have issued a pastoral embodying very important resolutions respecting popular education. The system which they unanimously condemn has had a long trial, and can at least be judged by its fruits. The following extract contains the substance of the pastoral:

"1. That schools for Catholic youth should be such as to ensure for them the benefit of a safe secular education, and adequate religious instruction in the faith and practices of the Catholic Church. They should be, therefore, so subordinated to Bishops in their respective dioceses, as that no books may be used in them for secular instruction to which the ordinary shall object; and that the teachers, both as to appointment and removal, and the selection of all books for religious instruction, and the arrangements for it, be under the control of the same ordinary. That the principles enunciated can be adequately embodied and acted upon in this country only on a system of education exclusively for Catholics. That the Catholics of Ireland have a right to obtain such a proportion of the aid allocated by Parliament for education as, regard being had to their numbers and the condition of the Catholic population, will suffice for the establishment and maintenance of schools to be conducted on thoroughly Catholic principles. That the concession of grants for exclusively Catholic schools in Great Britain and in the British co-

lonies is conclusive evidence of the fairness of the claim to a grant being made for Catholic schools in Ireland; and that the Catholic people of Ireland should therefore insist, through their representatives in Parliament, and by direct application to the Government, on obtaining such a grant. That the national system of education, though tolerated on account of the particular circumstances of the country, must be from its very nature in several respects objectionable to Catholics; and that the changes made in its rules from time to time, having been adverse to Catholic interests, have increased the distrust of the Catholic episcopacy. That we signalise as especially objectionable the non-recognition of the control over education which the Catholic Church holds to have been conferred on Bishops by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, when He said to His Apostles, 'Go, teach all nations' (*Matt. xxviii. 19*).

"2. The practical substitution, in its stead, of the control of a Board consisting of members of different religious denominations, predominantly Protestant, and deriving its authority exclusively from the State, whilst its power extends to, and is exercised in, matters vitally affecting religion.

"3. The education of Catholics—of teachers in the model or normal schools, even in history and philosophy, and of children in other schools, by Protestants.

"4. The constitution generally of the model and training schools, and their establishment throughout the country in opposition, in many cases, to the declared opinions of the local Bishops.

"5. The exclusion from the schools of the cross, and of all symbols of Catholic devotion.

"6. The character of several of the books published by the commissioners, the use of which is enforced in the schools under their immediate management, and is practically unavoidable in schools deriving aid from the Board.

"7. The rule adopted some years ago by the Board, according to which aid has been since its adoption refused for the erection or outfit of schools unless the school estate be vested in

the Board; a condition expressly at variance with the instructions of the Holy See, and the decision of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland in the National and Provincial Synods.

"8. The inherent evil in the system that the schools are all liable to inspection by Protestant officers of the Board; and the fact that schools exclusively attended by Catholics are, to a vast extent, exclusively under Protestant inspection.

"9. The fact that in schools deriving aid from the Board, Catholic children have received, and may receive, religious instruction from Protestant teachers, in opposition to the original constitution as laid down by Lord Stanley; the commissioners not recognising the rightful claims of Catholic pastors to be the guardians of the religion of Catholic youth in attendance at National schools.

"That we have been deeply alarmed by the attempts now making to induce the government to increase and aggravate the evils of the mixed system, by the establishment of intermediate schools on the principles of that system; and that we call upon the Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland to aid us in resisting, by meetings, petitions, and all other constitutional means, the establishment of such mixed intermediate schools for Catholics.

"That in the event of the establishment of a system of intermediate education, we claim a fair proportion of the public money for the support and establishment of separate schools to be conducted on Catholic principles, in which Catholic youth may receive a good and liberal education, without exposing their faith or morals to the dangers of the mixed system.

"That whereas numerous schools, colleges, and seminaries, erected at great expense, are already existing, under the direction of the proper Catholic ecclesiastical authorities, in which science and literature are diligently cultivated, and other similar institutions may be gradually erected, those schools, colleges, and seminaries afford the Government an easy means of giving us that aid for Catholic intermediate education to which we are fully entitled.

"That in accordance with the deci-

sion already pronounced by the Holy See, we reiterate our condemnation of the present system of education established in the Queen's Colleges; that we cannot but declare that the said system has signally failed, notwithstanding the enormous expense entailed by it on the country; and that we consider that the only means for the Government to free themselves from the responsibility of maintaining the present useless, expensive, and noxious system, would be to give over the Colleges of Cork and Galway, situated in Catholic provinces, to be conducted on Catholic principles, while the Presbyterians are provided for in the College of Belfast, and the members of the Established Church in the University of Dublin.

"That we shall embody the substance of the above resolutions in a memorial to the Chief Secretary of State for Ireland, calling on the Government to take our claims into consideration and to grant them."

In Parliament a bill was introduced by Sir William Somerville enabling Catholics to occupy the post of Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The debate, in which no Catholic members took part, was conducted as a party fight. It was not pressed to a division. It was chiefly interesting to know whether the leader of the opposition would stand by the Catholics, or would act in this case as the instrument of the Protestant party. Mr. Disraeli chose the former alternative, and was loudly denounced by the sturdy Protestants who sit behind him.

Ministers attempted to pass a bill for the settlement of Catholic Trusts, which the Catholic members compelled them to withdraw. The usual exemption was renewed until July 1, 1860. Mr. Bowyer undertook to introduce a bill on the subject, which will be considered next year.

To a Catholic the most interesting event perhaps of the late session occurred in the debate on Lord Elcho's motion, which amounted to a vote of want of confidence in the Foreign Secretary. Great caution and reserve have been displayed by ministers in speaking of the Emperor of the French; but they have been less diplomatic in their language regarding a sovereign who reigns over the

hearts of a larger portion of mankind, but whose power, not being represented by fleets and armies, offers no inducement to public men to curb the license of their tongues. The statesman who undertook to make up for the silence imposed upon his colleagues by the formidable vicinity of France, and to give the necessary relief to the compliments which they address to the Italian revolutionists by a corresponding vituperation of an Italian sovereign, was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the sovereign whom he selected as the object of his passionate denunciation was Pius IX.

"But to speak seriously, I must say, in reference to the Pope—quite apart from all sectarian differences—as a personage occupying an eminent station and possessing distinguished authority, as the head of a great body of Christian believers, that my wish would be to look upon him with all the respect which is due to those united titles. I, however, lament, as cordially as I could lament if I had the nearest interest in all that concerns him, when I see a sovereign who makes pretensions to represent in a peculiar sense the majesty of Heaven reduced to become a mendicant at foreign courts,—a mendicant, too, not for the purpose merely of obtaining the means of subsistence, but with the object of procuring military armaments whereby to carry the ravages of fire and sword over the fair provinces which he governs, and to rivet chains on the necks of men, every one of whom it is his direct personal interest to defend."

Mr. Gladstone was never more loudly cheered than when, in delivering this passage, he committed the act which will do most to prejudice his fair fame. It was said of an ancient historian, that if he had found that he could round off a period better by making Pompey win the battle of Pharsalus, he would have made him win it. It can hardly have been from mere stress of rhetoric that Mr. Gladstone invented and uttered this stupid and impudent calumny. Nobody before him has ventured to represent Pius IX. as a bloodthirsty and misanthropic tyrant. Yet he knew full well that if the Pope is assisted by foreign troops,—and Mr.

Gladstone's expressions apply to the French, not the Swiss,—it is because it is impossible without the aid of conscription to raise a Roman army proportionate to the size of the country and the exigencies of the time. There is not one state on the Continent, not even of those whose neutrality is assured by treaties, that has not an army at least twice as large in proportion to its population as the Papal army. A minister in a country which is unable in times of great emergency to raise a sufficient force of volunteers, which in our time hired mercenaries in Germany, and formerly purchased them of German princes, which once called to its aid, against its own subjects, the savages of America, and in our own time trusted its cause to the barbarous races of northern India, ought not to have denounced the Pope because, for the very same reason, out of respect for the liberty of his subjects, he too has recourse to foreign aid. The peaceful presence of the French is enough to preserve order in Rome, and we have not heard that they had been sent out to carry fire and sword over the provinces which the Pope governs. They brought him back, as the allies brought the Bourbons to Paris after twenty years of war. But Mr. Gladstone forgets that in England foreign troops were brought in to accomplish the two revolutions, which, as a sound Protestant and a sound Whig, he doubtless regards as the happiest events in the modern history of the country,—

the Reformation under Edward VI., and the Revolution which was accomplished by the Dutch soldiers of the Great Deliverer, of pious and immortal memory.

Mr. Gladstone has long enjoyed, above all our statesmen, the admiration of the country for his talents, and the esteem of the best men for his character; and he has long suffered from the dislike of the powerful party whose good opinion most men would be sorry to possess. This position has become, it appears, intolerable to him. He has approached the state of mind described by Mr. Burke as “a disposition to hope something from the variety and inconstancy of villany, rather than from the tiresome uniformity of fixed principle.” He has been respectable too long, and it has not answered. He has resolved to turn over a new leaf, and to try whether he will not be more acceptable to the country by borrowing something of Lord Palmerston's contempt for right, some of the claptrap of Lord John, and some of the bitterness of Mr. Newdegate. But in sacrificing his old friends, he will not be sure of the new. It is easy to lose respectability; it is not easy to obtain popularity. His new allies will never forget his past career, they will never think him one of themselves. And they will be right; for in his assumed bigotry and his radical politics he has neither the merit of sincerity nor the excuse of blindness.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

### 1. *Battle of Solferino.*

After the defeat at Magenta and the fall of Milan, the Austrians resolved to abandon all their positions in Lombardy and on the right bank of the Po, in order to concentrate their forces for a battle on the Mincio. The evacuation of Piacenza, in particular, which had been fortified in extraordinary haste and at vast expense, and which was so strong that its garrison would have threatened Milan, and might have diverted a

very considerable force from the advancing army of the allies, operated greatly to increase the moral effect of the battle on the Ticino. In the eastern part of Lombardy the country people exhibited great apathy, and little of that hostility to Austria which was shown in most of the large towns. They seemed to expect that the Austrians would soon return; and the allies found greater difficulty in obtaining assistance and information from them than the Austrians had found in Piedmont. Yet

for a fortnight their progress was unimpeded; and before the decisive action took place 8393 Austrian prisoners had been sent to France. Amongst these there were many deserters. Considerable disaffection prevailed in some of the Italian regiments, two of which were sent home to Germany; at the same time the Croats of the military frontier showed little inclination to fight, and readily laid down their arms.

For a time the Austrians seemed disposed to await the enemy on the left bank of the Chiese, but ultimately retired across the Mincio; and on the 23d June the whole space between the Chiese and the Mincio separated the two armies. On the morning of that day the Austrian army recrossed the Mincio at five points, and took up a very strong position, with the centre at Solferino, with the intention of giving battle on the morrow. Later in the day the allied army advanced also, leaving only the corps of Canrobert to the extreme right beyond the Chiese, where it took little part in the ensuing conflict. The French centre was at Montechiaro, and the Sardinians on the left extended to the Lake of Garda. The outposts were opposite each other on the evening of the 23d.

The battle began early in the morning, on the 24th June; and at half-past one in the afternoon the key of the Austrian position at Solferino was taken. At this time the contest on their left wing was undecided, and on the right Benedek had repulsed the Sardinians; but the Austrians were obliged to retire, and recrossed the Mincio in unbroken order. It was a defeat very similar in its character to that which the first Napoleon encountered at Aspern, and which he retrieved at Wagram. It is said that the firing was heard at Trieste.

The Austrians, according to their official report, had about 140,000 men engaged; and the allies, according to the *Patrie*, 157,000. Officers who were present on the ground computed the French force engaged at 110,000, the Sardinian at 40,000, and the Austrian at 133,000; but the bulk of the Austrian cavalry, under Zedwitz, 10,000 strong, was left at Goito all day. But the nu-

merical superiority of the allies was entirely on their left wing, where the Sardinians opposed Benedek's corps of 24,000 men with a greatly superior force, so that the Austrians met the French in the centre and on their left with nearly equal numbers. Their loss, according to the official *Wiener Zeitung*, was 630 officers and 12,367 men, killed and wounded (of whom 2,352 were killed) and 6,314 prisoners; in all 19,311, and 13 guns. The loss of the allies, besides prisoners, amounted, according to the *Moniteur*, to 944 officers and 17,305 men, killed and wounded.

The battle of Solferino, the most important for all Europe that has been fought since Waterloo, confirms what was said by a military writer last April: "At the present day, in consequence of the admirable qualities of armies, even a general of very moderate capacity will accomplish something, provided he has a sufficient force; without very considerable superiority of numbers, no brilliant victories. It is becoming more and more difficult to be a great general."

The causes which determined the result of the battle must undoubtedly be sought, first, in the superiority either of the commanders or of the men. Several characteristic facts have come to light. The Austrian system brings the youngest troops into action first. Those battalions of the regiments engaged which consist of veterans did not reach Italy until the beginning of July. "It is in case of reverses," says M. Thiers, "that old soldiers are excellent. Under fire young soldiers led by energetic officers are doubtless more impetuous, because they know less of danger; but at the first reverse they are bewildered—the first sufferings disgust them; and, especially if they have been only a short time under command, a check confounds them, and converts their rash bravery into profound discouragement." The French emperor, unlike his uncle, has pursued with great success the plan of using his best troops at once. Next, the variety of nations of which the Austrian army is composed is injurious not so much to its harmony as to its equality (there are 54,000 Protestants and 16,000 Jews in the Aus-

trian service). The Hungarian cavalry and the riflemen of the Alps are better troops than those of the rest of the empire. It is to the *Jägers* that the unexampled mortality among the officers in the allied armies is due. The French officers in particular take the lead, in order to encourage their men in moments of extreme peril. The cry of "*épaulettes en avant*" was often heard by the Austrians during the repeated assaults of the French on the tower at Solferino, which is called the "*Spia d'Italia*." On the other hand, the French artillery was less destructive than was anticipated. The Emperor Napoleon, who has written extremely well on artillery, devised a gun of his own, which, in 1852, he introduced into the French army, in spite of very general opposition among his officers. But his short twelve-pounders proved a failure, and were given up. The famous new rifled guns were invented and patented in France, in 1856, by Mr. Whitworth, who has since succeeded in making a gun of a much more formidable description. At Solferino it was observed that they fired high. An officer writes, "I saw more than 200 shells go over the third *Jäger* battalion, without doing any damage." It was found, indeed, that the safest place was in the van. The artillery-officer who was the *Times* correspondent at the Austrian headquarters writes: "Amongst the wounded, to the number of 4000 or 5000, who are now in Verona and the surrounding villages, it is remarkable how few are suffering from wounds inflicted by artillery." On the other hand, many were suffering from wounds in the neck and arms inflicted by the *teeth* of the *Turcos*. The reason of the proclamation, in which the Emperor of the French tells his soldiers not to be afraid of the *armes de précision*, was, that a very small portion of his own troops are furnished with them.

Among the instances of bad management on the part of the Austrians, to which the early part of the campaign has accustomed us, is the circumstance that one part of the army was attacked before breakfast, so that they fought fasting, while the remainder had nothing to eat after seven o'clock. At Verona no

wine was served out to them, but they received money to buy it; and there was none to be had. On the day of the battle there were beds prepared at Verona for only 1000 wounded, and the place was not provisioned. These faults were, however, quickly repaired. In particular, while the hospital-fever raged in the hospitals in Lombardy, where the heat was intense; whilst at Milan, a fortnight after the battle, there were 12,436 men in hospital, and about 5000 at Cremona,—the Austrians escaped disease in great measure by sending their wounded by rail to the interior of the empire.

The two Emperors were exposed to a heavy fire for many hours. It was said, with unnecessary exaggeration, that the Emperor of the French was so hotly engaged that he had his epaulet shot away. It was torn off while he was mounting his horse at Castelnedolo in the morning. He himself announced that he slept, on the night after the battle, in the room at Cavriana which the Emperor of Austria had occupied in the morning, though it is known that Francis Joseph was never off his horse when at Cavriana.

## 2. Concluding Events of the War.

The Austrians retired within their famous quadrangle of fortresses, one army withdrawing towards Mantua, the other to Verona. The population of Verona exhibited signs of discontent and hatred to the Austrians, and provoked from the Governor-General Urban a proclamation, June 26th, in which he says: "The public has to busy itself as little as possible with military movements; the educated civilian knows how to contain his curiosity; the malcontent, belonging to the mob, becomes insolent and presumptuous; he will have to thank himself for the consequences." And again, "No difference will be made in persons, as I shall simply punish the act or the intention. In order that the inhabitants of Verona may know what kind of person they have to deal with, I declare that every one of them may have confidence in me, as a loyal Austrian, but that I have confidence in none of them."

Meantime the French followed the Austrians across the Mincio on the

fourth day after the battle; and the Piedmontese, whose siege-train had not arrived, invested the fortress of Peschiera. At the same time, Prince Napoleon, who with 35,000 men had marched through Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, every where encouraging the movement in favour of the independence of Italy, but meeting with little encouragement for his own designs, arrived with his army. Gunboats were being conveyed by land to the lake of Garda, in order to aid in the siege of Peschiera; and Garibaldi was sent with his volunteers, and a body of Piedmontese regulars, up the Valtellina, to force the Stelvio, and threaten the Austrian communications with Tyrol. A powerful fleet was collected in the Adriatic for the purpose of attacking Venice, by which their retreat would have been cut off.

And now the time seemed to have arrived when the strength of those fortresses, by which the Austrians were deemed to be invincible in Italy, was to be tested by the new instruments of attack of which the French army speak with so much hope. It is commonly said that the science of attack has advanced more rapidly than the science of defence in war. The enormous armies which were introduced in the revolutionary wars, by allowing a commander to pass by fortresses without any apprehensions from the small garrisons which they contained, undoubtedly gave a severe blow to the old systems of fortification; and the new inventions in artillery have decided the fate of all places fortified on the old plan. But the wars of Napoleon taught a lesson to engineers, and led to the adoption of a new system, the efficacy of which has not yet been tried against the new artillery. It consists simply in the substitution of a large army for a defensive garrison. For this purpose, the defences are so enormously extended, that they cannot be invested, and are able to contain a force almost equal to the largest that can be brought against them. The two conditions under which a siege was formerly supposed to give promise of success were, first, a great superiority of force on the part of the assailants; and secondly, the possibility of so surrounding the

place that no reinforcements could reach it. In the absence of these conditions, Sebastopol, though hastily and imperfectly fortified, resisted for nearly a year. Of the fortresses composing the quadrangle, Verona alone is constructed in this manner. The time that Peschiera and Legnago could hold out may be easily computed, and a small force is sufficient to blockade Mantua. But Verona, defended by the whole Austrian army, is deemed impregnable, until by the fall of Venice and the occupation of southern Tyrol the communications with Austria are cut off. For this purpose, the French admiral in the Adriatic received orders to attack Venice, and was on the point of doing so (July 10th) when the armistice was signed. At the same time Garibaldi attacked the position of the Austrians on the Stelvio; and here, July 8th, the last action of the war was fought. The Austrian position on the heights was almost impregnable, and the Italians were repulsed by a very small force of *Kaiserjäger* and volunteers.

### 3. *The Armistice.*

In the first days of July an exchange of prisoners was effected, and a letter was written by Marshal Vaillant with the first hints of a truce. The Emperor of Austria did not attend to this proposal; and on the evening of the 6th, General Fleury was sent by Napoleon to Verona with direct proposals of an armistice; for the French expected an attack on the 7th, and turned out at three in the morning to meet it. Fleury had found Francis Joseph in bed. He got up, and promised an answer next morning. Meantime he telegraphed to Berlin, where Prince Windischgrätz was endeavouring to induce the Prussian Regent to act energetically on behalf of Austria, sending a pressing request to the Regent to know definitively what he intended to do. The Prussian government declined to give any positive answer.

On the arrival of this despatch, Francis Joseph agreed to the truce. General Fleury brought the news to the Emperor of the French about ten on the morning of the 7th; and on leaving Verona he spoke to the

officers whom he saw of the probability of peace.

The Paris newspapers that announced this news received the following *communiqué*: "It would be premature to attach too much importance to this announcement. There is no question of a diplomatic arrangement, but only of a military act." A similar warning appeared in the *Moniteur*, and orders came to press forward the French armaments as energetically as possible.

*July 8.* An armistice was signed at Villafranca between Marshal Vailant and General Hess. Hostilities were not to recommence until August the 16th at noon. The armies to retain their actual positions, the works at Peschiera to remain as they were, but the place to be provisioned in two days.

On the following day Napoleon wrote to Francis Joseph proposing an interview, and laying down the conditions on which he was prepared to make peace, adding, that if these terms were deemed unsatisfactory, it would be better that no meeting should take place, as it would be painful to renew hostilities with one with whom he had just become personally acquainted.\* Prince Alexander of Hesse was sent to Napoleon on Sunday the 10th to arrange the meeting.

Yet, on the same day, the Emperor Napoleon issued a proclamation to his troops, in which the conclusion of peace was made to appear still uncertain and improbable: "This truce will permit you to rest after your glorious labours, and to recover, if necessary, new strength to continue the work which you have so gloriously inaugurated by your courage and your devotion. I am about to return to Paris, and shall leave the provisional command of my army to Marshal Vaillant; but as soon as the hour of combat shall have struck, you will see me again amongst you in order to share your dangers."

#### 4. Peace of Villafranca.

On the morning of Monday 11th July, the two Emperors met at Villa-

\* This letter was the immediate cause of the conclusion of peace, and the suspicion of false play and mendacity on the part of the French emperor can refer only to it.

franca. After some ceremony, Napoleon entered the house first, saying, "Vous êtes chez vous," thereby giving the officers present a hint about the fate of Venetia; and in an interview of three-quarters of an hour settled the terms of peace, which were taken by Prince Napoleon to Verona on the evening of the 11th, and there signed by Francis Joseph, and then taken to Victor Emmanuel at Monzambano, who resisted a long time, and signed in great disgust. Prince Napoleon was eager for peace. The terms are as follows:

"Between his majesty the Emperor of Austria and his majesty the Emperor of the French it has been agreed as follows:

"The two sovereigns will favour the creation of an Italian Confederation.

"That Confederation shall be under the honorary presidency of the Holy Father.

"The Emperor of Austria cedes to the Emperor of the French his rights over Lombardy, with the exception of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, so that the frontier of the Austrian possessions shall start from the extreme range of the fortress of Peschiera, and shall extend in a direct line along the Mincio as far as Grazio; thence to Scorzarolo and Luzana to the Po, whence the actual frontiers shall continue to form the limits of Austria. The Emperor of the French will hand over (*remettra*) the ceded territory to the King of Sardinia.

"Venetia shall form part of the Italian Confederation, though remaining under the crown of the Emperor of Austria.

"The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena return to their States, granting a general amnesty.

"The two emperors will ask the Holy Father to introduce indispensable reforms into his States.

"A full and complete amnesty is granted on both sides to persons compromised in the late events in the territories of the belligerent parties.

"Done at Villafranca the 11th of July 1859."

Both emperors immediately issued orders of the day, announcing to their armies the conditions of the

peace. That of the Emperor of Austria is as follows :

“ *Verona, 12th July 1859.*

“ Trusting in the goodness of my cause, I engaged in the contest for the sanctity of treaties, relying on the enthusiasm of my people, on the valour of my army, and on the natural allies of Austria.

“ My people I have found ready for every sacrifice; the sanguinary battles have displayed anew to the world the heroism and intrepidity of my brave army, who, inferior in numbers, after thousands of officers and men had sealed with their lives their attachment to their duty, look cheerfully forward, with unbroken strength and courage, to the continuation of the fight. Without an ally, I yield only to the unfavourable position of political affairs, in presence of which it becomes my first duty not to make useless demands on the blood of my soldiers and the sacrifices of my people. I conclude peace on the basis of the line of the Mincio.

“ With all my heart I thank my army. I have had a new proof how unreservedly I can reckon upon it in future wars.”

The Emperor of the French enters into political details with his soldiers. This is highly characteristic of that prætorian tone which the French army has assumed under the Empire, in which it has ceased to be a mere instrument, and has become a political power in the state:

“ Soldiers,—The bases of a peace have been agreed on with the Emperor of Austria; the principal object of the war is attained; Italy will for the first time become a nation. A confederation of all the States of Italy, under the honorary presidency of the Pope, will reunite in one group the members of the same family. Venice, it is true, will remain under the sceptre of Austria; but it will be, nevertheless, an Italian province, forming part of the Confederation.

“ The union of Lombardy to Piedmont creates for us on this side of the Alps a powerful ally, who will owe to us his independence. The governments that have taken no part in this movement, or are recalled to their territories, will comprehend the necessity of salutary reforms. A ge-

neral amnesty will remove all traces of civil discord. Italy, henceforth the mistress of her own destinies, can only blame herself if she does not progress in order and liberty.

“ You will soon return to France; a grateful country will receive with joy the soldiers who have carried to so high a point the glory of our arms at Montebello, Palestro, Turbigo, Magenta, Marignano, and Solferino; who in two months have liberated Piedmont and Lombardy, and have only stopped because the conflict was assuming a magnitude no longer in proportion to the interests that France had in this formidable war.

“ Be proud, then, of your success; proud of the results obtained; proud, above all, of being the beloved sons of France, which will always be a great nation as long as she has the heart to comprehend noble causes, and men like you to defend them.”

### *5. Imperial Explanations.*

Immediately after peace was signed, the two emperors returned home. On July 15th the Emperor of Austria published a proclamation addressed, “ To my people.”

“ When all concessions that were allowable, and compatible with the dignity of the crown and the honour and welfare of the country, have been exhausted, and when all attempts at a pacific arrangement have miscarried, there is no room for choice, and what cannot be avoided becomes a duty.

“ This duty placed me under the stern necessity of demanding from my people new and painful sacrifices, in order to place in a state of defence their most sacred interests. My faithful people have responded to my appeal; they have pressed forward unanimously in defence of the throne, and they have made the sacrifices of every kind demanded by circumstances with an eagerness which merits my gratitude—which augments, if possible, the profound affection which I feel for them—and which was adapted to inspire the assurance that the just cause in defence of which my brave armies went forth with enthusiasm to the contest would be victorious.

“ Unhappily the result has not corresponded with the general effort,

and the fortune of war has not been favourable to us.

"The valiant army of Austria has, in this instance, again given proofs of its tried heroism and its incomparable perseverance, so brilliant that it has commanded the admiration of all, even of its enemies. I experience a legitimate pride in being the chief of such an army; and the country ought to feel indebted to it for having maintained vigorously, in all its purity, the honour of the Austrian flag.

"It is not less perfectly established that our enemies, in spite of the greatest efforts, in spite of the superior forces which they had for a long period been preparing for the conflict, have been able, even by making the greatest sacrifices, to obtain only advantages, not a decisive victory; while the Austrian army, still animated by the same ardour, and full of the same courage, maintained a position, the possession of which left perhaps a possibility of recovering from the enemy all the advantages that he had gained. But for this purpose it would have been necessary to make new sacrifices, which certainly would not have been less bloody than those which have been made already, and which have deeply afflicted my heart.

"Under these conditions it was my duty as a sovereign to take into serious consideration the propositions of peace which had been made to me. The consequences of this continuance of the war would have been so much the heavier, because I should have been obliged to demand from the faithful people of my dominions new sacrifices of blood and of money, much more considerable even than those which had been made up to that time. And, notwithstanding, success would have remained doubtful, since I have been so bitterly deceived in my well-founded hopes that, this contest not having been entered into for the defence of the rights of Austria only, I should not be left alone in it.

"In spite of the ardent sympathy, worthy of acknowledgment, which the justice of our cause has inspired, for the most part, in the governments and peoples of Germany, our natural allies, most ancient allies, have ob-

stinately refused to recognise the great importance of the grand question of the day. Consequently Austria would have been obliged all alone to face the events which were being prepared for, and which every day might have rendered more grave.

"The honour of Austria coming intact out of this war, thanks to the heroic efforts of her valiant army, I have resolved, yielding to political considerations, to make a sacrifice for the reëstablishment of peace, and to accept the preliminaries which ought to lead to its conclusion; for I have acquired the conviction that I should obtain in any event conditions less unfavourable in coming to a direct understanding with the Emperor of the French, without the blending of any third party whatsoever, than in causing to participate in the negotiations the three great powers which have taken no part in the struggle. Unhappily I have been unable to escape the separation from the rest of the empire of the greater part of Lombardy. On the other hand, it must be agreeable to my heart to see the blessings of peace assured afresh to my beloved people; and these blessings are doubly precious to me, because they will give me the necessary leisure for bestowing henceforth, without distraction, all my attention and solicitude on the fruitful task that I propose to accomplish—that is to say, to found in a durable manner the internal well-being and the external power of Austria by the happy development of her moral and material forces, and by ameliorations conformable to the spirit of the time in legislation and administration. As in these days of serious trials and sacrifices my people have shown themselves faithful to my person, so now by the confidence with which they respond to me they will aid in accomplishing works of peace, and in attaining the realisation of my benevolent intentions.

"As chief of the army, I have already expressed to it, in a special order of the day, my acknowledgments of its bravery. To-day I renew the expression of these sentiments. While I speak to my people, I thank those of their children who have fought for God, their Emperor, and their country. I thank them for the hero-

ism of which they have given proof, and I shall always remember with grief those of our brave companions in arms who have not, alas, returned from the combat."

The Emperor Napoleon arrived at Paris July 17th, and on the 19th received the congratulations of the great bodies of the state at St. Cloud. He replied as follows :

"Gentlemen,—Finding myself again in the midst of you, who during my absence have shown so much devotion to the Empress and to my son, I feel first of all the desire to thank you, and then to explain to you the motives of my conduct.

"When, after a successful campaign of two months, the French and Sardinian armies pitched their camp before the walls of Verona, the struggle was evidently on the point of undergoing a change in a military, as well as in a political point of view. I was fatally obliged to attack in front an enemy intrenched behind great fortresses, protected against any diversion on his flanks by the neutrality of the territories which surrounded him; and in commencing the long and sterile war of sieges I found in presence of me Europe in arms, ready either to dispute our success or to aggravate our reverses.

"Nevertheless, the difficulty of the enterprise would neither have shaken my resolution nor stopped the enthusiasm of my army, had not the means been out of proportion with the results to be expected. It was necessary to resolve boldly to break through the barriers raised by neutral territories, and then to accept the struggle on the Rhine as well as on the Adige. It came to this: to accept every where the support of revolution. More precious blood must have been shed, and enough has been shed already; in a word, to succeed it was necessary to stake what no sovereign ought to stake, unless the independence of his country is in danger.

"If, then, I stopped short, it was not from weariness or exhaustion, nor from abandonment of the noble cause I wished to serve, but because a louder voice spoke within my heart — 'the interests of France.'

"Do you imagine it cost me nothing to put a break upon the ardour

of my soldiers, who, excited by victory, wished to advance?

"Do you suppose that it cost me nothing publicly in the face of Europe to curtail from my programme the territory which extends from the Mincio to the Adriatic?

"Do you imagine that it cost me nothing to behold noble illusions destroyed in honest hearts, patriotic hopes extinguished?

"To serve Italian independence, I waged war against the grain of Europe. As soon as the destinies of my country were imperilled, I concluded peace.

"And can it now be said that our efforts and sacrifices are a pure loss? No. As I said in my farewell address to my soldiers, we have a right to be proud of this short campaign. In four combats and two battles a powerful army, inferior to none in organisation and bravery, has been defeated. The King of Piedmont, once styled the Guardian of the Alps, has seen his country delivered from invasion, and the frontier line of his states extended from the Ticino to the Mincio. The idea of Italian nationality is admitted by its warmest opponents. All the sovereigns of the Italian peninsula understand at last the imperious necessity of salutary reforms.

"Thus, after having given a new proof of the military power of France, the peace which I have just concluded will be fruitful of happy results; the future will reveal them daily more and more for the happiness of Italy, the influence of France, the quiet of Europe."

#### 6. *Resignation of Cavour.*

On his return to Milan, July 13th, Victor Emmanuel caused the following proclamation to be posted up :

"*The King to the People of Lombardy*—Heaven has blessed our arms. With the powerful aid of our magnanimous and valiant ally the Emperor Napoleon, we arrived in a few days, after victory upon victory, at the banks of the Mincio. To-day I come back among you to tell you the happy news that Heaven has granted your wishes. An armistice, followed by the preliminaries of peace, assures to the people of Lombardy their independence. According to your de-

sire, so many times expressed, you will henceforth form, with our ancient States, one single and free family. I will take your destiny under my direction, and hope to find in you that concurrence which the chief of a state needs in order to create a new administration. I will tell you, people of Lombardy, trust to your king. Established on solid and imperishable bases, he will procure happiness for the new countries which Heaven has intrusted to his government."

On the 12th July, Count Cavour resigned with his colleagues; and the Regent sent immediately for Count Arese, a nobleman supposed to have been in the confidence of Napoleon. But Count Arese failed in his attempt to form a ministry; and the task was intrusted, on July 14th, to M. Ratazzi, who succeeded in forming an administration consisting entirely of old colleagues or supporters of Count Cavour. The Emperor of the French was pacified by the assurance that the appointment of Arese would provoke a very strong anti-French movement in Italy, and that Ratazzi was the only man who could conciliate the Radical party.

The resignation of Count Cavour was the most significant demonstration which the conclusion of peace provoked. The author of the French alliance was the first to repudiate and condemn it. In acknowledging that he felt himself disappointed and betrayed, he gave the signal of the violent reaction which set in at once against the ally who had driven the Austrians from Lombardy.

It can hardly be doubted that Count Cavour not only occasioned the war by his ambition, but also very much contributed to its premature termination. The early successes of the allies brought out rapidly the difference and the inconsistencies that subsisted between their respective designs. Under cover of the French victories, the schemes for the aggrandisement of Piedmont in central Italy were pushed to maturity, so as to thwart the plan of establishing a Bonaparte dynasty on the throne of Etruria. Cavour had protested against the mission of Prince Napoleon, and his emissaries succeeded in frustrating the design with

which it was undertaken, and in preventing the French cause from deriving the smallest advantage from it. When the Prince reached the head-quarters of the Emperor, he was obliged to admit that he had failed, and that the Piedmontese party alone had been strengthened by his progress. Sardinian commissaries ruled supreme in Tuscany, in Modena, in Parma, and even in the Legations. This was more than the Emperor of the French was prepared for. He was willing to strengthen Piedmont at the expense of Austria, and as a bulwark against her; but it was not in his interest to allow her to become so powerful as to be a formidable neighbour to France, nor to suffer her to obtain any thing except by his own gift. The acquisition of the duchies by means of the revolutionary movement would have made the revolution supreme in the new state, and the appropriation of Bologna would have led to a hopeless breach with the whole Catholic world. So that Count Cavour seems to have overshot his mark.

The feelings of the King of Sardinia probably resembled those of his skilful minister. Before the commencement of the war the French Emperor had been much too slow for him. At one time, when he seemed to hesitate in the accomplishment of the design so long matured, and in the performance of promises often reiterated, the indignation of Victor Emmanuel was extreme. He threatened to publish the letters of the Emperor. He even talked of going to Paris to fight with him. At length he found himself once more on the Mincio, almost as far as his father had arrived with Italian troops alone. The first Napoleon with 40,000 men drove three Austrian armies out of Italy, and penetrated into Styria. His nephew seemed to have inherited his military genius and fortune. What might not be expected from such an ally! Such an opportunity of carrying his dominion to the Isonzo could never come again. Suddenly he was informed that his ally meant to stop, with his contract half performed, and to make peace before he had met with a single check, as if a great reverse had taught him the limits of his conquests. A neutral

power, the Emperor told him, obliged him to make peace. At first he spoke of carrying on the war alone, and continued his military armaments and levies. The Tuscan government received directions to keep their levies under arms for six months more; and the Tuscan contingent that had joined the grand army, having shown signs of returning loyalty when peace was made, were prevented from going home.

It seems hardly doubtful that less consideration was shown by Napoleon towards his ally than to his enemy. The King seems to have been consulted on the armistice without any intimation of the peace which was so soon to follow. The day after the armistice was signed Count Cavour arrived from Turin at head-quarters, and appears to have entertained no suspicions, or to have allowed them to be removed. It is said that he learnt the conclusion of peace from the passage of the telegram to the Empress through the telegraph-office at Turin, and immediately summoned the council of ministers, at which they determined to resign. The steps which led directly to the interview of the Emperors and the conclusion of peace seem to have been confided neither to the King of Sardinia nor to the government in Paris.

#### 7. *Effect of the Peace in Italy.*

The news of peace were received in great part of Italy with frantic indignation. Garibaldi declared that he would throw up his commission. Victor Emmanuel prevailed on him to change his resolution, and even to persuade his followers to remain under the standard of Sardinia.

On the 13th of July, at Turin, the mob obliged the printsellers to remove the portrait of Louis Napoleon from their shop-windows, and that of Orsini was substituted. The *Indipendente* appeared with a black mourning border.

On the 14th, at Genoa, an actor who represented the French Emperor in *La Guerra o la Pace*, was overwhelmed with hisses, and with rotten oranges, potatoes, &c.

At Florence the people rushed to the printer's, and destroyed all the remaining copies of the newspaper that had announced the peace.

At Milan a report was spread that the news was false. When the truth of it was officially confirmed, the excitement of the people was so extreme that five persons are said to have gone mad.

The following address to Victor Emmanuel was circulated throughout the kingdom, and received numerous signatures:

"Sire,—The deep sense of disappointment, the profound consternation which was produced throughout the country by the unforeseen announcement of a peace so different from what it had a right to expect, has been somewhat mitigated by the universal conviction that that peace was not your work, and that the name of the First Soldier of Italian Independence still remains pure, glorious, and uncontaminated. . . . All can understand, sire, what your sufferings must be. Italy, whose cry of anguish reached your heart, now understands the irresistible eloquence of your silence."

A somewhat different tone prevails in Savoy, the most Catholic and Conservative, or, as we should say, Ultramontane province of the Sardinian dominions. Neither the spoliation of the Church nor the revolutionary war was to the taste of the Savoyards. Before the war broke out Cavour is said to have assured one of their deputies, that when peace should be concluded and the Austrian dominions in Italy annexed to Piedmont, it should be left open to the Savoyards to determine whether they were to remain under Victor Emmanuel or to be ceded to France. A petition has been handed about in Savoy, praying the King to permit that the province might be annexed to France. As no printer could be prevailed upon to print it, it is uncertain in what terms it is drawn up. Nor can we tell how far this demonstration has been made at the instigation of the French Government, or whether it is caused by aversion for the Piedmontese Government, or by the fascination which, as we know, the state of the French Church exercises over the Catholic inhabitants of some other countries.

#### 8. *Attitude of the Neutral Powers.*

The unmistakable exhibition of po-

pular feeling throughout Germany, more especially in the smaller States, encouraged Austria to hope for assistance, which she did not receive. It did not seem possible that the princes or the Diet could resist the strong enthusiasm of the people.

This enthusiasm was not displayed in words alone. Though war-taxes pressed heavily on the people of Germany, they made extraordinary exertions and sacrifices for the support of the Austrian army. The Sisters of Charity in the Palatinate offered to send twenty-four of their number to nurse the wounded in Italy. The peasants of Upper Bavaria, hearing that there was a deficiency of straw for the wounded to lie on in the hospitals of Tyrol, drove innumerable cart-loads of their own across the frontier. Bavaria alone made a larger collection of money, lint, bandages, cigars, &c. than was contributed by the whole of Austria, where the Patriotic Fund did not exceed 40,000*l*. The inhabitants of the little Duchy of Nassau sent an offering of 2000*l*. to Verona. Even at Cologne similar collections were made on a large scale.

Nor was the sympathy of the German people exhibited only in this manner. We gave last month an extract from the diplomatic note of the Russian Government, attempting to pacify Germany. It was answered by the Saxon Minister, Von Beust, June 15.

"Prince Gortschakoff will know how to appreciate the considerations which induce us to manifest a certain reserve on entering on the subject. He will not consider a German government less excusable for permitting itself not to share the severe judgment passed on the conduct of the Austrian Government, which, according to the despatch of Prince Gortschakoff, is alone responsible for the calamities of war. . . . Unless we fail in the duty of impartiality towards a confederate government, it would be impossible for us to dwell on the episode of a congress, which was a mere phase, and not on the circumstances which preceded and brought about the war. If, instead of so doing, we regard the origin of the complications which caused the war to break out, we cannot forget

that the Austrian Government, having done nothing which could give offence to its neighbours or to any power whatever in Europe, was first of all disquieted, and afterwards menaced, in the peaceable exercise of its rights of sovereignty. It is still difficult for us not to entertain the conviction, that if such enterprises, instead of encountering the sympathies, had incurred the unequivocal blame of Europe, the scourge of war would very probably have been averted from humanity, even before the question of a congress was raised. . . .

"The despatch of Prince Gortschakoff reminds us that the French Government has solemnly proclaimed that it has no hostile intention towards Germany. It at the same time informs us that this declaration was received with ready assent by the majority of the Great Powers. We, however, remember a manifesto proclaiming the intention of delivering Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. Has this declaration also obtained the ready assent of the Great Powers?"

A month later the Bavarian Parliament was summoned, in order to vote money for the military establishment, which had exceeded, in proportion to the population of Bavaria, that of every other European State. In their address in answer to the king's speech, the First Chamber said:

"The consciousness that your Majesty has fully discharged your federal engagements helps us to support the pain of our baffled hopes."

The Vice-President explained that it was necessary expressly to deplore the causes which had baffled the hopes of Germany; but that as they were so well known, it would not be necessary to define them.

The Chamber of Deputies said, in their address:

"Valuing above all things the interests and the honour of our Fatherland, we shall furnish your majesty with all the resources that the present condition of affairs demands. The course of events has painfully deceived the hopes which the enthusiasm and generosity of the people justified. In our sorrow we can at least find comfort in the reflection that Bavaria can look forward without reproach to the time when history shall call the present generation

to account. Never can we be diverted from the purpose which is that of all the Germans, or waver in our endeavour to unite them."

Without Prussia the Germanic Confederation is powerless; whilst at the same time it is only through Germany that Prussia is a great power. All the German States, and with the exception of the democrats, nearly all the German people, were ready to follow the lead of Prussia, provided they were led across the Rhine. Prussia accepted the lead, without entering into any engagements; and used her position only to neutralise the popular movement, and disappoint the general expectation.

*July 2.* The Diet resolved to place an army of observation on the Upper Rhine, under Prince Charles of Bavaria; and recommended at the same time that the whole federal army should be put on a war footing, and that a unity of command should be established.

*July 4 and July 7.* Propositions were made respectively by Prussia and Austria, which were referred to a commission, which had not decided when the preliminaries of peace were signed. They were withdrawn, July 16, when Austria proposed the reduction of the federal army to a peace footing.

Austria had proposed to give the command of the whole Federal army to the Regent of Prussia; offering to place under his orders 35,000 Austrian troops beyond her regular contingent. This offer was refused, on the plea that a sovereign prince could not consent to submit, as is the case with the federal commander, to the authority of the Diet. By this offer, Austria placed her influence in Germany at the feet of the Regent; gave him the command of 130,000 Austrian troops, and recognised the Prussian hegemony. When it was rejected, it was clear that Prussia was resolved not to go to war at any price; and it became clear, too, that in the presence of that resolution, the Confederation was unable to act.

The Prussian diplomatists declared that rather than be dragged into war in the wake of Austria, Prussia would retire from the Confederation. So fearful was the government of giving

offence to France, that a patriotic tragedy, *Ferdinand von Schill*, recalling the days of the French occupation, was forbidden in all the Prussian theatres.

There is no doubt that Prussia was resolved not to go to war for the maintenance of the Austrian power in Italy. They would not even offer their good offices to preserve it. June 27th, Baron Schleinitz writes to Count Bernstorff, that now only the moment for mediation had arrived. But against mediation Austria at that moment protested. Nevertheless from that moment a project of mediation was discussed between the neutral powers. Before any terms had been agreed upon, a French proposal was communicated by Lord John Russell to the Austrian government, of which we must give the somewhat confused history in his own words:

"The French ambassador had frequently spoken to me of terms of peace which he thought, after a considerable period of war, if fortune should favour the arms of France, might be proposed. I listened to those statements, and I said it was not likely that either the Emperor of the French or the Emperor of Austria would be prepared to make peace at that time, and that therefore any consideration of set terms of peace should be postponed. But he brought to me one day a written piece of paper containing certain articles, and said it was the wish of his government that those articles or terms should be submitted, under the sanction of the British government, to the Emperor of Austria; and he said he felt assured, though he could not give me official assurance of it, that those were terms proposed by the Emperor of the French. However, he said enough to show that if those terms were accepted by the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French would be ready to sanction them. I was going to a cabinet council at the time; and there I communicated to my colleagues what he had said. They one and all agreed that we could not make a formal communication of any such terms—that the period had not arrived when we could proffer our good offices. But as those terms were more moderate than, from

the proclamation of the French Emperor, one could have expected he would offer, they thought it would not be right to conceal them from the Austrian government, and therefore they commissioned me to give the paper containing the terms to the Austrian minister; and I communicated them to him on the same night. The honourable gentleman asks what Prussia said. Nothing whatever, for I never spoke to Prussia on the subject. He asked also what Russia said. To that I have to give the same answer: Nothing whatever, for I had no communication with the minister of Russia on the subject. The Austrian minister said it would be his duty to send the terms to his government, but wished to know my idea with regard to it. I said, 'The British government transmit them to you to be sent to the Emperor of Austria; but, as to offering any advice, we distinctly declare that we offer no advice or opinion regarding them. Austria may accept them or reject them, as it may deem best.' He said afterwards to me, 'I do not believe my government will accept these terms; but supposing they were accepted, and I got an answer saying that Austria was ready to treat on those terms, what then?' I said, if that happened, if we once knew that Austria was ready to treat on those terms, then we would offer ourselves as mediators, or in any other character Austria might prefer; and I said, 'If you would prefer that I should speak to the ministers of Prussia and Russia, and inform them of the terms, and that there would be no difficulty in proposing them as a basis of a peace, I am ready to do so.' I think it was our duty not to conceal from Austria that peace might be obtained on the terms proposed. If we had refused to communicate those terms, and if Verona and Peschiera and Venice had fallen, and Austria had been obliged to make worse terms than those which we had been asked to transmit, we should have exposed ourselves, I think, to severe animadversion. This was on the Wednesday. On the Sunday I received a note from Count Apponyi, saying that his government considered these propositions quite inadmissible. I

do not find fault with the hon. gentleman for making a confusion in the story, because he probably has heard it very inaccurately, and has only repeated it as he heard it; but at that time, on that very day, a further proposal was made to my noble friend on a smaller number of articles,—I think four,—which the French government requested us to communicate to Austria, and to communicate with a view to recommend them. My noble friend and I considered that question, and we resolved to ask our colleagues what was their opinion of that proposition. On the same evening, however, I received from Count Apponyi the note to which I have referred; and accordingly the next day there could be no doubt or difficulty in the Cabinet, because we were all agreed not to propose to Austria terms on which she was not willing to treat. These terms did not differ in substance, though they might in degree, from those which we had seen before; and we could never recommend to Austria terms upon which she had already declared that she would not treat. That was our conduct towards the Austrian government. I think in this statement the hon. gentleman will find an answer to all his questions. It is a very plain story, and it is one upon which the government is prepared to stand. Well, sir, there is much difficulty attending communications by telegram, and it is likewise very difficult for belligerent powers to know what is going on in the councils of neutrals; but it certainly did so happen that while, on the one side, the Emperor of Austria said that the neutral powers were considering terms of mediation which would probably have been more unfavourable to him than those which he obtained directly from the Emperor of the French, at the same time the Emperor of the French said that the German powers were so hostile to him, that if he had not made peace he would in a short time have had to make war upon the Rhine. These statements were rather statements of apprehension than of fact. It might never have happened that the neutral powers would propose any terms of mediation at all. They had never agreed upon any basis of mediation,

they had never even had any serious discussion of the terms of mediation. Prussia had made a proposal, to which the hon. gentleman alluded, and for not communicating which he finds fault with me. The fact was, that the Prussian minister took away his despatch, and particularly desired that it might be considered a confidential despatch, and one of which he did not wish a copy to be left in the office or communicated to the Government. To revert again, however, to the state of things which existed when peace was made. The Emperor of the French thought that war was impending upon the Rhine, and that that was the future which he had to meet. The Emperor of Austria thought that the neutral powers were considering terms of mediation; and these apprehensions—not any certain knowledge, because there were no facts upon which that knowledge could be founded—did operate upon their minds, and they used them as justifications for the peace which they made.”

This proposal was as follows:

“1. Italy her own mistress. 2. Confederation of all Italian states. 3. Sardinia increased by Lombardy and the Duchies. 4. Venice and Modena to form an independent state under an archduke. 5. Tuscany given to the Duchess of Parma. 6. A lay viceroy in the Legations. 7. A congress to organise Italy on these foundations, and respecting the rights which the popular wishes have obtained.”

There is this difference between the despatches of Lord John Russell and those of Baron Schleinitz, that while England desired to see Austria beaten in Italy, Prussia declared her anxiety for the preservation of her Italian dominions, but refused to assist in defending them. The mystery of the Prussian policy is to be explained partly by the fact, that Russia threatened the German frontier in case of a war with France, and partly by the difference of sentiment between the court and the ministry. It appears that the Regent himself was eager for action, and in taking leave of Prince Windischgrätz he is reported to have said that the Emperor of Austria had deeply hurt his feelings in showing so little con-

fidence in Prussia by the sudden conclusion of peace.

The result for Germany has been to expose to ridicule the helpless constitution of the Diet, and to prove the practical impossibility of a predominant influence of Germany in Europe. This is admitted even by the Prussian Government; and a movement is now going on in Germany for a revision and reform of the federal system, of the results and of the tendency of which it is too early to speak with certainty.

Little has transpired as to the designs and policy of Russia since the publication of Prince Gortschakoff's despatch. It is well known that that empire is not in a condition at present to give an energetic support to its advice. It appears, however, that the cordial agreement which subsisted between France and Russia is no longer so intimate, and it has been reported that a letter from the Emperor Alexander to the Emperor Napoleon, brought to the French camp by Count Schouwaloff, was instrumental in hastening the termination of hostilities.

#### 9. *Possessions of Austria in Italy.*

The House of Austria had enjoyed, from the period of its elevation to the imperial throne, uncertain and insecure possession of several territories in the north-east of Italy. In the sixteenth century Milan became permanently a dependency of Spain; and portions of the province of Udine, about eighty square miles in extent, were annexed to the Austrian dominions of the House of Hapsburg.

For more than a century and a half, from the time of Charles V. to the War of Succession, only one addition was made, consisting of the very spot which was the scene of the battle in which Lombardy was lost to Austria,—the principalities of Castiglione and Solferino. In 1692, namely, the inhabitants of those territories rose against their duke, Ferdinand of Gonzaga, and expelled him. The Emperor Leopold instituted an inquiry into the justice of their complaints; and whilst it lasted, and it lasted long, refused to reinstate the duke or his son.

The Austrian domination in Italy dates properly from the War of Suc-

cession. The treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt restored most of the outlying dependencies of the Spanish crown to the family which had lost the crown of Spain itself.

Austria obtained the Duchy of Milan from the Oglio to the Sesia, including the territory of Novara and Alessandria; the islands of Sardinia and Elba, the principality of Piombino, and the kingdom of Naples.

The Duchy of Mantua had already been confiscated in 1708, as the duke had borne arms against the emperor, whose vassal he was.

More than one-third of Italy acknowledged the rule of Charles VI.

In 1718 Sardinia was exchanged for Sicily.

In 1735 France and Spain, aided by Sardinia, recovered the Milanese, Naples, and Sicily. The peace of Vienna gave Naples and Sicily to the Bourbons, Novara and Tortona to the House of Savoy, and Parma and Piacenza to Austria.

The Italian dominions of Charles VI., which in 1714 had reached 46,000 square miles in extent, had dwindled, at the accession of Maria Theresa, to about 6650.

The War of Succession in Austria led first to the surrender of all beyond the Ticino to Sardinia, in 1743; and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle established a new branch of the Bourbons in Parma and Piacenza.

In 1773 the principalities of Castiglione and Solferino were finally purchased of the House of Gonzaga.

Francis of Lorraine, Grand-Duke of Tuscany, the husband of Maria Theresa, died in 1765, and was succeeded in Tuscany by his second son, Leopold, as Joseph, the eldest, was to inherit the Austrian crowns. Leopold, on succeeding his brother in 1790, was followed in the grand-duchy by his second son.

Ferdinand, the third son of Maria Theresa, married, in 1771, Beatrice, the daughter of the last male descendant of the House of Este, and obtained the right of succession in Modena.

This was the state of the Austrian dominions in Italy at the breaking out of the revolutionary war.

In 1797 the peace of Campo Formio deprived the Austrians of Lombardy, Modena, and Massa Carrara, which

belonged to the Duke of Modena by right of his wife. These states went to form the Cisalpine Republic.

But by this treaty Austria obtained more than she lost: the territory of Venice, bounded by the Adige, and the provinces of Verona, with the exception of Sanguinetto and Villafranca, and Rovigo; altogether above 8600 square miles.

The peace of Lunéville, 1801, took away all that Austria possessed beyond the Adige, and stipulated that the Duke of Tuscany should receive compensation in Germany for the loss of his duchy, as the Duke of Modena had been indemnified by the peace of Campo Formio. He received Salzburg, and afterwards Würzburg; and the Duke of Modena, Breisgau.

Finally, the peace of Presburg, 1805, gave all the Italian dominions of Austria to the kingdom of Italy.

The peace of Paris, in 1814, made the Ticino and the Po the boundary of Austria in Italy; and this settlement remained unaltered until the peace of Villafranca.

#### 10. *The Belligerents.*

##### (1) *Austria.*

The Emperor Francis Joseph says truly, that he was able to obtain from his adversary better terms than would have been proposed by his allies. He loses by the peace of Villafranca neither his military position in Italy, nor the command of the Adriatic, nor any source of revenue to his exchequer, nor any of the dominions of the princes of his house. The loss of military prestige,—a loss which falls on the generals more than on the army, and on the Emperor himself most of all,—became merely a question of self-command. He has had the courage and energy to prefer this personal humiliation to a renewed effort, by which all might perhaps have been recovered, but which must have cost new losses and new sufferings to his subjects. At Villafranca he stipulated for the restoration of half the territory which was lost, that of his relatives, the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena. How this will be accomplished, it is too soon to predict. But it is to the honour of Francis Joseph's capacity, that in an hour's interview at Villafranca he succeeded in casting upon

his victorious adversary all the odium of the settlement, and inflicting a loss of popularity which equalled the loss of power he himself had suffered.

It is impossible to affirm that he has been supported in the present war by the sentiment of his people. The warlike feeling in Austria was tame in comparison with that in Southern Germany. One reason undoubtedly was the financial exhaustion of the country. The burdens imposed by the present war became almost intolerable to an over-taxed people. This led to a jealousy of the army. During the reign of the present Emperor, the army by which he reconquered his empire has become his first consideration, and has absorbed far more than its due of the national resources. As the great item of expenditure, it was regarded as the cause of those financial difficulties which have injured so much the prosperity and the happiness of the people. And this great engine, to which so much was sacrificed, proved, after all, unequal to its fame. From the first the army achieved nothing to satisfy the imagination of the vulgar; therefore the spirit with which the war commenced, and the enthusiasm which the Emperor's proclamation evoked, rapidly subsided, and, before the end, had given way to impatience and disgust. In the Emperor's proclamation after the peace, he recognises the importance of the disaffection at home as one of the causes which made him conclude it. His promise of reforms alludes to something more than this. Unfortunately for him, the war broke out when his government was in a state of transition. For ten years he has been labouring to consolidate and concentrate his power. The revolution of 1848 showed how weak were the bonds that kept his dominions together. It became essential to the preservation of the state that it should obtain some unity beyond the personal union in the person of the Emperor. For this purpose a series of measures, framed with great administrative ability, have successively appeared, by which a totally new organisation of the empire has been attempted. A man who, in 1848, was a young and obscure lawyer in Vienna, Alexander von Bach, has

been the originator and the leader in this great enterprise. It was necessary that a system of liberties and of local self-government should be carried out simultaneously with the abolition of the old absolutist system, against which the people rose, and which fell at the first shock in 1848. But the other process was more urgently needed; for the state had been on the borders of an abyss, and something was required to be done to avoid the recurrence of so great a danger. Without the necessary corrective, the measures needed for the establishment of unity would have led to an excessive centralisation. This was the great fault of the minister Bach, that he put off the execution of many reforms already determined on, but apparently not in harmony with his plan of concentration. Thus, in 1855, self-government and freedom were restored to the Catholic Church, and the greatest bulwark and security against centralisation was established. But four years have elapsed, and no corresponding measure has yet been taken to give a similar immunity to the Protestants; and yet such a measure was distinctly implied, not only in the spirit which conceded the Concordat, but even in some of its terms. There are still two irreconcilable tendencies and systems prevailing at the same time in Austria. There is the old absolutist spirit, which sacrificed the people to the bureaucracy, the Church to the State; and the new spirit, which animates the Emperor himself, and appears in the Concordat, but which he can find few instruments to carry out in the administration. The conflict between them will be long; but while it lasts, there are two vast classes of discontented persons,—those who are offended at the new measures, and denounce the “ultramontane” councils of the Emperor, and those who suffer from the difficulty which is encountered in carrying out the new system itself. Thus it happens that the Tyrolese, the most loyal and religious of the subjects of Austria, are as dissatisfied as the Magyar nobles and the rabble of the Italian towns. What modifications will be introduced in fulfilment of the Emperor's promise, it is hard to say. The names of the persons whom he

has summoned for the purpose of consulting them belong to very various parties. But we confidently hope that he will not allow himself to be driven from the course which he has adopted, because it has been so imperfectly pursued as to be regretted by the best and wisest of his subjects, or because it offends the notions and prejudices of that vast number of Austrians who have been bred up in the traditions of Josephism.

*Vienna, August 20.* The official *Wiener Zeitung* of this day contains the following imperial decree:

"Count Rechberg, who retains his post as Minister for Foreign Affairs, is appointed President of the Cabinet; Baron Hubner is appointed Minister of Police; Count Golochowski, Minister of the Interior; Councillor (Geheimrath) Kempen von Fichtenstamm, Chief of the Police, is dismissed with a pension; Baron Bach, formerly Minister of the Interior, has been appointed Ambassador to Rome. The Ministry of Commerce is entirely dissolved; its duties are divided between the Ministries of the Interior, Exterior, and Finance."

The non-official portion of the *Wiener Zeitung* contains an article stating that there is a general feeling of anxiety in the public mind concerning the subjects which have been till now under serious deliberation by the Superior Council, and which are: 1. "Regulations of the control of the finances; 2. Free exercise of the Protestant religion; 3. The regulation of Jewish affairs; 4. The regulation of the municipalities. The representation of the provinces will later come under deliberation." The article concludes thus: "Too great caution in advancing is as much to be avoided as too much haste."

## (2) France.

The Emperor of the French found opinions considerably changed on his return to France. He had started with the applause of the Republicans and Socialists of the Faubourg St. Antoine, who thought that he was going to revive in Italy the revolution he had suppressed in France. Though he has not yet ventured openly to disappoint these hopes, by restoring the Italian princes by force

of arms, there is little room to suppose that he has gained the goodwill of the French democracy. But his military success has made him sure for ever of the army; and the amnesty serves to give greater effect to the successes he has won.

*July 28.* The *Moniteur* announced that he was about to reduce his armaments by sea and land. This was for the sake of England; and it was announced in the afternoon with great effect by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons.

*August 14* was the triumphal entry of the Emperor and his army into Paris. It is significant, that in the vicinity of the Bastille, where on his departure for Italy he received such an ovation, he was met on his return with greater coolness than at any other part of his progress.

*August 17.* A full and entire amnesty was granted to all persons sentenced for political crimes and offences, or who have been the objects of the measures taken for public safety.

*Aug. 18.* The *Moniteur* announced that all warnings given to newspapers would be considered as non-issued.

It is estimated that this amnesty will restore to France nearly 20,000 exiles. We hope more from a change of system, such as this appears to introduce, in France, than from the changes which are desired in Austria; for it is more needed.

*August 20.* The fortification of Antwerp was ordered by the Belgian Chamber of Deputies. In this France affects to see a violation of Belgian neutrality; and, it is said, will immediately post an army on the frontier.

## 11. *Revolt of the Swiss at Naples.*

*July 7*, a revolt of a part of the Swiss troops occurred at Naples; it was suppressed with considerable bloodshed and severity. The ostensible pretext was the removal of the arms of the Swiss cantons from their colours. About 500 men mutinied, and nearly 2500 refused to serve under the Neapolitan standard. They were immediately shipped off to Marseilles, on their way to their own country. There is no doubt that the Swiss in the Neapolitan service had been tampered with by

the revolutionary party after the taking of Perugia. It had called to mind their conduct in 1849, when they saved the Neapolitan throne, and vanquished the revolution in Sicily; and it had greatly increased their unpopularity as the upholders of the governments of southern Italy.

Among the 2290 Swiss who returned home after the revolt at Naples, there were not above fifty Germans. The first regiment of Swiss in Rome consisted, according to the official *Bundesblatt* of January 1, 1858, of 1293 men. Of these 640 were really Swiss, 180 Bavarians, 98 Wirtembergers, 150 Belgians, &c.

The events at Naples gave the death-blow to the Swiss mercenaries. The Swiss Radicals were at all times unwilling that their countrymen should serve as the chief supporters and instruments of legitimate governments; and that while democratic and revolutionary principles prevailed in their own country, they should be employed to suppress them abroad. Their service with the Pope was particularly hateful. The events at Naples destroyed even the ancient renown of the Swiss fidelity, and supplied a long-desired opportunity of putting an end altogether to this unpopular service.

An envoy was sent to Naples to inquire into the affair; and a law was passed by the Diet at Berne, July 30th, which provided as follows:

“Every Swiss is forbidden to enter those corps of foreign armies which are not to be regarded as national troops without permission from the Diet. The Diet can grant such permission only for the purpose of promoting the advantage of their own army.”

The measure was opposed, especially by Segesser of Lucerne, one of the best historians of Switzerland. The military fame of the Swiss had, he urged, been maintained for centuries by foreign service alone. It was an inconsistency to circumscribe the freedom and independence of their own countrymen, in order to protect that of the Italians.

### 12. *The Revolution in Italy.*

During the war the movement throughout central Italy was directed by Sardinian agents, for the purpose

of promoting the designed annexation to Sardinia. For this end Azeglio was sent to Bologna, Pallieri to Parma, Farini to Modena, and Buoncompagni acted as dictator at Florence.

The conclusion of peace arrested these designs, and converted the Sardinian propagandism into a purely insurrectionary movement. The failure of Sardinia to obtain the complete emancipation of Italy through the aid of France, gave in several places new energy to the revolutionary party.

The Piedmontese party had always been strongest in Tuscany. The chief men in Florence, both in literature and politics, belonged to it. Demonstrations of every kind were provoked in favour of annexation.

July 20. The municipality of Florence declared in favour of it by a majority of 18 to 5. Troops were sent to Bologna to aid the insurgents. When the war was over, and the French Emperor insisted on the recall of the Sardinian commissaries, measures were every where taken that by their departure the Sardinian cause should not suffer. Buoncompagni remained at Florence until July 30th. He then left his power in the hands of Ricasoli, the most active leader of the Piedmontese party in Tuscany. At the same time, the Marquis Lajatico, who had played the chief part in the revolution of April, was sent to London to obtain the concurrence of the English Government in their plans. These were, first, to be annexed to Piedmont, by which was understood a kingdom of northern Italy, including the duchies and perhaps the Romagna; or, secondly, to receive a sovereign of the house of Carignan; or, thirdly, to be placed under the Duchess-Regent of Parma.

July 28. The Grand Duke of Tuscany abdicated in favour of his son. An envoy conveying a notification of the accession of the Grand Duke Ferdinand was sent to Paris, and the young sovereign himself was invited to come, and was favourably received by the Emperor.

At the beginning of August a French envoy, Count de Reiset, was sent to Turin and to the capitals of central Italy, to endeavour to promote by pacific influence the resto-

ration of the banished princes, or at least to ascertain that, by pacific means, it could not be accomplished.

The provisional government of Tuscany summoned a convention, to be chosen according to the electoral law of May 3, 1848, by which all who pay ten francs of taxes are admitted to vote. By this means the bulk of the population was excluded, and the aristocratic character of the Tuscan revolution is maintained. Strict injunctions were also sent to all the municipal and communal authorities as to the candidates to be chosen.

*August 8.* The conferences commenced at Zurich, which were to complete the work of the peace of Villafranca. Count Colloredo represents Austria, M. de Bourqueney France, and M. Desambrois Sardinia. Slow progress appears to have been made in the negotiations. Meantime the course of events makes the fulfilment of the agreement entered into at Villafranca for the restoration of authority in central Italy more difficult every day.

*August 11.* Cardinal di Pietro, formerly nuncio in Portugal, succeeded Cardinal Antonelli as President of the Council of State. Cardinal di Pietro has been frequently spoken of as the most likely successor of Cardinal Antonelli in the more important office of Secretary of State. It is difficult as yet to say how far his appointment may be considered as a concession to the opponents of his colleague.

*August 16.* The newly-elected assembly declared, on the motion of the Marquis Ginori, that the house of Lorraine has ceased to reign in Tuscany. It does not appear that the motion was based on an accusation of tyranny. The Tuscan family cast in their lot with Austria, and must stand or fall with the Austrian power in Italy.

In Parma Count Pallieri persuaded the people that they were, under all circumstances, to remain with Piedmont; and the omission of Parma in the preliminaries of Villafranca confirmed the illusion. The Piedmontese authorities were not recalled until August 5th.

At Modena the Sardinian commissary, Farini, exhibited great activity in raising troops and organising

an army. The Grand-Duke had, on his departure, taken his army with him. When, therefore, Farini was recalled by the Sardinian Government, he was chosen Dictator of Modena; and he appears to have taken the lead in arranging the resistance of central Italy by means of the insurrection alone. He organised a league with Tuscany and Parma, and it was determined that the three armies should be united. The Tuscan contingent, on its return from the Mincio, was retained, in order to form part of the federal army. Garibaldi was appointed commander. An assembly was called at Modena, elected by universal suffrage. It met on August 16th.

*August 17.* Farini accepted the dictatorship of Parma and Piacenza.

Meanwhile a French army remains in Lombardy, whether with a view to restore order, or to fish in troubled waters, has not yet appeared.

Bologna is covered with placards bearing the words, "Evviva Vittorio Emanuele nostro legittimo Ré." The town is full of Sardinian agents, and Azeglio did not retire before he had done what he could to secure the interests of his master. A loan has been raised by the provisional government; and Mezzacapo, with a force of volunteers, is awaiting the advance of the Papal troops from Ancona.

*August 20.* The annexation to Piedmont was unanimously voted by the national assemblies of Tuscany and Modena.

On the same day it was announced that a defensive league had been concluded between all the states of central Italy, signed also by Prince Ercolani on behalf of the Legations.

### 13. *The Revolution and the Church.*

The revolt of Perugia was promoted and assisted by the leaders of the revolution in Tuscany. June 19th, 400 muskets were sent by the Sardinian Commissary at Florence, Buoncompagni. Before the expected military aid could arrive from Tuscany, the town was attacked by the Swiss under Colonel Schmidt, on the evening of June 20th.

After a resistance of three and a half hours, in which the Roman troops lost eleven men killed and

thirty-five wounded, whilst the loss of the insurgents is said to have amounted to double the number (20 killed), the insurrection was overcome. As the first victory of order over the revolutionary movement, this event very naturally caused the greatest excitement all over Italy.

The Pontifical army amounted at the beginning of the war to 15,239 men and 1200 horses. In the course of three months about 850 men and eight officers deserted.

On the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the Pope, Colonel Schmidt, and a monk, were burnt in effigy at Milan.

At Turin, for an article on the taking of Perugia, the *Armonia*, the chief Catholic newspaper in Piedmont, was prosecuted, and its appearance suspended until the judgment should be pronounced. The *Cattolico* of Genoa has been since suppressed.

In the Consistory of June 20th, the Pope confirmed the appointment of the Archbishop of Milan and the Bishops of Pavia and Crema, which Francis Joseph had made before the breaking out of the war. But the Act of Confirmation did not contain the usual addition, "ad nominationem Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Francisci Josephi Primi Austriæ Imperatoris," &c.

The Sardinian Government protested, before the preliminaries of peace were agreed upon, against these nominations.

On June 18th, the Holy Father issued an encyclical letter touching on the affairs of Italy:

"The seditious movement which has lately broken out in Italy against the authority of the legitimate princes, has passed like a flame of fire from the states adjoining our pontifical dominions, even into some of our provinces. Moved by the sad example of others, and excited by foreign influence, these provinces have withdrawn from our paternal rule, and at the instigation of a few, have even sought to place themselves under that Italian Government which during these last years has shown itself the enemy of the legitimate rights of the Church and of her sacred ministers. While we reprobate and grieve for these acts of rebellion, by

which a part only of the people in those disturbed provinces so unjustly corresponded to our fatherly solicitude and care, and while we openly declare that the civil power is necessary to this Holy See, in order that without impediment it may exercise its sacred authority for the good of religion (which civil power the crafty enemies of the Church of Christ endeavour to tear away); to you, Venerable Brethren, we have recourse by letter, that we may find some comfort for our grief. . . .

"For the rest, we openly declare that, clothed with strength from on high, which Almighty God, moved by the prayers of the faithful, will grant us in our weakness, we are ready to undergo every danger and every bitterness rather than abandon in the least part our Apostolic duty, or permit any thing to be done contrary to the sanctity of the oath by which we bound ourselves, when, God so willing, we mounted, although unworthy, this Supreme Chair of the Prince of the Apostles, the rock and defence of the Catholic faith."

At the Consistory of June 20th, the Holy Father delivered an allocution, in which he said:

"Venerable Brethren, — To the most heavy grief which oppresses us, as well as all good men, on account of the war stirred up between Catholic nations, there is added an exceeding sorrow for the lamentable troubles and disturbances which, in some provinces of our Pontifical rule, have lately occurred by the nefarious agency and most sacrilegious daring of impious men. You well know, Venerable Brethren, that we are speaking sorrowfully of the guilty conspiracy and rebellion of the enemies of our and this Holy See's sacred and legitimate civil power, which most crafty men dwelling in these our provinces have not feared to plot, foster, and carry out by secret and wicked associations, by basest designs, framed with men of neighbouring districts, by the publication of fraudulent and calumnious libels, by the preparation and introduction of foreign force, and by sundry other perverse frauds and arts. . . .

"No one is ignorant at what these rebels against the civil power of

this Apostolic See always chiefly aim; what they wish, what they desire, what they seek. For all know that, by the special design of Divine Providence, amid such a great number and variety of temporal rulers, the Roman Church also possessed a temporal dominion subject to no one, in order that the Roman Supreme Pontiff, the Pastor of the whole Church, never at any time subject to any ruler, might be able, with fullest liberty, to exercise over the whole wide world the supreme power and authority received from Christ our Lord Himself, of feeding and governing the whole of the Lord's flock, and might also be able more easily, from day to day, to spread our Divine religion; to meet the various wants of the faithful; to give timely aid to those seeking it; and to achieve all the other good ends which, according to time and circumstance, he might recognise as appertaining to the greater good of the whole Christian commonwealth. Therefore the bitterest enemies of the temporal dominion of the Roman Church strive to attack, undermine, and destroy the civil power of that Church and of the Roman Pontiff, which has been established by a certain heavenly dispensation, and by ancient possession through so many successive centuries, and by every other most just and best law, and which, by common consent of all peoples and princes, even non-Catholic, has been always held and defended as the sacred and inviolate Patrimony of the Blessed Peter, in order that, having robbed the Roman Church of her patrimony, they may depress and vilify the dignity and majesty of the Apostolic See and of the Roman Pontiff; and may with more ease bring upon our most holy religion the most destructive warfare and the greatest of injuries, and thoroughly uproot religion itself, if ever that could be. This always has been aimed at, and is aimed at by the most wicked counsels, plots, and frauds of those men, who long to pull down the temporal power of the Roman Church, as a long and most sad experience proves clearly and openly to all men.

"Wherefore since we, by the charge of our Apostolic office, and being

bound by a solemn oath, have the duty of watching with the greatest vigilance over the safety of religion, of preserving quite intact and inviolate the rights and possessions of the Roman Church, and of asserting and vindicating the liberty of this Holy See, which is plainly identified with the interests of the whole Church, and also of defending its sovereignty, with which Divine Providence has endowed the Roman Pontiffs for exercising free control over the whole world, and of transmitting it whole and inviolate to our successors; we cannot avoid vehemently condemning and detesting the impious and nefarious daring and endeavours of our rebellious subjects, and opposing to them a strong resistance. . .

"We protest against all those things which the rebels have dared to do in the places above mentioned; and by our supreme authority we condemn, reprobate, rescind, and abolish all and every the acts at Bologna, at Ravenna, at Perugia, and elsewhere, in whatever manner named and done by these rebels against our and this Holy See's sacred and legitimate sovereignty; and we declare and decree these acts to be void, wholly illegitimate, and sacrilegious.

"Further, we call to the memory of all men the greater excommunication and other ecclesiastical penalties and censures inflicted by the Sacred Canons, the Apostolic Constitutions, and by the decrees of General Councils, especially the Tridentine (sess. 22, cap. xi. de Reform.), and to be incurred, without any declaration, by all those who may dare in any manner to attack the temporal power of the Roman Pontiff: into which we moreover declare all those to have fallen miserably who at Bologna, at Ravenna, at Perugia, and elsewhere, by act, or by counsel, or by assent, or in any other way, have dared to violate, disturb and usurp our and this Holy See's civil power and jurisdiction, and the Patrimony of the Blessed Peter. . . .

"Supported by this confidence in God, we are also sustained by the hope that the Sovereigns of Europe, as in times past so now, will use all their endeavours with united zeal and counsel to defend and keep en-

tire our and this Holy See's sovereignty, since it is of the greatest importance to each of them that the Roman Pontiff should enjoy the fullest liberty, in order that the tranquillity of conscience of the Catholics residing in the dominions of these sovereigns may be properly protected. Which hope is increased, because the French troops now in Italy, according to what our most dear Son in Christ the Emperor of the French has declared, not only will do nothing against our and this Holy See's temporal dominion, but will defend and preserve it."

June 30th, Cardinal Morlot, the Archbishop of Paris, issued a pastoral to his clergy, appointing a *Te Deum* for the victory of Solferino, in which he says:

"May a peace glorious and durable come to crown a war conducted with so much heroism, brilliancy, and splendour,—a war which was not undertaken with ambitious views or to foment disturbances, least of all to sap the rights and the power of the august and venerated Head of the Holy Church; but for the purpose of establishing peace and order in Europe, by satisfying and appeasing aspirations which are deemed just and legitimate."

July 5th, Cardinal Rauscher, the Archbishop of Vienna, published a pastoral letter, for the purpose of encouraging the people to assist the wounded. He says:

"The sufferers are our countrymen and our brothers; they are the defenders of the throne and of the empire, of our altars, and of our domestic hearths: for a victory of the open injustice which the hostile armies bear on their banners would be felt in every circle down to the dwelling of the poorest inhabitant, and yet would be but the occasion of new conflicts and immeasurable confusion."

As a sign of the solicitude which was felt throughout the Church for the safety of the Holy See in the present war, we extract the following passages from a pastoral letter of Archbishop Leahy, of Cashel:

"As God from time to time permits great calamities to befall the nations of the earth in punishment of their sins, it may be that the flames

of the unnatural war which has now broken out will spread and involve all Europe. If so it shall be, nevertheless we may abide the issue without any fear for the Holy Father, nay with the full confidence that God will turn all to the glory of His name; for, looking to the course of His providence, particularly to the special care He has taken of the Holy See in the worst of times, we may without rashness predict that at the conclusion of this war, whenever it comes, although some who now march at the head of victorious armies may be humbled and fallen, Rome will still remain, and the States of the Church will remain, and the successor of Peter will remain holding mild sway over both. But, should the worst happen,—should wicked men seize upon the temporal possessions of the Holy See, and reduce the Roman Pontiff to the apostolic poverty of Peter when he said to the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, 'Silver and gold I have none' (Acts iii. 6),—should this happen, what then? Would the spiritual supremacy which Christ gave to Peter and to his successors over the whole Church come to an end, as some vainly imagine would be the case? No. Useful as the temporal possessions of the Church may be (and useful they undoubtedly are for the easy, the peaceful, the effective administration of the affairs of the universal Church), whatever becomes of them, of one thing we are certain with all the certainty of faith resting on God's own word—that the spiritual supremacy of the Roman Pontiff will last as long as the Church itself—that is, for ever. . . . Come, then, what may—even though the hand of the spoiler tear away from the Holy Father his ancient possessions—even though his oppressors deprive him of his personal liberty, yea and of his life, his spiritual supremacy will survive every vicissitude."

And Archbishop Cullen says to his clergy, on the feast of St. Peter's Chains:

"Peace is not as yet definitively concluded, and Italy is still convulsed. Attempts of the most wicked character are made by revolutionary and secret societies, as well as by

wily and infidel statesmen, to rob the Pope of his temporal authority, which is so necessary for the free exercise of his spiritual powers. Were the Pope subject to any other sovereign, he would be obliged to yield, in the management of the affairs of religion, to the wishes of that sovereign, or undergo continual persecutions, as we learn from the history of the first seven centuries of the Church, when innumerable pontiffs were either martyred by pagan emperors, or exiled and afflicted even by the Christian rulers of the East and West."

And the whole of the Irish Episcopate expresses itself as follows:

"The Holy Father is profoundly afflicted by the troubles excited in Italy through the machinations of wicked men, at once the enemies of the Holy See and the disturbers of all order, who, casting off allegiance to their lawful sovereign, as they had already cast off the restraints of religion, are seeking to disturb the peace of the Pontifical States. Nor, as it would seem, have these lawless men wanted the sympathy, if even the direct encouragement, of those who from their position should be the friends of order. Catholic Europe, the Catholic world, has been shocked to see that unscrupulous statesmen, contrary to the principles of justice and international law, which they themselves are the loudest to invoke at other times, and from no assignable motive save that of a deadly animosity to the Holy See, would fain despoil the Roman Pontiff of those dominions which he has held and holds by a title the oldest as well as the most sacred of any in Europe. Long ages before any of the present dynasties of Europe were thought of, Central Italy, from sea to sea, enjoyed a high civilisation under the mild sway of the Roman Pontiffs; and the princes and peoples of Christendom, so far from grudging them the patrimony of Peter, protected their persons and defended their possessions as well, that the Head of the Church, being the vassal of no one, the enemy of no one (which it were not meet the common Father of all should be), and so being placed far above all local or personal considerations that else could fetter his free-

dom of action, might be perfectly independent in administering the affairs of the universal Church."

This almost universal alarm of the Catholic Church was completely justified by the events that were passing in Italy. The Jesuits were the first to recognise and to experience the irreligious spirit that animates the Italian patriots. They retired out of Lombardy as soon as the allies invaded it. They were expelled from Bologna, Forlì, Ferrara, and Faenza. At Ferrara their house was plundered.

Farini, then Sardinian commissioner at Modena, decreed as follows:

"1. The Society of Jesus not being tolerated in the states of his Sardinian Majesty, the colleges and houses of that society, in the provinces over which our commission extends, are dissolved and suppressed.

"2. The members of the society who are not natives of the provinces aforesaid, must leave them within the space of four days.

"3. The property of every kind, movable or immovable, belonging to the society, is confiscated."

In Lombardy the secular clergy displayed in various places their joy at the defeat of the Austrians. An address was presented to the Emperor Napoleon by the clergy of Brescia, in which he is hailed as their deliverer.

It does not appear that any similar feeling has been shown in favour of Piedmont.

The policy of France and of Piedmont have been completely distinct, sometimes discordant, on most points during the war. But their disagreement is most conspicuous in their relations with the Church. Whilst Piedmont has been openly and avowedly hostile not only to the temporal power of the Pope, but to the exercise even of his spiritual authority, the Emperor Napoleon has consistently pursued the very opposite course.

July 4. The *Siècle* received a warning from government that it was not to go on with its abuse of the Pope, and with its efforts to convert a war for the independence of Italy into a revolutionary movement.

In spite of this, and of other facts of the same kind, misgivings arose

in the minds of many French Catholics, and some difference of opinion has shown itself amongst them. It is perhaps not too much to say that the war had the effect of alienating in some measure from the Emperor those who were his most valuable supporters, and of conciliating for a time the good-will of some of his opponents.

Whilst the party of which the *Univers* is the organ has always disliked Piedmont, both for its liberalism and for its treatment of the Church, the liberal Catholics in France have been equally adverse to Austria for its absolutism. The Concordat has not reconciled them to the Austrian government, and the conduct of Piedmont towards the Church has not entirely destroyed the interest and the admiration which it excited as a constitutional state. While, then, the party of the *Univers*, that is, the mass of the French Catholics, were opposed to the war, a considerable minority were reconciled to it by the prospect of glory for the arms of France, and of humiliation for Austria. For to those who maintain that there is a natural alliance between Catholicism and those political forms by which in our day freedom is supposed to be assured, the example of Austria now, and the example of Spain of old, are especially hateful. The writings of M. de Montalembert, for instance, contain many proofs that he is scarcely inclined to do more than scant justice to either of these Powers.

Two episodes of the war may serve more effectually than official acts or public declarations to show the spirit in which it was undertaken.

M. About obtained his first literary success on the same field on which he has now acquired a more extensive renown. In *Tolla* he improved the occasion afforded by an event in the history of one of the great Roman families to construct a novel out of the conventional figures of wicked princes and profligate *monsignori*. The *Question Romaine* bears to *Tolla* somewhat of the relation of the *Key* to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The spirit is the same; the same general views lie at the foundation of each. But in one they are the background of a touching story, in the other they

are made up into an elaborate argument. Since the appearance of *Tolla* M. About has been employed as a purveyor of light reading in the service of the imperial court, and his performances have obtained the honours of the *Railway Library*. His knowledge of Rome and his skilful pen recommended him last winter as a fit and proper person to investigate and describe the state of things there, and to prepare men's minds for the events that were to follow. It was intended that he should speak out where serious considerations imposed a certain reserve on the discreet authors of *Napoléon III et l'Italie*, and supply the key by which the official pamphlet was to be interpreted. Accordingly his letters from Rome began to appear in the *Moniteur*. Their tone gave, very unexpectedly, offence to the nuncio at Paris. His remonstrance was immediately attended to, and M. About received orders to stop his impertinent correspondence, and to return home, where, if his strictures on Roman affairs were to be continued at all, they could only be tolerated in the shape of a pamphlet, published on his own responsibility, and without the *imprimatur* of the government. M. About obeyed, and submitted his book, when it was completed, for correction to the same exalted hands to which M. de la Guéronnière's writings owe their celebrity. Even now, after it had received the last alterations and additions at the Tuileries, such was the tender solicitude of the French government for the feelings of a court which enjoyed its alliance and protection, the book was not permitted to appear in France. It was set in type at Paris, and then sent across the frontier for publication in Belgium. There was some difficulty and delay at the French custom-house, but at length it was admitted, the booksellers being at the same time warned to dispose of their stock as expeditiously as possible. New complaints were made, this time, we believe, by the Archbishop of Paris; and again the French government acceded to the demands that were addressed to it. The sale was stopped, the remaining copies—it is not stated whether they were numerous—were summarily seized

by the police, and it is even said that one bookseller was prosecuted.

The other highly characteristic and significant fact is the attempt which was made to use the Hungarian exiles against Austria. The negotiations with Kossuth for this purpose commenced as soon as the war had been planned between the Emperor and Cavour in the autumn of last year. Some difficulties arose, and other refugees, and amongst them General Klapka, entered more readily into the plan of a revolt in Hungary. Kossuth at length agreed, on condition that a Russian prince should receive the Hungarian crown. He started with money supplied by the French government; but though he saw Prince Napoleon, he was not admitted to an audience with the Emperor. Solferino had been won, and he was already thinking of peace. Victor Emmanuel also refused to see Kossuth; but he had many interviews with Pietri, the head of the secret agents of the Emperor in Italy, and was well received by the people. July 11th he received a popular ovation at Acqui. The preliminaries of peace were signed before Kossuth had been called upon to accomplish any thing. He retired to Switzerland. His friends obtained of the French government the insertion of an article in the *Patrie*, justifying the Hungarian revolution as a legitimate movement, and declaring that Kossuth is no revolutionist, but a patriot.

The Hungarian Committee at Genoa had, however, been active in distributing handbills in the Austrian army; and they succeeded in seducing some of the Hungarian soldiers from their allegiance. A proclamation to the Hungarian nation was approved by the Emperor of the French, but the time for its publication did not come.

July 12. A protest was published by the Government of the Holy See against the proceedings of Sardinia, of which the following is a part:

"Amidst the fears and anxieties arising from the present deplorable war, the Holy See appeared to have grounds for tranquillity in the many assurances received, to which was added that the King of Piedmont,

by the advice of the Emperor of the French, his ally, had refused the offer of the dictatorship of the revolted provinces of the Pontifical States. But it is grievous to observe that events turn out otherwise, and that facts occur every day under the eyes of the Holy Father and his Government which render more and more unjustifiable the conduct of the Sardinian Government towards the Holy See,—a conduct which clearly shows an intention of usurping a considerable part of its temporal dominions. After the rebellion of Bologna, which his Holiness already had to deplore in his allocution of the 20th June last, that city became a harbour for many Piedmontese officers, who came from the neighbouring Tuscany and Modena, also with the intention of preparing quarters for Piedmontese troops. Thousands of muskets were brought in from those foreign States to arm the revolters and the volunteers, and cannons were brought to increase the commotion of the rebellious provinces, and to embolden the disturbers of order. These open violations of neutrality, joined to an active coöperation in maintaining the outbreak in the States of the Church, have been crowned by a more important violation, which renders quite illusory the refusal of the dictatorship—the nomination of the Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio as Commissary-Extraordinary in Romagna, as results from the decree of his Royal Highness the Prince Eugene of Savoy, lieutenant of his Sardinian Majesty, dated June 28, and from the letter of Count Cavour of the same date, to direct the concurrence of those provinces in the war, under the specious pretext that the so-called national movement should not degenerate into disorder, attributing to him by that means an office encroaching upon the territorial rights of the sovereign. And things proceed with such rapidity, that the Piedmontese troops have already entered into the Pontifical territory, having occupied Forte Urbano and Castel Franco, where Piedmontese riflemen and part of the R. Novi brigade have arrived. And all this either to oppose a valid resistance to the Pontifical troops which might be sent to resume the usurped power in the rebel provinces, or to

create new obstacles to the execution of this just design.

"Finally, to complete the usurpation of legitimate authority, two engineer officers, one of whom is a Piedmontese, were sent to Ferrara to mine and destroy the fortress. Such abominable attempts, manifesting a flagrant violation of the rights of nations, under many regards, can but fill with bitterness the mind of his Holiness, and cause him an indignation as strong as it is just, not without surprise at seeing such enormities committed by the Government of a Catholic sovereign, who nevertheless followed the advice of his august ally in not accepting the offered dictatorship. Every attempt, as yet, to prevent or remove the series of evils having proved vain, the Holy Father, mindful of his duty to preserve his States and the integrity of the temporal dominion of the Holy See, essentially connected with the independence and free action of the Supreme Pontificate, protests against the violations and usurpations com-

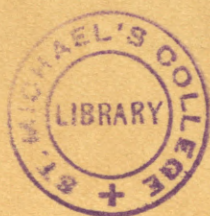
mitted even in spite of the accepted neutrality, and desires that such protest be communicated to all European Powers; trusting that they, in the justice which distinguishes them, will support him, and not allow to go on such an open revolution of the right of nations and of the sovereignty of the Holy Father; and that they will not hesitate to coöperate in vindicating the rights of this sovereignty, for which purpose he invokes their assistance and protection."

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the offer of the Presidency of the Italian Confederation should have been received by the Holy Father with some distrust. It is understood that, in reply to the letter brought to him from the Emperor Napoleon by M. de Meneval, he declared that he could not accept the offer until he was accurately informed of the details of the proposed arrangement, and until Italy should be pacified, and the insurgent provinces restored to their allegiance.









St. Michael's College  
Library

---

~~THREE-HOUR RESERVE~~

THE RAMBLER.

~~v. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6~~

v.1.

